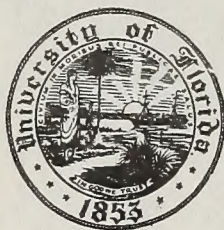


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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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MEMORIES OF AN 89 'ER

O. H. Richards*

Time and again, a description of the run that started at high noon on April 22, 1889, into the promised land, Oklahoma, has been published, and while a participant in that mad rush, there is nothing that I can add that has not already been covered by more able writers. I am going to tell you of some of the highlights of my experiences as an 89'er that stand out in my memory as bright and vivid as though they occurred but yesterday instead of over half century ago.

My experience as a pioneer 89'er, with its hardships, its make-shifts, its poverty was not unique. It was the height of fashion to be poor and broke back in 1889. That was the reason Oklahoma Territory was settled up so fast, young men, like myself endeavoring to get a start.

I filed on a claim twelve miles northwest of Guthrie on a little stream called Wolf Creek. There were perhaps fifty acres of bottom land on it and the rest was broken and covered with black jack timber.

I will never forget the first night I spent on my claim. Charles W. McGraw, a cousin, had a claim adjoining mine and we made our camp together, with our beds on the ground under a wide spreading elm, with no roof other than the sky and earth as our mattress. I can again recall the mournful cry of the whip-poor-wills as they welcomed us to our new home, an experience for a young man that had never been away from home, dealing with life in the raw. Waking up in the early morning, and just across the draw from our camp I saw a bunch of wild turkeys. One old gobbler among

* Mr. O. H. Richards is a contributor to the *Northwest Cattleman*, official organ of the Northwest Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association, published at Woodward, Oklahoma. In recent years, he wrote a series of articles for the *Ellis County Capital*, under the caption "Reminiscences," that told of pioneers and pioneer life in old Day County (now included in Ellis and Roger Mills County), Oklahoma Territory. An 89'er, he sold his claim in Logan County and left Oklahoma in December, 1892, entering the Cedar Rapids Business College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. After graduating in 1893, he secured a position as head of the penmanship department in the Southwestern Business College, Wichita, Kansas. In 1895, he resigned his position and engaged in the mining business for two years at Leadville, Colorado. In 1897, he came to Day County and entered the cattle business, locating a claim on the Canadian River four miles upstream from Grand, the County Seat. O. H. Richards, George Carr, and "Cap" Mitchell started the *Day County Progress* at Grand, with Mitchell as active editor, in 1902, but within a short time disposed of their interests in the newspaper to S. A. Miller. In 1911, Mr. Richards was elected Register of Deeds of Ellis County and served four years; in 1930, he was elected Court Clerk and served four years. He is now retired and is living on his ranch, with his post-office at Arnett, in Ellis County.—Ed.



A view of Guthrie, Indian Territory, on April 27, 1839, showing U. S. Land Office (tents with sign).

them looked as big as an ostrich; before we could get our guns, they flew away. The best shots always get away, for you never land the big fish when you are fishing.

Charlie, my cousin, and I spent about two weeks on our claims, employing most of our time hunting, loafing in camp, and visiting with other claim holders. A number of fellows came by after the run, looking for someone to contest.

We received word while on our claims that the Land Office at Guthrie was swamped by claim holders, seeking to file; that applicants were standing in line a block long waiting their turn; that each applicant was given a number and no one could file out of turn. Charlie and I decided we would go over to Guthrie and get in line. Guthrie had been designated as the temporary capitol, one of the Land Offices being located there. We arrived in Guthrie in the evening and camped on the Cotton Wood with about five thousand homesteaders. I recall the myriad camp fires, the champ-ing of a thousand tethered horses to the wagons and the braying of mules. I recall how some hilarious voice would call out in the night, "Oh Joe" and then another voice in another part of camp would answer with, "Here is your Mule". Lewis Myers, a civil war veteran and a member of our party, informed us that the call "Oh Joe—Here is your mule" originated in the Civil War and that he had heard the call many a time when an army was bivouaced and this camp of homesteaders resembled a bivouaced army in every detail. The next morning we proceeded to the Land Office to see about filing.

Long lines of tired people were standing in line awaiting their turn to file. A company of soldiers was present to keep the crowd in line and to preserve order. An officer at the door gave us our filing numbers, and with it, the cheerful information that it would take about two weeks to get around to us. He advised us to stick around, that if we were not present when our numbers were called, other numbers would be called and we would loose our places.

Guthrie at that time had a population of perhaps 30,000 people, a shifting and dust begrimed crowd. Harrison Avenue was a solid line of tents, grocery stores, restaurants, doctors' and lawyers' offices. The lawyers main business was making out filing papers, the charges for which were from 25¢ to \$2. The residential section was also covered with tents. The water supply was obtained from wells, the principal well being on Harrison avenue. It was kept going all the time. People stood in line with buckets awaiting their turn at the pump. The water had a brackish taste and was discolored.

There was a public toilet off the main street housed in a tent with a main entrance and exit, always a long line in waiting. An enterprising old negro established a private toilet on his lot and charged 10¢ for its use and had a thriving business.



A view of Guthrie, Indian Territory, on April 27, 1839, showing U. S. Land Office (tents with sign).

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As I look back now on the early days in Guthrie, it seems that you were always awaiting your turn. You waited your turn to file on your land. You waited your turn to get a bucket of water or waited your turn in a restaurant to get something to eat. Just about anything you wanted to do you waited your turn.

Building activities were carried on in a feverish rush. The sound of hammer and saw was heard from early morn until late at night. Anyone who could drive a nail could get a job as a carpenter. We had been in town but a day or two when Charlie, my cousin, said he had gotten a job as a carpenter, and would "Commence work in the morning." "You have a lot of gall to pass yourself off as a carpenter. You know you can't drive a nail straight," I said. "I know that, but neither are those other birds carpenters you see wielding hammers and saws around here," he replied.

That evening while strolling down Harrison Avenue, I ran into Frank H. Greer, former city editor of the *Winfield Courier*, Winfield, Kansas. I knew him back in Winfield when we both worked for the *Courier*. He grasped my hand and said "You are the man I was looking for. Do you want a job?"

I told him that I wanted a job all right, but I hated to be caught around with such a dirty looking bum as he appeared to be. His clothes were soiled and dirty with dust. There was a streak of grease across his face and he looked anything but the well-dressed immaculate city editor of the *Winfield Courier*. He grinned and said, "If I look any more like a bum than you do, I am sure going to clean up, but let us get back to business. You are now looking at the editor of the *Oklahoma State Capital*, and I am expecting to get out a daily. What I want with you is to take charge of the circulation, write locals and do just about the same work you did on the *Courier*."

"When do I begin?" I asked.

"Right now," he said. "I have bought that old press that used to be in the *Telegram* office in Winfield, and we are expecting it in on the Santa Fe tonight. We are going to have to work all night to get it off the car and installed in the office."

He and I walked down to the *State Capital* office, which was one of the few frame structures in Guthrie. The building covered a space of about 20 x 30 feet. It housed a few type cases and an old job press, a home made table and chair, which just about completed all the furniture and equipment in the newspaper office. The *Capital* had been published as a weekly, but had been printed on the *Winfield Courier* presses.

That night the Washington press arrived and was ready to get out the daily the next day. My job was to establish a circulation



Street scene at Guthrie, Indian Territory, on April 27, 1889

in a city of tents, where the people were constantly on the move. How was I to identify each of our subscribers' tents so the delivery boy would know where to leave his paper. I placed the problem up to Frank Greer. His reply was, "That's your problem, I get the papers out, you sell 'em." I solved the problem by having a large letter "C" printed on a cardboard six inches square and when I took a subscription, I attached the letter "C" to the tent, so the delivery boys had no trouble in locating their subscribers.

Charles McGraw, Dr. Patterson, and another doctor whose name I have forgotten, and myself shared a tent together. Dr. Patterson had been unable to secure a claim, but had secured a town lot and the tent was on his lot. He and Charles had been old friends in Syracuse, Kansas. The other doctor was the city physician.

I recall one day while I was making my rounds as circulator for the *Daily Capital*, I found a young man in his tent very sick. His face was broken out with boils and the deep flush on his face indicated he had a high fever. He asked me to get him a fresh bucket of water and set it by his bed. I complied with his request and asked if there was anything more I could do for him. He said no that he had a partner who would look after him, but that he had gone downtown and forgot to bring fresh water.

A few days after this episode while we were all at breakfast, the city physician said he had some information that, if it was generally known, would create a panic in town. After swearing us to secrecy he said, "We found a case of small pox in a tent not far from here." They had quarantined the patient out in the country and hired a negro who had previously had the disease, to take care of the patient. I asked the doctor to show me the tent. I was struck with amazement, for it was the same tent in which I found the sick man whose face was covered with boils. I never told the doctor or the rest of the boys that I had brought him water to drink. I thought there were some things you had better keep to yourself. The doctor might take it into his head to have me quarantined.

Day by day more buildings were being erected on lots that had been occupied by tents. Order was growing out of chaos. I was getting my job as circulator of the *Daily Capital* down to some sort of system, at the same time I was keeping my eye on the time my filing number might come up. The lines in front of the Land Office were gradually growing shorter. One day my number came up and I found myself inside the Land Office. I presented my filing papers and was given a receipt, in which I made a bet with Uncle Sam that if I would live on that 160 acres five years, he would give me a deed. Uncle Sam bet I would not do it, he won.

Charlie McGraw decided not to file on his claim, but sold his right to H. R. Allen, a man from Topeka, Kansas. Charlie said

"There is going to be a good town started on Stillwater Creek, and it is being promoted by a bunch of Winfield people. I have a chance to go in with them." Charlie joined up with the Winfield crowd and the town of Stillwater was started. He became one of Stillwater's leading citizens, served as Clerk of the District Court, was active in the building of the town and was one of the main men that led to the placing of the A. & M. College at Stillwater.

A short time after I filed on my claim, I took down with the measles,—the two doctors said it might not be measles. They said measles was a kid's disease, that all kids had measles and that no one had them twice. Charlie said, "I know he has got the measles. I can tell by the smell." The two doctors said it is just his face that is broken out, there is no eruption on his body. They all agreed that I had better take the train for home, and all I knew was that I was sick.

Charlie called a cab, bundled me up, and I was driven to the train. The train was crowded. While I was walking down the aisle hunting a seat, I noticed an old lady in a seat by herself. She glanced up, gave me a sharp look and invited me to share her seat. I sat down and the old lady leaned over and asked me if I was not sick. I told her I was. "I think you have the measles," she said. I told her what the two doctors had said. "I don't care what those doctors said, you have got the measles. And say you let me sit on the outside. Just lean back on the seat, pull your hat down over your face and let on as if you are asleep. Give me your ticket and I will give it to the conductor. I think there is some law about traveling with a contagious disease, and they might try to put you off."

I followed the old lady's instructions. She gave the conductor my ticket, received the slip, and stuck it in my hat, while I feigned being asleep. I was burning up with thirst, and that kindly old lady made trip after trip to the water cooler to get me a drink. When I left the train at Udall, Kansas I tried to thank the old lady for her kindly administration to an entire stranger. Her reply was, "Shucks, I just thought one of my own boys might be sick and away from home, and I would thank anyone to do what I have done. But say, I'll bet you will scare the daylights out of your mother when she gets a look at that face of yours!"

My friend, W. M. Seaman, a hardware man at Udall, drove me out to my father's farm on the Walnut river, and when I walked in on my mother, the old lady's prediction came true. I was put to bed and a doctor summoned. The doctor said that exposure had driven the measles in and that I was lucky to get home in time or the disease would have killed me. As it was, I was three months recovering from my illness.

Under the homestead law, settlers were required to establish residence on their claims six months after filing. My six months' period was drawing to a close, and I began making plans to return to Oklahoma. I joined up with Will Walker, a neighbor of father's who had a claim near Mulhall, and he agreed to help me build my cabin.

After a five days journey, we camped on my claim. The next day we began cutting black-jack logs for the erection of my cabin. I had decided to build it stockade fashion, after the style of the frontier army barracks. The cracks between the logs were chinked with mortar. In this rude cabin, I established my first residence in Oklahoma.

It had been my intention at first to hold my job on the *Capital*, and just pay occasional visits to my claim, hiring the land broken and doing the improving required by law just as they did in the early settlement of Western Kansas. I soon discovered that if you expected to hold down a claim in Oklahoma, you had to live on it, in fact, and make it your home. There were too many fellows watching a chance to contest. I decided to live on my claim in fact.

Claim shacks, cabins, and dugouts were being built on every quarter. Once in a while you saw a pretentious two room residence. They were capitalists that had at least four horses, a couple of cows and a dozen chickens. They looked down on us poor folks who had just one team and lived in a one room cabin or dugout.

Harvey Allen, the man who purchased the relinquishment of Charles McGraw, was my neighbor on the west. He was one of the few capitalists in our neighborhood. He had about 15 cows, 5 head of horses, a small flock of chickens, and 2 pigs. He had a two-room house and a basement. He had been a plasterer in Kansas. He said he expected to get enough land around him to block up a little ranch, just as soon as these "woolies" around him starved out.

Lilburn Graham, a young school teacher from Kentucky was my neighbor on the south. I helped him build his cabin. As we were both bachelors, we spent a great deal of our time together the first year on our claims. He would stay a few days with me, and then I would return the visit. The only thing we ever disagreed on was the subject of corn bread. He was fond of corn bread but said that light bread and biscuits were not fit for human consumption and I took the stand that anyone who was fond of corn bread had a depraved taste.

I must not forget my neighbor on the southeast, John Kirk from Arkansas. John was certainly not a capitalist. His claim was all hills and black-jack, and I don't suppose there was ten acres of farming land on the 160. He lived in a dugout with his wife and two half grown daughters. John was long, lean, and stooped. He

had a droopy jaw and a long stringy mustach and watery eyes, and chewed tobacco constantly. He had a strong antipathy for work of any kind. John would come over and visit every day and spin tall tales of his prowess as a coon hunter back in Arkansas. I often wondered how he ever got up enough energy to come to Oklahoma.

My neighbors on the west and northwest were Jim, Dave, and Frank Sharp. Each one had large families. Harve Reynolds, my neighbor on the north had a growing family. On the northeast was Mr. Norton, whose family consisted of a grown daughter, Daisy, and a son named Paul, a youth about fourteen. Paul was one of my best friends. He was a bright intelligent youth, he often spent the night with me. He said I made the best biscuits he ever ate, and I sure was flattered. Mr. Norton was an elderly gentleman, a widower and was in poor health. There were several neighborly young bachelors in the community but they were mostly located on Skeleton Creek. They were Hugh Williams, Bill Shultz, Will Wall, and Jerry Hatfield who could play the fiddle. There was also a lady homesteader, Miss Alice Dawson, "Oklahoma Alice," who came in with the rush and filed on the Skeleton.

She had been given a great deal of publicity by eastern newspaper reporters covering the rush of settlers to Oklahoma, and had given her the sobriquet of "Oklahoma Alice." They pictured her on a horse, her hair flying in the breeze going at full speed in company with other home seekers on horseback, in the mad rush for land. It was quite thrilling. The truth was she came in on the first train and was met by her uncle, Jim Patterson, a United States Marshal who drove her to her claim on the Skeleton. She was contested, and after a long drawn out trial, she won the case. She informed me afterward that the expense of lawyers and witness fees cost her more than the claim was worth.

About the first improving I did was to dig a well. In this undertaking, I enlisted the services of my friend, John Kirk. He claimed to be an expert on digging and walling up wells and locating water. He claimed to be a water witch, using a forked willow switch which he grasped in his hands while he walked around, and when he struck a stream of water the switch would turn down. John located the well near my cabin just where I wanted it. My cabin was in a little valley on the bank of Wolf creek and it was a safe bet that you could have struck water anywhere around there. John did the digging. Lilburn Graham and I windlassed out the dirt. At twenty feet we struck a nice flow of soft water. We walled up the well with rock, built a wood curb over it, rigged up a pulley and rope with an oak bucket at each end, and my well was completed. John proved he was both a well expert and an expert on coon hunting. My next improvement was a stable to shelter my two horses. This was a log shed built in the side of a bank and

covered with hay. I now had just about the same improvements as most of my neighbors, excepting the capitalists I referred to, and even these aristocrats did not have anything but straw sheds to shelter their stock.

I named my domicile, the "Woodrats' Retreat." The woodrats would dig into my cabin and drag the stove-wood across the floor, and pile chips behind the stove, after I went to bed at night. It gave you a creepy feeling to be awakened by a stick of stove-wood being dragged across the floor or by a woodrat wrestling with a tin can. I thought something of calling my place the "Hoot Owls' Aerie," owing to the fact that a hoot-owl and his mate used to carry on long drawn out conversations high up in a tall cottonwood near my cabin throughout the night. In writing letters back home or to my friends I always gave the "Woodrats' Retreat" as my address.

About six miles southwest from my claim there was a fine tract of land lying in the form of a crescent on the edge of what was known as the "Big Timber." Will Brown and Ben Ryland from Kansas made a run for this tract, and secured claims. They proceeded to build a two-story log structure and start a store. Soon a post office was established and given the name of Crescent City. Other businesses soon followed and the log store grew into quite a little village. The claim-holders with families began to feel the need of a school for their children. There were no public funds to build school houses and hire teachers. After talking the matter over, we decided to build a schoolhouse ourselves by donating cash and labor. Those who had the timber contributed saw logs, and these logs were hauled to a saw mill that had been recently established not far from the proposed site of the school house.

The logs were converted into lumber, hauled to the site, and with everyone assisting, we soon had our schoolhouse completed. The furniture was homemade and constructed out of native lumber. The next thing on the program was to get a teacher. The position was offered to Lilburn Graham, but he declined saying he came out to Oklahoma to get away from teaching and he was not going to begin again.

We finally secured the services of an older school teacher who had drifted in to the community, who agreed to teach our school for twenty dollars per month, providing the patrons would board him. The question arose how to raise that twenty per month. We had built our school house with very little cash outlay, but this teacher had to be paid in cash. A petition was circulated among the patrons and the required amount was subscribed to carry on a school for four months. As poor and hard up as our community was, we always managed to meet the assessment each month to pay the teacher. There was one exception however, the leading capitalist in our community had headed the list with ten dollars, but when it came to pay, he tried to kick out of his agreement. He finally paid up.

Our school house became a sort of civic center. A Sunday school was organized, and once in a while we had preaching services. These services were conducted by Brother Sharp, father of the Sharp brothers with whom he made his home. The old gentleman was illiterate but he claimed to be an ordained minister. What he lacked in literacy, he made up in fervid oratory and dramatic gestures. He preached a literal hell-fire and brimstone doctrine and one of his favorite expressions was, "Worship in spirit and truth, and avoid that burnin' lake of brimstone where all you sinners is goin' to burn forever and forever."

There were many social activities going on among those early settlers in 1889. Literary at the school house where once a week we met and debated on such profound questions, as "Which is the most destructive, Fire or Water?" or "Did the Hen come before the Egg?" followed by a program of songs, readings and recitations. When school was going on, we would have a "spelling bee" once in a while. Then there were the card parties where High Five was the popular game. The bachelors had card parties, too. No one was invited but men, and I can assure you they did not play High-Five. Poker was the game. The stakes were not high, twenty-five cents being just about the limit. We had just as much fun as if the stakes were larger.

Once in a while someone would give a dance, usually when he added another room to his claim shack. There was one dance I remember quite distinctly. Will Wall abandoned his dugout and built a sod house. He made it large enough so he could have two good rooms. The reason for the extra improvements, he was expecting his young sister, a lady about fourteen or fifteen years of age to come and make her home with him. The other bachelors up and down the Skeleton prevailed on Will to give a dance before he put the partition in his house.

That dance was long remembered as the most important event that ever occurred in our community. There was a large crowd present. It is needless to say that all the young bachelors were present with their lady friends, that is if they were fortunate enough to have a lady friend. Young ladies were a premium back in '89. I remember that "Oklahoma Alice" accompanied me to the dance, and that we came horseback. Hot coffee and sandwiches were served. Jerry Hatfield with his violin, and another young man with a mandolin furnished the music. Will Walls' young sister was the belle of the ball. She had the time of her life. She danced every set. It was morning before the dance broke up.

Right here, I am going to digress from my tales of the 89 'ers and take you to Arnett, Ellis County, Oklahoma in 1911 or 1912, for the purpose of showing how trails will sometimes cross. All of the early residents of Arnett will remember Mr. and Mrs. E. L.

Merry. E. L. was a deputy sheriff under Sheriff Rader, a real estate agent, and always had some promotion scheme under way. Mrs. Merry was a leader in all the town's social activities and had the air of a very cultured lady. She was always groomed in the height of fashion and she left the impression that she had been reared in cities, and had not the least idea of life in the country. We were living in Arnett at this time and Mrs. Merry was calling on Mrs. Richards. In our conversation, I mentioned that I was an 89'er. To my amazement Mrs. Merry said, "You have nothing on me. I, too, am an 89'er." I asked her where she was located. She said that she was just a girl of fifteen at the time, that she made her home with her brother, Will Wall, who was located on Skeleton Creek, northwest of Guthrie. She said they lived in a sod house. "Yes," I said, "and do you remember the dance that was given when the house was completed?"

"I should say I do," she exclaimed. "I never had so much fun in my life. But don't tell me you were there!"

"Yes and we danced together," I replied. Then the dignified Mrs. Merry, figuratively speaking, "let her hair down" and we began to recall the people we knew and we lived again those long departed days of '89. Back in the "Woodrats' Retreat" on Wolf Creek and the sod house on the Skeleton, we live again the glamorous carefree days of long ago.

The following spring after the Opening was a busy time for the settlers. Sod was broken, gardens planted, orchards started, and every effort was made to convert the barren prairie into self sustaining homes. I broke about forty acres on my claim and planted about one-half of it in corn. Owing to dry weather, sod corn was almost a complete failure. The first year after the Opening was a hard year on the settlers. A few, growing tired of the struggle, sold out and quit the country. Lilburn Graham was one of these. He sold out to a German by the name of Wolf and returned to Kentucky. I sure hated to see him leave.

It was about this time the first death occurred in our community. Mr. Norton, after a lingering illness, passed away. He was well liked and his passing was a shock to all who knew him. He was laid to rest on his homestead by neighbors and friends. I recall the brief ceremonies, and the reading of the 23rd Psalm, a few appropriate songs, a prayer, and the benediction, just as he would have had it.

The following year was a more prosperous year for the homesteader. There was sufficient rainfall to insure good crops. Corn was good and those who sowed wheat had a good harvest. I had out about 40 acres of corn, which shucked out about 1,200 bushels.

By this time I was getting tired of the life of a homesteader, living alone, and doing my own cooking. The glamour of the run was gone, and life had settled down to a dull monotony. I made up my mind to sell out to the first fellow that offered me my price. One of my neighbors had a friend, a Mr. Hukle from Missouri, looking for land. Mr. Hukle looked my claim over and offered me \$1,150. I accepted his offer, disposed of my personal belongings, and after bidding all my friends and neighbors goodbye, I bid farewell to Oklahoma, as I thought at that time forever.

In conclusion, I will say that I have avoided in this article, the discussion of all political matters, and public questions that agitated the minds of our first settlers. For instance, the appointment by the President of our first territorial governor, the meeting of our first legislature, our delegate to Congress, the influx of the Negro from the South. These questions have been written up in thousands of newspaper columns by able reporters, all of which you doubtless have read many times.

What I have tried to do is tell you of the first settlers, the men who staked the claims, the homesteader in his humble cabin, his poverty, and fight with the elements, exemplified in my own experience as a homesteader in '89,—the experience of thousands of young men like myself, which made possible the great State of Oklahoma.

CAUSES OF THE DULL KNIFE RAID

1878

*By James Warren Covington**

The successful flight by a band of Northern Cheyennes from Indian Territory to Montana Territory was one of the few Indian triumphs against Federal bureaucracy. Historian and novelist have related the saga of the Cheyennes' victory over red tape Gordian knots, and capable blue-clad soldiers. This study is not so much concerned with the account of their flight across several states during which they fought several engagements against frightful odds, but in the reasons why these Indians left Oklahoma.

The Cheyenne Indians are an important tribe of the Algonquian family. Their name is a corruption of the Sioux *Shahiyena*, "people of alien speech." They originally lived in Minnesota but were forced westward by the Sioux and became buffalo hunters. They allied with the Arapaho, and the two tribes lived harmoniously together for many years.¹

The separation of the tribe into the Northern and Southern divisions began in 1830 and was hastened by the building of Bent's Fort in Colorado two years later. Constant communication was carried on between the two divisions, and they regarded themselves as two different camps of the same tribe. One part of the tribe, therefore, lived in Montana and the other in Colorado and Oklahoma.

One war-party of the Northern Cheyennes led by Dull Knife planned and executed the Fetterman "Massacre" in Wyoming. This took place near Fort Phil Kearny during December, 1866. Captain William Fetterman, with eighty men, was led into a trap and all were killed. Little Wolf, a brave Cheyenne chief, was one of the ten men who acted as the decoys.²

In 1876, the Northern Cheyennes, including Dull Knife's band, joined the Sioux and Sitting Bull in the Sioux War of 1876 and 1877 during which they took part in the Battle of the Little Big Horn against Custer. The Cheyennes fought Custer's men while the Sioux drove Reno away, and then both tribes joined forces and destroyed Custer and his entire command.

General Ronald McKenzie, in a November surprise attack, weakened the Cheyenne martial spirit by destroying 173 lodges and

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¹ Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907), I, 251.

² George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York, 1915), 229.

capturing 500 horses after a bitter fight. This blow forced them to spend the winter in Crazy Horse's village with the Sioux. When spring came, the Cheyennes surrendered to McKenzie at Fort Robinson, in Nebraska in April, 1877 because Crazy Horse had not given the homeless and naked people a cordial welcome. Crazy Horse desperately needed clothes and ammunition in his struggle with the whites and thus, could not give aid to his needy allies.³

In the treaty of 1868, signed with the United States, the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians were given the choice of three places for a home. The treaty provided:⁴

That within one year from this date, they will attach themselves permanently either to the agency provided for near the mouth of Medicine Lodge Creek, or to the agency about to be established on the Missouri River near Fort Randolph, or to the Crow agency near Otter Creek, on the Yellowstone River. . . . It is hereby expressly understood that one portion of said Indians may attach themselves to one of the aforementioned reservations, and another portion to another of said reservations, as each part or portion of said Indians may elect.

General Sherman overlooked the Cheyennes and Arapahoes when the treaty stipulations were to be fulfilled by not designating any reservation for their home or even mentioning them to the agents.⁵ The Interior Department finally located the missing Indians in 1873 and invited them to join the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes but they declined the invitation. In 1874, 1875 and 1876 Congress, acting like a spurned suitor, prohibited the delivery of annuities and supplies to them until they went south.

The Sioux Commission in 1876 negotiated with the Indians for a cession of the Black Hills. Since many Cheyennes and Arapahoes had intermarried with the Sioux, they did not want to go to the Indian Territory or live on the Crow Reservation but wished to be incorporated into the Sioux Nation. Finally, it was agreed that a delegation of Indians should visit the Indian Territory and see if a suitable location could be found. Two delegations were well pleased by what they saw in Oklahoma but Congress eliminated the article permitting the Cheyennes to go south when it ratified the agreements made by the Sioux Commission.⁶

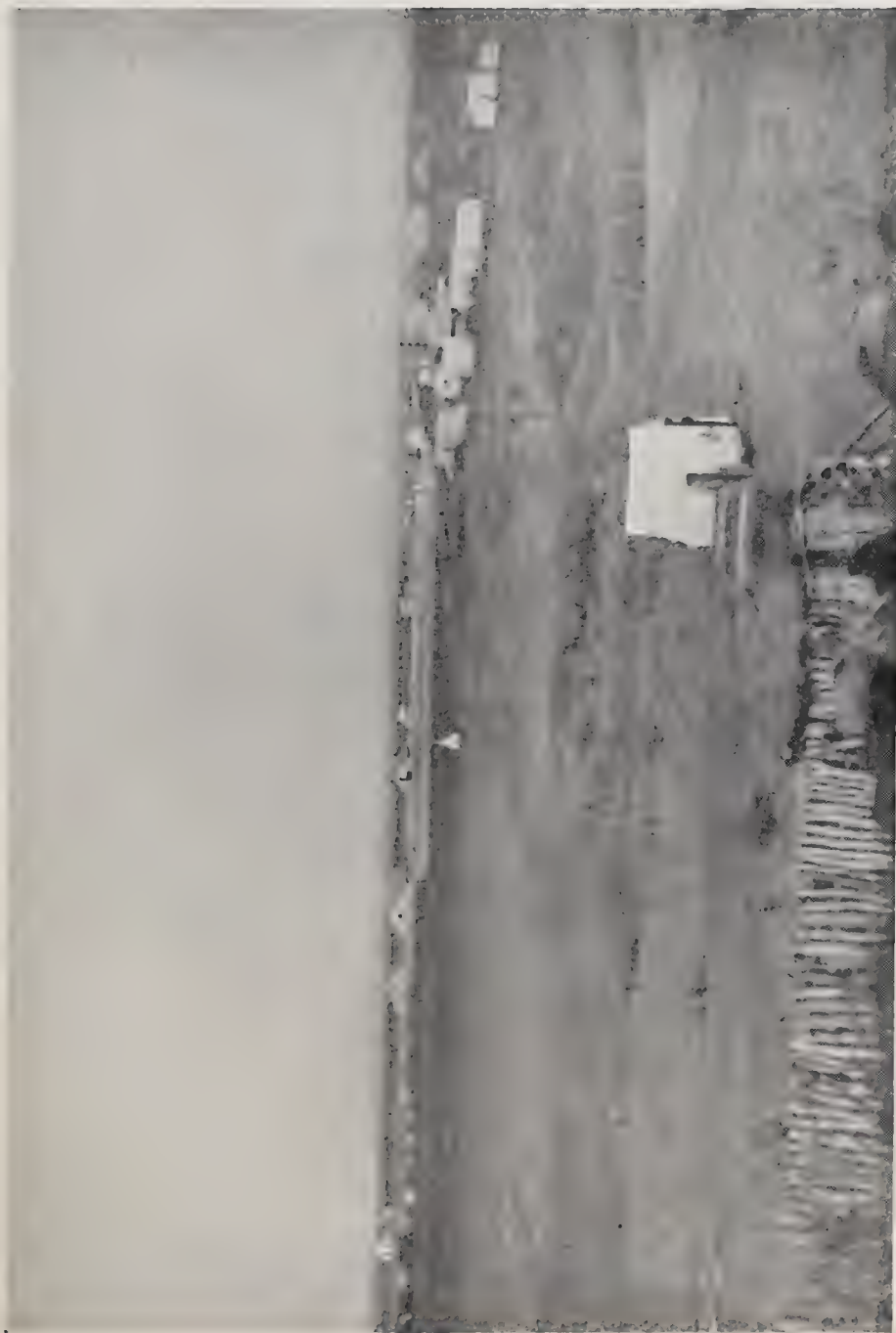
After Dull Knife's band had been defeated, Generals McKenzie and Crook held a council with them. Crook told them that they might have one of three choices: go south, go to the agency at Fort Washaki, or stay at Fort Robinson for a year. If they choose the latter, the government officials would determine where the Indians

³ Oliver Otis Howard, *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, 1907), 522.

⁴ Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904). II, 1012-1013.

⁵ George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wars* (Cincinnati, 1880), 323.

⁶ *Ibid*, 325.



Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Darlington, Indian Territory About 1872

were to go at the end of the year's time. The Cheyennes wished to stay at Fort Robinson and selected Standing Elk to speak for them. Much to their horror, he stated that all were willing to go south. They were very confused; no one objected and thus, the Indians accepted the removal.⁷

In spite of the dispute concerning the disposition of the Cheyenne Indians, several bands had been sent to the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency in Indian Territory and by July, 1876, one hundred and ninety-eight had arrived there. General Sheridan telegraphed General Sherman that the Northern Cheyennes desired to go to the Indian Territory.⁸ The Indian Office received the request on May 17, 1877 and, the next day, advised the adjutant-general that the request was approved. The Northern Arapahoes, however, were sent to the Wind River Reserve in Wyoming.

The exact date of the departure is not available but on May 29, Lieutenant H. W. Lawton, (later General) telegraphed that he was enroute to the Indian Territory with nine hundred and seventy-two Northern Cheyennes.⁹ An escort of troops accompanied the Indians during the first day and then left them. Lawton, in charge of the group, had five soldiers as guards, some packers, and a civilian interpreter, and some wagons and a pack-train. A writer who met them on the way said that they traveled "quietly and mournfully, for events had forced them to this choice, and they had left their home with the choice of the emigrant. The bucks were mostly mounted. Many of the squaws, however, carried their papooses on their backs, and led ponies that hauled the travois."¹⁰ They arrived at Fort Reno on August 5, 1877 and, two days later, were presented to Agent John D. Miles of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency located at Darlington, Indian Territory. Nine hundred and thirty-seven Indians, including two hundred and thirty-five men, three hundred and twelve women, three hundred and eighty-six children, three Arapaho men and one Arapaho woman, arrived at Darlington, but, enroute from Nebraska, thirty-five Indians had disappeared.

The Southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes said that they received their northern relatives with warm greetings and invited them to a feast, saying "we are glad you have come to make this your country, to live with us as one people."¹¹ Chief Wild Hog of the Northern Cheyennes asserted that they were called Sioux (due to the large

⁷ Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 385.

⁸ Grinnell reported that the Cheyennes had traveled for seventy days. Since they arrived at Fort Reno on August 5, seventy days before that date would be approximately May 26, 1877.

⁹ We used Grinnell's version here, but many Indians stated that they had no choice but to come to the Indian Territory. Others said that they were lured by enticing offers of money, food and clothing.

¹⁰ Manypenny, *op. cit.*, 335.

¹¹ *Senate Report No. 708, Forty-sixth Congress, Second Session* (Washington, 1880), 35.

amount of intermarriage with the Sioux) by the Southern Cheyennes and no attempt at friendship was made. Agent Miles said, "Some of them became acquainted and seemed to feel at home here almost right away; others more gradually, until about 600 of them became affiliated and thoroughly identified with the Southern Indians."¹² The bands of Dull Knife, Wild Hog, and Little Wolf did not stay near the others but camped by themselves four or five miles from the Agency.

The manner of issuing rations was the first cause of trouble between Miles and the Indians. Miles had issued rations to the heads of families but the "Dog Soldiers," a Cheyenne military and police society that regulated tribal assemblies and hunts, wished to do the job. Miles found that these men took an unequal share of the beef, so he allowed only his employees to handle the ration distribution.¹³

Both Cheyennes and Arapahoes complained about the food and McKenzie at Fort Sill ordered Colonel J. K. Mizner of Fort Reno to make an investigation.¹⁴ Lieutenant Lawton investigated and found that the rations were entirely insufficient and of poor quality though it was not the fault of the agent. Sugar was of an inferior quality, dark and wet but had been received in this condition. The weight of the flour was merely estimated. Such calculations resulted in hardships for some people. The beef was very poor in quality and Lawton did not think that people would pay money for it. The manner in which the meat was distributed was also a cause of complaint. It was not weighed but given one animal to a band of less than forty-six members and two for a group of forty-six or more. Thus a band of twenty often would receive a large beef while a band of forty-five would receive a very small cow. In consequence, the shares of persons would be unequal.¹⁵

Lawton checked the ration tickets with the amounts actually received and found, for example:¹⁶

"Plenty Bear's ticket: 5 people, 7 days, 35 rations. Sugar and coffee, 3 pounds; deficient 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ pounds. Flour, 16 pounds; deficient 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.

"Goes in the Willow's ticket: 2 people, 7 days, 14 rations. Sugar and coffee, 1 pound; deficient $\frac{3}{4}$ pound. Flour, 5 pounds; deficient 2 pounds.

"Walking Woman': 4 people, 7 days, 28 rations. Sugar and coffee, 2 pounds; deficient 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. Flour, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds; deficient 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds."

Wild Hog, as spokesman for the entire group, related his troubles to Lawton. He told about the black flour that would not

¹² *Ibid.*, 55.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 271.

rise; of no issue of corn, hard bread, hominy, rice beans, or salt and of very infrequent issues of soap and yeast powder. The sugar, coffee, and beef issued for a period of seven days were all consumed in three. Lawton concluded his report by stating that the quantity of food issued was about two-thirds of what had been stipulated in the treaty.¹⁷

Agent Miles testified that in 1877-78 the supply of rations was three-quarters of the full amount guaranteed by the treaty.¹⁸ This deficiency was common and the Indians, as usual, had to go on a buffalo hunt to make up the deficiency. They left on the hunt about November 15, 1877 but found no game and even had to eat their horses in order to stay alive. The food supply for the fiscal year of June 30, 1878 to June 30, 1879 was more adequate, but below treaty stipulations, and issues were irregular.¹⁹ Miles believed that the beef was adequate, but other supplies did not meet the quota.²⁰

William Leeds, chief clerk in the Indian Bureau and Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the absence of the Commissioner, saw how figures concerning beef could lie:²¹

I made up that statement in the Commissioner's report, so many pounds of beef, and put the pounds down net beef—not merchantable beef; that showed a deficit that the Indians had not received the amount promised them in the treaty. It was discovered that by calling it gross beef and doubling the figures, the doubling increased one side a great many more pounds than the other side . . . the excess of beef charged over against the other rations at three pounds instead of one and a half pounds, and that excess, instead of being food, half of it consisted of hides, horns, and refuse, so that there really is a deficit instead of a surplus as appears by the Commissioner's statement.

Colonel Mizner, commander at Fort Reno, did not think the Indians were receiving full rations. He found the amount of beef furnished was 3,000,000 pounds and required was 4,320,870 pounds; a deficiency of 1,320,000 pounds. 720,145 pounds of flour were needed and 200,000 pounds were furnished; 576,111 pounds of coffee were needed and 260,000 pounds were provided; 115,222 pounds of sugar needed and 44,019 pounds furnished; 143,929 pounds of beans needed and 45,657 furnished; and finally, 14,393 pounds of salt required and 8,849 pounds furnished. He sent in the report describing the deficiency, but nothing was done to correct the evil.²²

One doctor attempted to care for the needs of five thousand people and his supplies were inadequate. It was very common for northern Indian tribes to become ill when they first settled in the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XVI.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 176. See how this was done in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1878, page XXII.

²² *Ibid.*, 115.

Indian Territory. Many Poncas and Pawnees died during the first year of their stay; the Northern Cheyennes were no exception. The Agency exhausted the supply of medicine when hundreds became ill from malaria. The Indian Bureau at Washington was bound by regulations and could not send supplies in answer to this appeal by Miles.²³

The sanitary report herewith transmitted shows over one hundred cases of sickness successfully treated; but the number treated shows only a portion of those applying for treatment. Fully as many if not more cases have been turned away, by reason of the supply of proper remedies being completely exhausted, so that the agency dispensary presents only a beggarly array of empty shelves and the good resulting from the successful practice is more than overcome by reiterated refusals to render medical aid.

Many people were dying for lack of medical supplies and Miles appealed again and again to Washington for aid. Since it contained no medicine to supply the sick, the dispensary closed its doors.²⁴ One-half of the Indians suffered from malaria but the total number of deaths was not known though forty-one Indians died during the winter of 1877-78.²⁵ An Arapaho chief, Powder-Face, testified that the children of his tribe had been well when they were farther west, but now they always seemed to be sick. Ample medical supplies arrived in January, 1879, three months after the Cheyennes had decided to seek death by the bullet instead of the malaria germ. They did not know how to face the germ for it was new to them, but the whine of the bullet was an old story.

It was apparent that the obligations of the Treaty of 1868 had not been fulfilled. Each male person was promised a suit of good substantial clothing but never saw it. Each woman was to receive a flannel skirt, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestic. They did not receive these articles but did obtain their equivalent. The sum of five hundred dollars was to be given in presents to those who excelled in agriculture but Miles did not think that anyone deserved a prize.²⁶ Each "roaming" Indian was promised ten dollars and each Indian engaged in agriculture was to receive twenty dollars. These sums of money were not given to the Indians either in whole or in part. Each Indian was promised a good cow and a well-broken pair of American oxen when he commenced farming, but this was another broken promise. A few tried to farm but were discouraged due to lack of proper equipment.

During the summer of 1878, Miles withheld coffee and sugar from the Northern Cheyennes under the authority of the Interior Department (circulars of March 1, 1878 and April 15, 1878). Ac-

²³ *Ibid.*, *Monthly Report*, July 1, 1878, 295.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 296.

²⁵ Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 385.

²⁶ *Senate Report* No. 708, 18.



Commissary Building and trading stores at Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency, Darlington, Indian Territory. Train of freighters unloading. This spot was the center of Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation activities, 1880.

According to Miles the Northern Cheyennes would not work or try to do anything that could be construed as labor. He did not think too highly of the regulation for it made the Indians discontented. When events came to a climax and revolt brewed, Miles abandoned the regulation.²⁷

Whirlwind, a Southern Cheyenne leader, presented his many complaints to the agent. Some Indians wanted to farm and only a small portion received plows and farming implements for the agent explained to Whirlwind that the supply had been exhausted. He wanted to make a shirt so he asked for an issue of calico and was given a piece the size of a handkerchief. Whirlwind wanted ammunition to kill antelope and fill the three meatless days of the week but the Government would not allow him to buy any ammunition; thus, his rations were always short.²⁸

The entire Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency at Darlington, I. T., had one instructor in farming. He did his best but the Indians showed little interest in agriculture. Many regarded farming as a woman's job. The Northern Cheyennes had been shooting at Custer in June, 1876, and the Indian Bureau expected them to be expert farmers by June, 1878.

Tents were a good place where one could brood—Achilles probably was the first famous person to brood in a tent. The Northern Cheyennes, like Achilles, had much to worry about in their tepees. Many of them had told the Southern Cheyennes that they had come to Oklahoma only as a trial and if they did not like the place, they were going back to Montana. Dull Knife, Little Wolf and Wild Hog saw the many troubles that engulfed them. Their neighbors were not friendly and the amount of food was so small that slow starvation ensued. The United States Government had not kept its treaty obligations. People were dying from strange diseases which their medicine man could not cure and the agency doctor was not able to cure for lack of medicine. They had been well and happy in Montana; only death and despair gripped the Indian Territory. It was better to die on the way home than in this place; the Northern Cheyennes began to plan for the journey to that place where they had known only happiness—where people were well fed and died only of old age.

All did not want to take the long journey. Standing Elk and many others liked their neighbors and preferred the Indian Territory to an uncertain home in Montana. These people mingled with the Southern Cheyennes and used farm implements when they could be obtained.

Many horses had been taken from the northern Indians when they had arrived at Darlington and sold for the purchase of breeding

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

cattle. Now, Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes began to lose their horses. They knew Indians were stealing them for only the best ones were taken and white men stole in wholesale lots. Miles, investigating the matter, asked Dull Knife about the horses—he knew nothing.²⁹ The Indians needed more guns besides the ones obtained from Custer. They could not get any from the whites but did buy some from the Pawnees. The agency doctor gave them a small portion of medicine when the Indians told him that they were moving and needed the medicine since the doctor could not visit them so far from camp.

On September 5, 1878, the Southern Cheyennes located their stolen horses on the Cimarron and so informed the agent. They also told Miles that three Northern Cheyennes had already started north and the young men of Dull Knife's band were guarding the stolen horses.³⁰ Colonel Mizner was informed of the movement, and he sent Captain Rendlebrock with two companies of cavalry to camp within four miles of Dull Knife's village.

Miles asked the Indians to come in and be counted September 7, but they decided to wait for twenty-five men who had gone on a hunting trip. Little Wolf, Wild Hog, and Old Crow visited Miles and Colonel Mizner on September 9, and Miles threatened the Indians if they did not return to the Agency. He wanted ten men as hostages for the three who departed and if no hostages were surrendered, the Indians would not receive any rations.³¹ Little Wolf refused to give up the men. According to Little Wolf, he told Miles and Mizner that he was going back to Montana and if they wanted to fight, they should let him go some distance from the Agency for he did not want to have blood spilt around Darlington.³²

The three leaders went back to the Cheyenne camp and prepared for a quick departure. Little Wolf took the lead for he was recognized as the leader in war and Dull Knife's reputation had been won in time of peace. They decided to depart at night and to leave their tepees standing in order to mislead the nearby soldiers. The three hundred and fifty-three Northern Cheyenne Indians, including ninety-two men, one hundred and twenty women, sixty-nine boys and seventy-two girls left their encampment at ten p. m. September 9, 1878 and headed north. Some Indians, led by American Horse, did not want to leave the reservation and stayed in their tepees. The chief of the Indian police and American Horse woke Miles at three a. m. and told him the news. Colonel Mizner was informed of the Indians' departure and troops were sent after the fugitives.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 61.

³¹ Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 387.

³² *Ibid.*, 388.



GUARD MOUNT AT FORT RENO, 1887

(Courtesy of National Archives)

Like the mighty Mississippi flowing to the sea, the power of the United States Government was irresistible in its policy of Indian removal. Thousands of Indians had been moved to the Indian Territory. They had come over "trails of tears." Many had suffered from cruel treatment at the hands of government and private agencies. The Cheyennes were a tribe that had suffered and refused to suffer any longer—the Northern Cheyennes were going home.

Many traps were set for the fugitives by the Army, but Little Wolf battled his way through Oklahoma, Kansas and into Nebraska. The group divided into two bands in Nebraska and Little Wolf led his section into Montana where he surrendered to Lieutenant W. P. Clark, a trusted friend. They were allowed to stay in Montana and served as scouts in later Indian campaigns.

Dull Knife's band was captured and taken to Fort Robinson. The soldiers tried to persuade the Indians to return to the Indian Territory but Dull Knife refused, saying, "No, I am here on my own ground, and I will never go back. You may kill me here; but you cannot make me go back."³³

The baffled military men found that the Cheyennes would not return. Finally, their rations were stopped and for five days the Indians starved. After singing their death songs the Cheyennes broke out of their barracks on the fifth night and escaped. For five days the troops searched for them and on the sixth day the surviving Cheyennes were located in an old buffalo wallow. They refused to surrender and all were killed; the last three were shot when, armed with wornout knives, they charged the well equipped soldiers. Dull Knife and a few not killed or captured joined Little Wolf and were not bothered by the authorities.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E. A. Hayt, did not think the Indians had left the reservation for any just reason. The Commissioner's contention was:³⁴

It should also be considered that the government ration consisting of 3 pounds of beef (gross), $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of corn, and for every 100 rations 4 pounds of coffee, 8 pounds of sugar, and 3 pounds of beans, for every man, woman and child, is more than sufficient for the ample sustenance of any community in the United States.

A Senate committee of the 46th Congress of the United States investigated the causes of the Dull Knife raid and much of their findings have been used in this paper. The members concluded, among other points, that: the instruction in farming given to the Indians was of no value; Miles had been compelled to conform to the will and pleasure of the head of the Indian Bureau, and to gloss

³³ *Ibid.*, 403.

³⁴ *Senate Report* No. 708, 289.

over his mistakes or delinquencies with a show of approbation; and finally, "we are not living up to our obligations with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, and we should give them clearly to know by our future dealings with them that we will do them full and liberal justice."³⁵

Miles reported that some of the Northern Cheyennes were heard to say when they rode north, "We are sickly and dying here, and no one will speak our names when we are gone. We will go north at all hazards, and if we die in battle our names will be remembered and cherished by all our people."³⁶

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³⁵ *Ibid.*, XXV.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 278.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

By Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.

The object of this sketch is to furnish the Oklahoma Historical Society an outline of the history of the first medical society organized in the Indian Territory. And this will place in the record of Oklahoma a number of important facts, not now available, which may be of use to the profession or desirable to know as part of the medical culture.

Many copies of minutes and other valuable papers of the Indian Territory Medical Association have been misplaced, lost, or not returned to the Oklahoma State Medical Association. I have waited twenty years for their discovery.

On April 4, 1927, J. Y. Bryce, Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, authorized me to write the history of the Indian Territory Medical Association. After several conferences and the exchange of letters with many leading older members I wrote the article.¹ It was not satisfactory to me and I did not submit it for publication. I was granted leave and now believe it in the best interests of all concerned to complete this assignment while some facts are fresh in my mind and memory.

¹ Letter from J. Y. Bryce, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society:
Charles F. Colcord, President Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer
Thos. H. Doyle, Vice-President Jasper Sipes, President Emeritus
Phil D. Brewer, Vice-President Joseph B. Thoburn, Research Director
J. H. Bryce, Secretary

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Trustee of the State)
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

April 4, 1927

Dr. Fred S. Clinton,
Tulsa, Okla.

Dear Doctor Clinton:

Yours of the 28th ultimo received. I note what you say with reference to Indian Territory Medical Association and Indian Territory Pharmaceutical Association, and that you cannot undertake writing these articles for the immediate future, but that you will undertake to get the material together for future use. This will be entirely satisfactory and we will count on you to so furnish it.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) J. Y. BRYCE

Secretary

A letter to the writer from Dr. E. N. Wright, Olney, dated November 5, 1930, gave some notes on the history of the organization of the Indian Territory Medical Association and further stated in part: "Inasmuch as you are an old-time friend and, also, a former citizen of this country, it is gratifying to learn that you are taking a hand in the compilation of the history of Indian Territory Medical Association in such detail."

Many pioneer physicians and surgeons in the Indian Territory were well qualified, professionally, and endowed with good nature, courage, intelligence, industry and humanity. Without benefit of roads, bridges, automobiles, or comfortable means of transportation, hospitals, electric or gas lights, laboratories, trained nurses, and at times with no shelter for their patients, they carried on, rendering a fine, constructive service by providing or securing aid or relief.

These conscientious and understanding physicians came to this new world determined to develop it and perform their part as God-fearing, home-loving, patriotic citizens. Garrison has well said,² "The history of Medicine is, in fact, the history of humanity itself, with its ups and downs, its brave aspirations after truth and finality, its pathetic failures. The subject may be treated variously as a pageant, an array of books, a procession of characters, a succession of theories, an exposition of human ineptitudes, or as the very bone and marrow of cultural history." As Matthew Arnold said of the *Acta Sanctorum*, "All human life is there."

This is the first effort, so far as I know, of any attempt to present any record under the title, "The History of the Indian Territory Medical Association." This pioneer organization was the forerunner and foundation for all the regular medical associations in Oklahoma.

There are four important epochs in the history of the Indian Territory Medical Association: the initial organization,³ the first re-organization,⁴ the re-organization in conformity with the requirements of the American Medical Association,⁵ and the merging with the Oklahoma State Medical Association.⁶

From many reliable sources I have verified the accuracy of the first reported formal meeting of the Indian Territory Medical Association, organization, adoption of constitution and by-laws, elec-

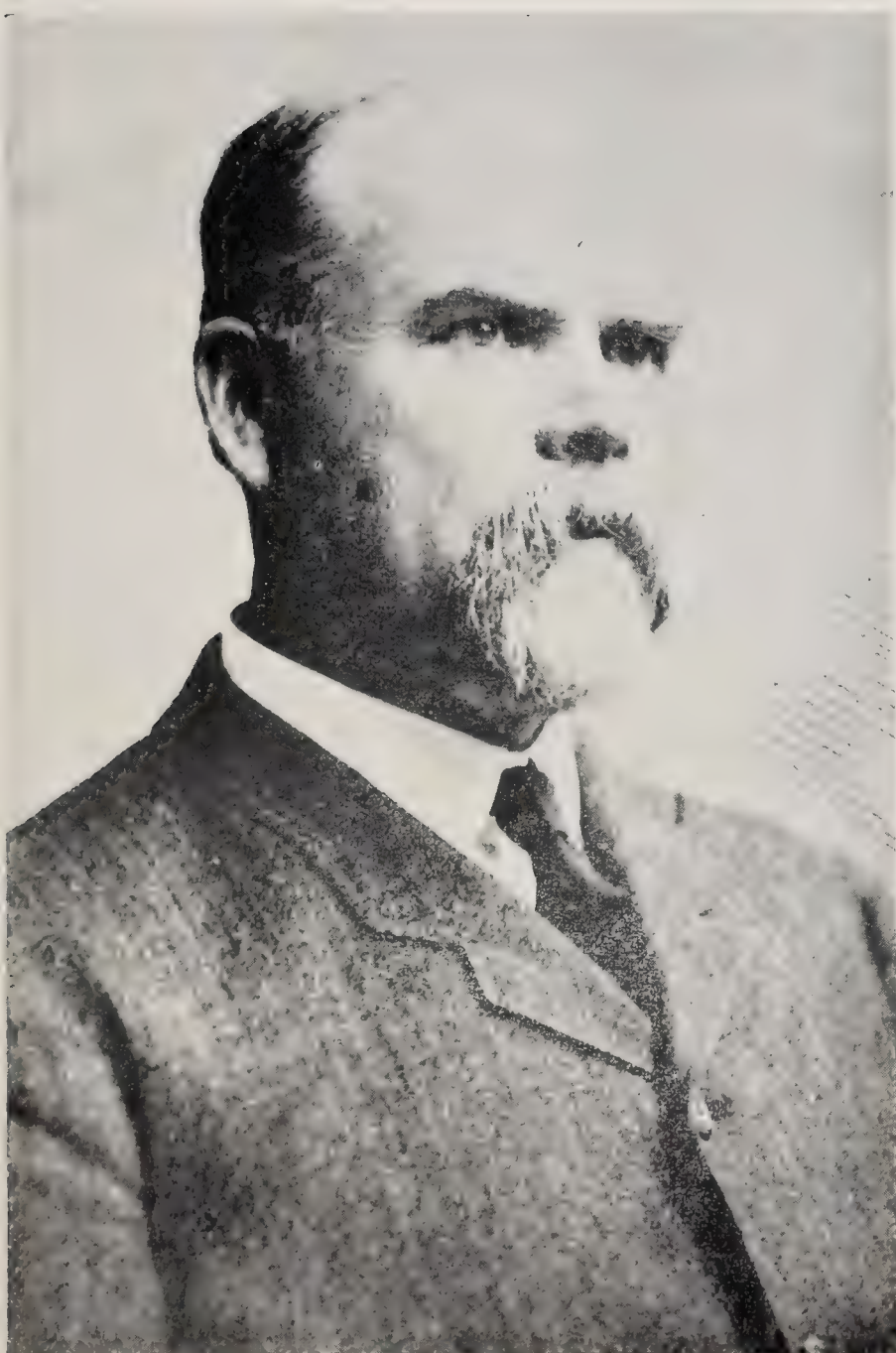
² *Introduction to the History of Medicine* by Fielding H. Garrison (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Company, 1914), p. 10.

³ See *Minutes* of convention at Muskogee, I. T., April 18, 1881, following in text of this article.

⁴ See excerpt from letter of Dr. J. L. Blakemore, Muskogee, Oklahoma, dated July 5, 1945, following in text of this article.

⁵ Covered in the body of this article.

⁶ In a meeting of the Oklahoma Territorial Medical Society at Oklahoma City on May 14-15, 1902, a new Constitution and By-Laws were adopted in which the name of the organization was designated "The Oklahoma Medical Society" (*Oklahoma Medical News Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 6 [June, 1902], p. 143). In a meeting of the Oklahoma Medical Society held at Oklahoma City on May 11, 1904, the Society was reorganized in accordance with the rules of the American Medical Association and a new Constitution and By-Laws were adopted, changing the name to the "Oklahoma State Medical Association." (*Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 6 [June, 1904] p. 147, and No. 10 [October, 1904], p. 256). These changes in the name of the Medical Society were interesting in that the organization was the first professional organization in Oklahoma to use the term "State" in its title, and that three years before statehood.—Ed.



BENJAMIN F. FORTNER, M.D.

tion of officers and adjournment.⁷ Minutes of the first meeting were as follows:⁸

MINUTES

Muskogee, I.T., April 18, 1881

At 2 P.M. a number of Medical gentlemen met pursuant to a previously circulated call for a mass convention for purpose of medical organization. The Convention was called to order by Dr. B. F. Fortner, who mentioned Dr. G. W. Cummings to the Chairmanship of the Convention, which was unanimously confirmed. The organization was completed by the election of Dr. Cutler, Vice-President, and Dr. Fortner and C. Harris as Secretaries. The chair proceeded to state the objects of the meeting by reading the original call and address appended. The chair proceeded to appoint a committee on Constitution and By-Laws consisting of B. F. Fortner, Felix McNair.

Several communications from gentlemen professionally detained at home, were read, prominently among which was one from Dr. L. M. Cravens of the Cherokee Nation for which the convention returned a vote of thanks.

Muskogee, I.T., April 19, 1881

Society convened pursuant to adjournment and were addressed by Dr. B. F. Fortner, President-Elect, reading result of Election: President B. F. Fortner, Claremore; First Vice-President, G. W. Cummings, Muskogee; Second Vice-President, Felix McNair, Locust Grove; Secretary, M. F. Williams, Muskogee; Treasurer, R. B. Howard, Fort Gibson; Librarian, E. P. Harris; Board of Censors, C. Harris, E. P. Harris, K. R. Cutler, W. T. Adair, W. H. Bailey.

There were nominated as members, Drs. S. F. Moore, Webber Falls; A. W. Foreman, Vinita; A. Y. Lane, Claremore; L. M. Cravens, Tahlequah; W. T. Adair, Tahlequah; H. Lindsey, Eufaula; as honorary member, Dr. Clegg.

After the two recorded meetings of the Indian Territory Medical Association, April 18-19, and September 14-15, 1881, a long silence ensued.⁹ Dr. Fortner, the president, returned in 1882 to Fayetteville, Arkansas, until 1884, when he removed to Vinita, Indian Ter-

⁷ See *Appendix A* for report of this meeting appearing in the *Muskogee Indian Journal*, April 21, 1881; and, also, letter from the Department of the Army, 1948, relating to notes on the history of the Indian Territory Medical Association.

⁸ Minutes of the organization meeting, transcribed and furnished by Miss Lilah B. Heck, Librarian of the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine.

⁹ See *Appendix B* for letter dated October 13, 1881, addressed to Hon. Samuel Checote, Principal Chief of the Muskogee Nation, by M. F. Williams, Secretary, The International Indian Medical Association, urging the enactment of legislation by the Council of the Creek Nation, to regulate the practice of medicine among the Creek people. Chief Checote was a Methodist minister, and performed the marriage ceremony for Miss Louise Atkins and Charles Clinton, at Okmulgee in 1873. They were the parents of Dr. Fred S. Clinton, contributor of this article on the Indian Territory Medical Association. (For the biography of Samuel Checote, see the article by O. L. Lambert in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 [September, 1926], pp. 275-80.)—Ed.

ritory.¹⁰ This absence may account for the lapse of interest during this period in the Indian Territory Medical Association, and explain the renewed activity after his return.¹¹

Dr. J. L. Blakemore, Muskogee, in active practice since 1888, informs me in letter dated July 5, 1945: "I know that Dr. B. F. Fortner of Vinita reorganized the Indian Territory Medical Association in 1888 [1889]. It had been revived in 1885 at Claremore but only for a year and died on account of no attendance, but the 1888 [1889] meeting was well attended and Dr. Fortner was made president and Dr. M. F. Williams of Muskogee, Secretary."

Whether there were meetings held and minutes not put in the book or whether the Association died, I have no way of knowing. The June 28, 1889 meeting was held in the Southern Methodist Church, Muskogee; and according to the minutes, the Indian Territory Medical Association was organized with 23 members.¹² Dr. Fortner was again elected president. Dr. J. R. Brewer (Muskogee) was elected 1st vice-president, Dr. R. A. Burr (Choteau) 2nd vice-president, Dr. J. O. Callahan, (Muskogee) secretary, and Dr. Oliver Bagby (Vinita) treasurer. The object of the organization as stated,

¹⁰ See *Appendix C* for biography of Benjamin F. Fortner, M.D.

¹¹ The following names of Medical Examiners and of Medical Advisors in the Cherokee Nation are found in *Roster of Officers Cherokee Nation*, Cherokee Vol. 283, p. 67 (for 1890) and p. 94 (for 1896), Oklahoma Historical Society Collections:

Medical Examiners C. N.			
Dec. 27—90	Dr. F. B. Fite	Northern Circuit	Muskogee I. T.
" " "	" B. F. Fortner		Vinita I. T.
" " "	" A. W. Foreman		Vinita I. T.
Dec. 27—90	Dr. Charles Harris	Southern Circuit	Muskogee I. T.
" " "	" G. A. McBride		Ft. Gibson "
" " "	" W. W. Campbell		" "
Dec. 27—90	Dr. Dick Fite	Middle Circuit	Tahlequah I. T.
" " "	" G. W. Waters		Flint I. T.
" " "	" W. T. Adair		Saline I. T.

Roster Board Medical Advisors			
March		Northern Circuit	B. F. Fortner, Vinita, I. T.
14 1896			A. M. Clinkscales, Vinita, I. T.
			J. C. Bushyhead, Claremore, I. T.
		Middle Circuit	J. M. Thompson, Tahlequah, I. T.
			R. W. Murray, Tahlequah, I. T.
			F. B. Fite, Tahlequah, I. T.
		Southern Circuit	Dr. Fite appointed Apr. 28, 1902
			D. H. Burk, Webbers Falls, I. T.
			C. Harris, Muskogee, I. T.
			J. W. Water, Stillwell, I. T.

—Ed.

¹² In a letter to the writer, dated November 26, 1947, Miss Lilah B. Heck, Librarian of the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine, stated: "I believe you have the information about the first meeting where the Association was organized and Dr. Fortner was elected president (April 19, 1881). The next meeting was held September 4, 1881, then there are no more minutes of meetings until June 28, 1889.



ELIPHALET N. WRIGHT, M.D.

was the "cultivation of fraternal relations, and the securing to ourselves, and the public, the advantages of professional association in an organized capacity."¹³

The Indian Territory Medical Association met in Muskogee on Tuesday, December 8, 1891. The program was as follows:¹⁴

Section on Practice of Medicine.—"Malarial Fever," S. A. Bryan, M.D., Wagoner, I.T.; "Malarial Haematuria," A. M. Clinkscales, M.D., Vinita, I.T.; "Some Advances in Medicine," W. B. Winn, M.D., Wichita, Kan.

Obstetrics and Gynecology.—"Ovarian Hyperaemia and Haemorrhage," J. M. Boling, M.D., Claremore, I.T.; "Complicated Pregnancy," G. A. McBride, M.D., Ft. Gibson, I.T.; "Chronic Metritis," E. N. Wright, M.D., Lehigh, I.T.

Surgery.—"A few Errors of Country Surgeons," H. B. Smith, M.D., McAlester, I.T.; "Typhlitis and Perityphlitis," G. R. Rucker, M.D., Eufaula, I.T.; "Abscess of Glands of Bartholin, with Report of Case," L. C. Tennant, M.D., McAlester, I.T.

Papers Contributed by Request.—"Obscure Obdominal Abscess, Autopsy, Report of Case," Philip Donohoo, M.D., Fairland, I.T.; "Abscess of the Middle Ear, Sequelae," B. F. Fortner, M.D., Vinita, I.T.; "Pleurisy with Effusion," F. B. Fite, M.D., Muskogee, I.T.; "Peritonitis Following Amputation of Thigh—a Case," Drs. Dawson and Ledford, Afton, I.T.

Well attended meetings with good programs were held semi-annually by the Association, including those held at South McAlester, June 4, 1895; Wagoner, June 2, 1896; Vinita, December 1, 1896; South McAlester, June 29, 1897; Muskogee, December 7, 1897; Wagoner, June 1, 1898; Wagoner, December 6, 1898; South McAlester, June 20, 1899; Wagoner, December 5, 1899; Wagoner, June 19, 1900.¹⁵

The Indian Territory Medical Association held its 24th semi-annual meeting at Muskogee, December 4, 1900, with President Leroy Long, M.D., Caddo, presiding. In his address, he recommended that plans be formulated to secure congressional legislation for the establishment of some modern methods of caring for the insane and feeble-minded and for dealing with tuberculosis. The committee (Drs. Fortner, Fite, and Wright) appointed to report

¹³ For Minutes of the meeting on June 28, 1889, see "LeRoy Long—Teacher of Medicine" by Basil A. Hayes, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December, 1942), pp. 344. This same reference, p. 345, gives a list of places and dates when meetings of the Association were held until 1895. See *Appendix D* for a report on the meeting held at Wagoner, December 7, 1889, appearing in *The Wagoner Record*.—Ed.

¹⁴ A copy of this program was received in a communication, dated December 17, 1947, from the Department of Literary Research, American College of Surgeons, taken from *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1891, Vol. 17, p. 902.

¹⁵ "LeRoy Long—Teacher of Medicine," *op. cit.*, pp. 345-51; and "The First Hospital and Training School for Nurses in the Indian Territory now Oklahoma," by Fred S. Clinton, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947), p. 218.—Ed.

on the President's address recommended:¹⁶

We, your committee on the president's address, have considered the same and recommend that a committee of three be retained and authorized to formulate plans and if possible secure congressional legislation providing for an insane asylum for the Indian Territory and a system of public health boards.

The next semi-annual meeting of the Indian Territory Medical Association was held at Vinita on June 4, 1901, when the following officers were elected: President Geo. W. West, Eufaula; Vice-presidents, Oliver Bagby, Vinita, and William A. Haley, South McAlester; Secretary-Treasurer Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa.¹⁷

The following is a report of the meeting in December, 1901:¹⁸

The Indian Territory Medical Association met at Muskogee, Indian Territory, December 3, 1901, and was called to order at 1:30 p.m., Dr. G. W. West, President. Good attendance. The splendid address of welcome was delivered by the Honorable Preston C. West. A fine welcome from the profession by Dr. F. B. Fite. Response to both addresses was made by the president, Dr. West. Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Committee on Necrology appointed as follows: Fred S. Clinton, M.D., LeRoy Long, M.D.,

Applications for membership received and referred to Committee on Credentials, Willis M. Hunter, Vian, I.T., Robert A. Lively, Durant, I.T., E. E. Chivers, Ardmore, I.T., T. S. Booth, Ardmore, I.T., Graham Street, South McAlester, I.T., Bascom J. Vance, Checotah, I.T., Floyd E. Waterfield, Holdenville, I.T., J. L. Jones, Wagoner, I.T.

McDonald resolution adopted.

President's address delivered and committee appointed to consider same, F. B. Fite, W. O. Shannon, and J. W. Hensley.

Invitation to informal reception at Elks' Hall to the Indian Territory Medical Association by Dr. F. B. Fite and wife, Dec. 3, 1901, 8 to 11, accepted.

Committee on president's address reported favorably on all points in reference to laws governing the practice of medicine proceeding from Washington. Agreed to have secretary prepare synopsis for publication in the American Medical Association Journal.

E. E. Chivers and T. S. Booth, elected delegates by the Chickasaw Medical Association were seated, see report.

Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, absent.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 352. The committee appointed under this recommendation consisted of B. F. Fortner, M.D. Vinita; Fred S. Clinton, M.D., Tulsa; J. S. Fulton, M.D., Atoka. See *Appendix E* for a press report of this meeting, from *The Wagoner Record*, June 21, 1900.—Ed.

¹⁷ The meetings of the Association from 1899 to 1901 were also reported in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*: 1899 in Vol. 34, p. 902; 1900 in Vol. 35, p. 1646; 1901 in Vol. 36, pp. 1575 and 1799.

¹⁸ See *Appendix F* for press reports of meetings of the Indian Territory Medical Association held at Vinita on June 4, 1901, and at South McAlester on June 3, 1902.

Ophthalmia Neonatarium, G. E. Hartshorne, M.D., South McAlester, discussed by Dr. T. S. Booth and F. B. Fite. Numbers 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, absent.

Section on Practice, Address in Medicine:

Morphinism and Treatment by V. Berry, M.D., read by the secretary and discussed by J. L. Blakemore, M.D., and J. L. Jones, M.D.

Puerperal Eclampsia by J. L. Jones, M.D., received and discussed by M. E. Thompson, M.D., W. O. Shannon, G. E. Hartshorne, M.D., Bascom J. Vance, M.D.,

Motion carried to adjourn to 9 A.M., December 4, 1901.

Indian Territory Medical Association called to order, Muskogee, I.T., December 4, 1901, 9 A.M., by Doctor George W. West, President.

LeRoy Long, M.D., delivered the address in Surgery, on the subject, Emergency Surgery. He reviewed the progress in that line and more particularly the recognition of and prompt treatment of shock. Address was received and discussed by Dr. R. J. Crabill, Dr. B. F. Fortner, and Dr. Fred S. Clinton.

Numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, absent. "Conservatism, True and False," by David Gardner, M.D., discussed by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., L. C. Tennant, M.D., R. J. Crabill, M.D., James S. Fulton, M.D., LeRoy Long, M.D., B. F. Fortner, M.D., B. D. Woodson, M.D., and T. S. Booth, M.D. Paper, "Mastoid Disease," by H. Moulton, M.D., Discussed by W. B. Pigg, M.D., G. E. Hartshorn, M.D., Dr. B. D. Woodson, M.D., B. F. Fortner, M.D.

Indian Territory Medical Association adjourned to meet 2 p.m. December 4, 1901,

Association meeting called to order 2 P.M., 12-4-1901, by president.

Rules suspended and Committee Reports received.

Committee on Program reported as follows:

Practice, Dr. C. D. Frick, Chairman, Dr. Geo. R. Rucker, Dr. F. M. Duckworth.

Surgery, Dr. Oliver Bagby, Chairman, Dr. R. I. Bond, Dr. David Gardner.

Obstetrics and Gynecology, Dr. J. L. Blakemore, Chairman, Dr. G. A. McBride, Dr. V. Berry.

Muskogee, I.T., Dec. 4, 1901. To the Indian Territory Medical Association. We, your committee on program, beg leave to submit report attached herewith.

Fraternally submitted,
LeRoy Long, W. B. Pigg.

Muskogee, I.T., Dec. 4, 1901. To the Indian Territory Medical Association. We, your committee on credentials, beg leave to report favorably on the applications of Dr. James A. Patton, Dr. Geo. W. Bell, Dr. James L. Shuler, Dr. A. M. Coates, Dr. F. M. Wormington and Dr. W. E. Thomason, and ask for further time on the applications of Dr. John L. Stephens, Dr. H. Gabeen, Dr. J. G. Adams, Dr. J. Donohoo and Dr. S. J. Fuller, because of incomplete information furnished.

Respectfully submitted,
B. F. Fortner, Chairman
LeRoy Long.

A paper by Dr. Graham Street (subject not recorded) discussed by Dr. B. F. Fortner, Dr. D. B. Woodson, and Dr. Fred S. Clinton. Head Injuries of Children was discussed thoroughly by Dr. B. F. Fortner. An address were delivered on gynecology and obstetrics, author not mentioned, and discussion not recorded, carried on by Dr. Louis C. Tennant, Dr. LeRoy Long, Dr. J. L. Jones, and Dr. W. B. Pigg. The following towns were placed in nomination for next meeting: Vinita, South McAlester, Durant, Checotah, South McAlester won.

Resolutions of appreciation as follows passed:

Be It Resolved by members of the Indian Territory Medical Association we tender our thanks and express our appreciation to Dr. and Mrs. F. B. Fite and the citizens of Muskogee for the elegant reception and entertainment extended to us and that we will cherish the happy memory of their kindnesses and wish them all health, prosperity and happiness.

Adjourned to meet at South McAlester, June 3-4-1902.

I do not know what changes have been made in the written regulations for conduct of the Medical Association during the last half century of experience but they should be made clear, concise, and just as comprehensive.

At the regular meeting of the Indian Territory Medical Association held at Muskogee, December 3 and 4, 1901, I introduced the following resolution at 2:00 p.m., December 4, 1901:

"Be it resolved that the Indian Territory Medical Association be re-organized in accordance with the general plan suggested by the American Medical Association and that the constitution and by-laws be so changed as to conform to this progressive and systematic method of organization, and that a committee of three be appointed by the president to draft the same and present to the next regular meeting such articles."

Fred S. Clinton.

The resolution was passed without dissenting vote, and the following committee was appointed: Fred S. Clinton, M.D., B. F. Fortner, M.D., LeRoy Long, M.D.

The Journal of the American Medical Association, 1902, (Vol. 39, p. 444,) reported: "Indian Territory Medical Association: At the twenty-seventh semi-annual meeting of this Association at South McAlester, June 3 and 4, the most important business of the session was reorganization in conformity with the recommendations of the American Medical Association."

At the request of the other members of the Committee, I prepared the ten-page report. We then revised it as shown on the carbon copy of the original which has been in my possession since adoption by the Indian Territory Medical Association in June, 1902.¹⁹

¹⁹ This comprehensive provision for most, if not all, needs of planned organization is too long to include in this article on the History of the Indian Territory Medical Association so I have had photostatic copies made and have deposited these in the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A condensed report of three paragraphs apparently based on our full report regarding the revision to meet the requirements of the American Medical Association has been sent me by Mr. Dick Graham, Executive Secretary, Oklahoma State Medical Association, as follows:

METHOD OF ORGANIZATION OF DISTRICT MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS

Section one: It shall be the privilege of the members of the medical profession residing in any district of this Territory in which there is no District Association to organize a District Medical Association; provided that public notice of the meeting for that purpose be given, and that all non-sectarian physicians in good standing residing in the District be invited to join therein. Such association may elect its own officers and adopt any bylaws or set of rules for its government that do not contravene those of this association. In any district where no association exists the members of the profession may have the privilege of uniting with the Association of an adjoining district, which active membership shall continue only during the time that no organized Association exists in the district in which such physician resides. If, however, it is more convenient for one physician residing in one district to attend the meetings of an adjoining district, he may become an active member of such Association.

Section two: No one shall be eligible to membership in a district association who is not a regular graduate of a medical college recognized by the American Medical Association and a legal practitioner. Any such practitioner of good moral character and standing, who is willing to subscribe to the code of ethics of the American Medical Association shall be eligible as a candidate for membership in the district association of the district in which he or she, resides, without restriction as to time of graduation or time of residence in the country other than ample time to allow investigation of his character and standing provided that no Negro shall be eligible to membership.

Section three: Any physician previously expelled or refused membership in the Territorial Association or who resigned therefrom cannot be admitted to membership in the District Association or reinstated except by written application, vouched for by two members in good standing, which must lay over at least one meeting and receive the unanimous vote of all members present. When a member resigns, or is expelled or is suspended from his District Association his relations with the Indian Territory Medical Association shall cease.

Fred S. Clinton
B. F. Fortner
LeRoy Long

This is an opportunity to pay homage to a few of the rugged pioneers who blazed the trail in this new empire of first impressions. These sturdy men of medicine, braved all inclement weather over bad roads, or lonesome trails, day or night, to personally examine and minister to their patients. They had no thought for their individual convenience, comfort or fear of exposure or fatigue when called to render professional service to one in need.

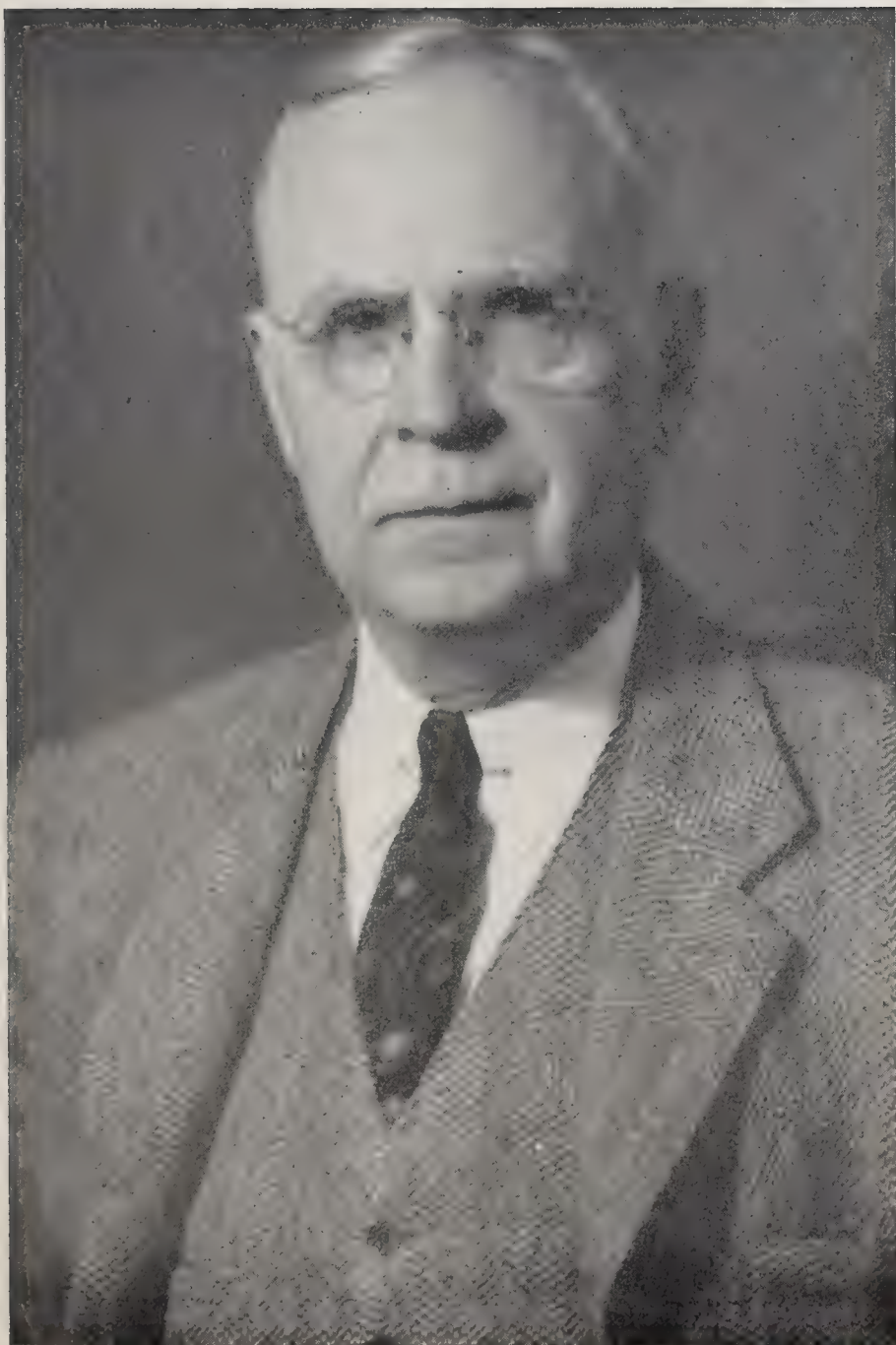
These men were leaders. They had training, improvement, and refinement of mind, morals, and taste. This enlightenment could

be and usually was a blessing and friendly helper in whatever community one of these distinguished doctors resided.

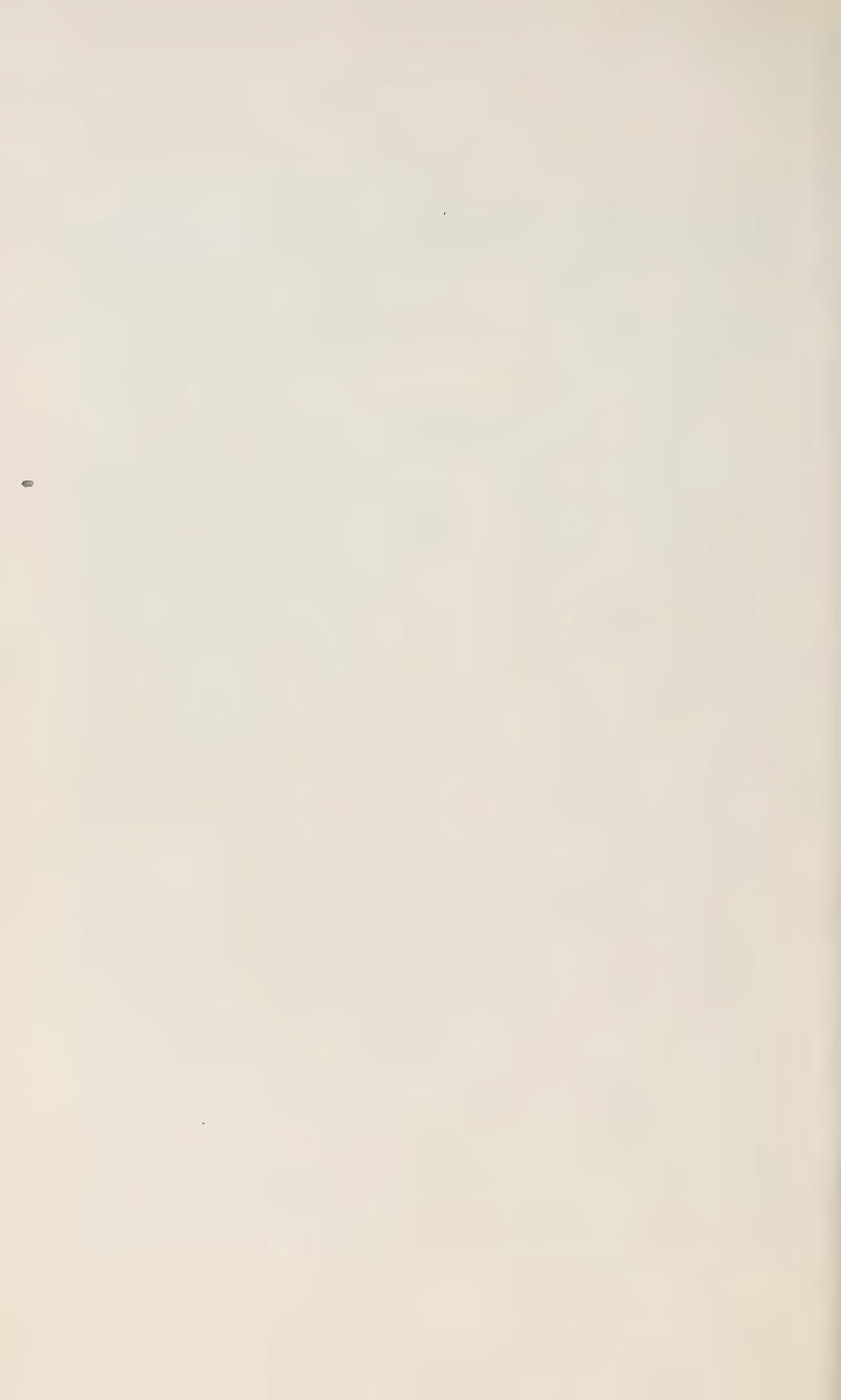
Many of the physicians and surgeons I have known since my first visit to the Indian Territory Medical Association meeting at South McAlester in 1895 have qualified as leaders in establishing rational medicine in this territory,²⁰ by precept, example and practice: Benjamin F. Fortner, Vinita; E. N. Wright, Olney; J. C. W. Bland, Red Fork-Tulsa; E. N. Allen, South McAlester; Oliver Bagby, Vinita; Jesse L. Blakemore, Muskogee; Francis B. Fite, Muskogee; M. F. Williams, Muskogee; LeRoy Long, Caddo; Richard L. Fite, Tahlequah; Robert A. Munn, South McAlester; Geo. E. Hartshorne, South McAlester; J. F. Park, South McAlester; Thomas S. Booth, Ardmore; Walter Hardy, Ardmore; James S. Fulton, Atoke; Bascom J. Vance, Checotah; W. A. Howard, Chelsea; W. A. Tolleson, Eufaula; Geo. W. West, Eufaula; Leo E. Bennett, Eufaula; J. O. Callahan, Muskogee; Claude A. Thompson, Muskogee; Milton K. Thompson, Muskogee; William L. McWilliams, Miami; Frank L. Wormington, Miami; J. Hutchins White, Muskogee; E. Pleas, Oologah; Geo. W. Tilly, Pryor; R. V. Smith, Tulsa; Fred Y. Cronk, Tulsa; N. W. Mayginnis, Tulsa; C. P. Linn, Tulsa; L. S. Willour, South McAlester; A. M. Clinkscales, Vinita; Louis Bagby, Vinita; James D. Brazeel, Wagoner; Isabel Cobb, Wagoner; Virgil Berry, Wetumka; Thomas J. Long, Atoka; Hugh Scott, Holdenville; Geo. A. Kilpatrick, Wilburton; Frederick P. Von Keller, Ardmore; E. H. Troy, McAlester; William H. Cleckler, Wilburton; David Gardener, Lehigh; William T. Gardener, Ardmore; Alfred Griffith, South McAlester; Graham Street, South McAlester; F. E. Waterfield, Holdenville; R. J. Crabill, McAlester; C. D. Frick, McAlester; A. E. Davenport, Tishomingo; T. W. Stallings, Tulsa; J. C. Robinson, Krebs; Louis C. Tennant, McAlester; A. W. Foreman, Vinita; James M. Boling, Claremore; Joseph M. Thompson, Tahlequah; R. I. Bond, Hartshorne; L. Haynes Buxton, Oklahoma City; J. B. Rolater, Oklahoma City; Lewis J. Moorman (friend, teacher, and author), Oklahoma City, and many others who have given their lives to the profession.²¹

²⁰ "The First Hospital and Training School for Nurses in the Indian Territory now Oklahoma," *op. cit.*, p. 218.

²¹ Lewis Jefferson Moorman, Physician, is a native of Kentucky. He graduated (M.D.) from the University of Louisville in 1901; and did post graduate work in New York Polyclinic Medical School, in 1903, and in the University of Vienna, in 1909. He came to Oklahoma and began practice at Jet in 1901. He moved to Oklahoma City, in 1907, which is still his home. He is the founder (1923) and medical director of the Moorman Farm Sanatorium, Oklahoma City; and has served as professor of medicine, University of Oklahoma, 1926-35, and as dean of School of Medicine, 1931-35. He is a member of the Oklahoma State Medical Association (President, 1920, and Secretary-Treasurer since 1941) and other state and county medical societies, as well as national and regional medical societies, in many of which he has held office including that of president. He has been a member of the Board of Directors of the National Tuberculosis Society since 1920 (also, Vice-President 1932; President-elect, 1942-43; and President, 1943-44). He is Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal*, Oklahoma State Medical Association; Editor of the *Bulletin*,



LEWIS J. MOORMAN, M.D.



The Indian Territory Medical Association convened at South McAlester, June 3, 1902, and was called to order, 10:30 a.m., by the president, Dr. Geo. W. West, of Eufaula, I.T. Invocation was given. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved. Motion to adjourn session to meet 2:30 p.m., June 3, 1902, prevailed. In response to inquiry the secretary answered that favorable report had been made on applications of Dr. W. H. Horine, and Dr. G. E. Hartshorne, and more time requested on Dr. R. S. Miller.

The Indian Territory Medical Association met at South McAlester, June 3, 1902, 2:30 p.m., with President West presiding. The address of welcome by Honorable Fielding Lewis, Mayor of South McAlester, made the members feel thrice welcome and the eloquent response by Dr. LeRoy Long was thrilling.

Dr. Geo. W. West, the president, delivered the annual address. The committee consisting of Doctors E. N. Allen, David Gardener, and V. Berry, was appointed to consider and made appropriate recommendations. The committee's report was received and placed with the records, and the committee discharged. The Committee on Necrology was given further time. The Committee on Reorganization, time extended. Papers by Dr. R. J. Crabill, Medical Examining Boards, discussed by D. Gardner, V. Berry, R. I. Bond, W. B. Pigg, J. S. Fulton, LeRoy Long, E. N. Allen, David Gardner, I. P. Gunby, Sherman, Texas, W. H. Cleckler, Wilburton, St. Cloud Cooper, Fort Smith, Ark., Discussion closed by R. J. Craybill. Motion to adjourn carried to meet at 9 p.m. at the banquet Hall.

On June 4, 1902, the president, Dr. Geo. W. West, called the Indian Territory Medical Association to order, and proceeded with the program:

Paper entitled "Pelvic Abscess", by Dr. V. Berry, Wetumka; Discussion by Dr. B. F. Fortner, Dr. Andrew L. Fulton, Kansas City, Mo., Dr. St. Cloud Cooper, Fort Smith, Ark., Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa.

Septic Infection, paper by Dr. David Gardener, Lehigh, received and discussed by Dr. B. L. Applewhite, Tecumseh, and Dr. A. L. Fulton, of Kansas City, Mo.,

Report of Committee on Credentials, see report.

Motion Carried to suspend regular order of business and proceed with election of officers.

Dr. David Gardner of Lehigh, I.T., nominated Dr. Fred S. Clinton, of Tulsa, for president. No other nominations presented. Motion prevailed to close the nominations and elect by acclamation. First vice-president, Dr. Charles D. Frick, South McAlester, elected by acclamation. Second

Oklahoma County Medical Society; and a member of the Editorial Board of the *American Review of Tuberculosis* (official organ of the American Trudeau Society). He is a contributor of scientific and philosophical articles to national and state publications, and is the author of *Tuberculosis and Genius* published in book form in 1940.—Ed.

vice-president W. O. Shannon, Durant, and Dr. R. J. Crabill, McAlester, Secretary and Treasurer, elected.

Nomination of E. N. Allen and LeRoy Long as member of the Judicial Council. Ballot spread and resulted in election of LeRoy Long of Caddo, term expires 1906.

Motion prevailed to adjourn till 3 p.m.

Indian Territory Medical Association called to order by Pres. Geo. W. West, 3 P.M., June 4, 1902.

Report from Committee on Program; Practice, Dr. J. S. Fulton, Atoka, Obstetrics and Gynecology, Dr. David Gardner, Lehigh, Surgery, Dr. I. P. Gunby, Sherman, Texas, Pediatrics, Dr. W. A. Tolleson, Eufaula.

B. F. Fortner, E. N. Allen, W. C. Graves, Committee on Credentials, B. F. Fortner, LeRoy Long, W. A. Tolleson. Report adopted and Committee continued.

Resolution adopted that the initiation fee annual dues to the Indian Territory Medical Association be two dollars. Committee on resolutions of appreciation: B. F. Fortner and Fred S. Clinton.

Resolutions of appreciation adopted by the Indian Territory Medical Association at the close of a most pleasant and profitable meeting in McAlester, Ind. Ter., June 3 and 4, 1902.

In view of the gracious hospitality and splendid welcome and co-operation by the medical profession and other citizens, therefore be it resolved by the members of the Indian Territory Medical Association in attendance at the 27th semi-annual session in South McAlester, that we express our enjoyment. We feel especially indebted to Doctors E. N. Allen, T. S. Chapman, W. E. Graves, Charles D. Frick, and other local members for many assists and especial attention toward securing from the Elks a meeting place for the Indian Territory Medical Association.

Committee

B. F. Fortner

Fred S. Clinton

South McAlester, I.T., June 3, 4, 1902.

Much has been said about the loss of the minutes and possibly other records. I have the notes from which my minutes were written, while I was secretary in 1901-2. All documents and records were turned over to my successor. I kept a carbon copy of reorganization revision, my printed address as president and copy of written report as delegate to the American Medical Association. I also have copies of most all correspondence in my files and of papers written and formal speeches delivered.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Indian Territory Medical Association met June 7, 1904, at Holdenville, Indian Territory, and the following officers were elected: President E. N. Wright, M.D., Olney; 1st Vice-president H. P. Wilson, M.D., Wynnewood; 2nd Vice-president F. L. Watson, M.D., Alderson; Secretary-

treasurer R. J. Crabill, M.D., South McAlester.²² In the election of Dr. E. N. Wright, of Olney, as President, the Association chose a citizen of the Choctaw Nation well known as a physician and surgeon in the Territory, who had a wide acquaintance in the eastern states.²³ His address before the Association in its annual meeting at Tulsa, 1905, marked a milestone in the history of the organization when he urged the union of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma medical societies to strengthen the standing and work of the medical pro-

²² See *Holdenville Times*, May 20, 1904 (p. 5, col. 3) and June 10, 1904 (p. 1, cols. 5 & 6) for notice of preparations and for press report of the meeting, respectively. Trains were late owing to heavy rains and floods and Dr. J. W. Gilbert of Roff called the meeting to order. Address of welcome was given by W. T. McConnell, Cashier of the National Bank of Commerce, Holdenville; Dr. S. M. Benepe gave the welcome for the local profession; and Dr. B. F. Fortner gave the response. An interesting program including a featured lecture on surgery by Dr. R. M. Schauffler, Kansas City, and a banquet in the evening was attended by the visiting physicians and surgeons and all Holdenville, "the old, the young, the great, the small." Physicians and surgeons attending the meeting included R. J. Crabill, W. G. Ramsey, G. E. Hartshorne, W. B. Pigg, J. E. Little, South McAlester; M. D. Taylor, Mounds; B. S. Zachary, Howe; A. H. Culp, Beggs; C. A. Skeen, Wapanucka; H. P. Wilson, Mill Creek; J. H. Simmons and J. W. Shelton, Wynnewood; H. D. Fillmore, Randolph; J. W. Gilbert, Roff; Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa; J. M. Lemons, Okmulgee; E. F. Davis, Oklahoma City; B. W. Caldwell, Hugo; E. N. Wright, Olney; J. C. Bushyhead, Claremore; J. C. W. Bland, Red Fork; B. F. Fortner, Vinita; W. L. McWilliams, Miami; W. A. Tolleson, Eufaula; T. J. Cagle and V. Berry, Wetumka; A. L. Fulton and R. M. Schauffler, Kansas City; W. C. Griffith, Weleetka; A. L. Anderson, Wilburton; J. R. Runyan, Ada; F. L. Watson, Alderson; R. K. Pemberton, Krebs; George W. West, Eufaula; W. E. Dixon, Wewoka; S. M. Rickey, Francis; R. P. Bond, Hartshorne. The Holdenville physicians reported were J. N. Proctor, J. D. Scott, A. M. Bulls, G. R. Eckles, H. A. Howell, F. E. Watterfield, C. P. Linn, S. M. Benepe, U. N. Melette, L. Hibbard, J. W. Long, H. C. Way.—Ed.

²³ E. N. Wright, M. D., was born in the Choctaw Nation on April 3, 1858, the eldest son of the Rev. Allen and Harriet (Mitchell) Wright. He attended Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., and graduated (M.D.) from Albany Medical College, N. Y., in 1884. He took a post-graduate course in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, in 1894-95. Just after his return to his home at Boggy Depot, Choctaw Nation, he visited the annual session of the Choctaw General Council where he furthered the passage of "An Act to Regulate the Practice of Medicine in the Choctaw Nation," approved on October 29, 1884, by Edmund McCurtain, Principal Chief. Dr. Wright served on the first Medical Board in the Choctaw Nation with Dr. L. C. Tennant, of McAlester, in 1885. At this time, he was practicing at Lehigh, as chief surgeon and physician of the Missouri-Pacific coal mines. In the summer of 1895, he located his practice at Atoka, and in 1901, moved to his farm and ranch near Olney where he made his home until shortly before his death on January 8, 1932. In a tribute to his memory, a friend stated in part (Dr. L. S. Willour, of McAlester, in *Journal of the Oklahoma Medical Association*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, pp. 85-6): "Alert to the latest developments in medicine, trained in methods of diagnosis, thorough yet conservative in treatment, he stood in this new country a tower of strength among his professional brethren." For biography see "A Brief Review of the Life of Doctor Eliphalet Nott Wright" by Muriel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 2 (June, 1932), pp. 267-86. (N. B. On p. 273 [*Chronicles*, June, 1932], "1903" as the date of Dr. Wright's election as president of the Indian Territory Medical Association should read "1904," and "June 20, 1904" should read "June 20, 1905," the date of his address before the Association at Tulsa.)—Ed.

fession in the promised state of Oklahoma.²⁴ *The Oklahoma Medical Journal* for July, 1905 (Vol. XIII, No. 7, pp. 182-3) presented the following editorial concerning this meeting:

MEETING OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY ASSOCIATION.

The Indian Territory Medical association held its twenty-fifth annual meeting at Tulsa, June 20, 21 and 22. This was one of the best meetings in its history. An excellent program was rendered, and the papers unusually good. The president's address, by Dr. E. N. Wright of Olney, I.T., was of unusual interest as he called attention to the laws of the territory being inadequate, and stated that the society was not in a transitory state—as the two territories—Oklahoma and Indian Territory—were promised joint statehood about March, 1906. He urged the two societies of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to consolidate their efforts in preparing suitable laws and getting them adopted.

A committee was appointed to report on the president's address and the following members were selected, Drs. B. F. Fortner, of Vinita; R. H. Harper, of Afton; M. K. Thompson, of Muskogee; J. S. Fulton, of Atoka; J. M. Pemberton, of Weleetka and J. R. Phelan, of Oklahoma City, was asked to meet with the committee, as the report was to involve matters of interest to both territories. The committee endorsed the president's address, and suggested the appointing of a committee of five to confer with a like committee to be appointed by the Oklahoma State Medical Society, to formulate plans looking to the ultimate consolidation of both territorial medical societies. As the laws of both territories are inadequate, it will be well to take time by the forelock and draw up such laws as will be required for the new state, and urge the election of such legislators as will favor such laws, in regardless of political party.

The committee appointed in June to lay plans for the ultimate consolidation of the two territorial societies met with a similar committee of the "Oklahoma State Medical Society"²⁵ on July 12, and planned a joint meeting of the two societies to be held in Oklahoma City, the second Tuesday in May, 1906. This meeting was held at Oklahoma City, called to order by the President V. Berry, of Wetumka, on May 7-9, 1906, when the amalgamation of the physicians of Oklahoma and Indian Territory perfected the organization henceforth known as the "Oklahoma State Medical Association."²⁶ Officers elected were: President, Dr. B. F. Fortner, Vinita; Vice-Presidents (in order), Dr. M. A. Kelso, Enid, Dr. W. C. Bradford, Shawnee, Dr. Floyd E. Waterfield, Holdenville; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. E. O. Barker, Guthrie. Delegates selected to the

²⁴ Full text of this address appears as *Appendix G*.

²⁵ See *Appendix H* for report on the organization meeting of the Oklahoma Territorial Medical Society, 1893.

²⁶ For the program of the Oklahoma and Indian Territory medical associations, in joint session, in Oklahoma City, May 7 to 9, 1906, see *Oklahoma Medical News-Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (April, 1906), pp. 110-12. See *Appendix I* for medical news and reports in Oklahoma and Indian Territories, in 1906, appearing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, and for list of presidents of the Indian Territory Medical Association.—Ed.



FRED S. CLINTON, M.D.

American Medical Association were Dr. Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa,²⁷ and Dr. J. A. Hatchett, El Reno. Delegates selected for the next two years to the American Medical Association were Dr. V. Berry, Wetumka, and Dr. A. K. West, Oklahoma City. Councilors, whose duties were the same as organizers, for the new organization were selected. For the one year term were: Dr. A. L. Blesh, Guthrie; Dr. LeRoy Long, South McAlester; Dr. F. W. Duckworth, Claremore. For the two year term were: Dr. B. J. Vance, Checotah; Dr. E. N. Wright, Olney; Dr. Ney Neil, Mangum. For the three year term were: Dr. H. P. Wilson, Wynnewood; Dr. E. S. Lane, Weatherford.

An editorial in the *Oklahoma Medical News-Journal*, June, 1906 (Vol. XIV, No. 6, pp. 130-32), commented upon the new association, the strength and ability of its members, and the future of the organization as follows (in part):²⁸

THE ASSOCIATION MEETING.

The Medical Profession of Oklahoma and Indian Territory are to be congratulated upon the harmonious and successful amalgamation of the two Societies in to one compact and powerful association, which was accomplished at the last meeting of the two Societies in joint session in Oklahoma City. In accordance with the law of evolution, which is but another name for progress, the general tendency has always been from the simple to the complex, from individualism to association, and from the smaller unit to the larger. When we work in harmony with this idea, we align ourselves with the forces of nature and success is sure to be the outcome. . . . There is no doubt that the recent meeting was one of the most important if not the most important, that has ever been held in these two territories. It has marked an epoch in the history of medicine in the new state that is to be.

²⁷ As the last delegate from the Indian Territory Medical Association, and one of the first delegates from the Oklahoma State Medical Association to the American Medical Association, I attended the meeting in Boston, June 5 to 8, 1906.

I was most fortunate to have as traveling companions my wife, Mrs. Fred S. Clinton, Dr. B. F. Fortner, President of Oklahoma State Medical Association, and Dr. Thomas E. Potter, Professor of Surgery, Central Medical College, St. Joseph, Missouri. This congenial group joined the Missouri Valley Medical Association Special Train via Canada, under the management of Dr. Charles Wood Fassett, Editor of the *Kansas City Medical Index Lancet*.

We visited St. Louis, Chicago, Toronto, and went by boat on the St. Lawrence to Kingston, Montreal and Quebec, then by train through the Green Mountains to Boston. After the meeting we journeyed by boat to New York, and while Mrs. Clinton rested and visited the shops, we were guests of Dr. Arpad G. Gerster, Clinic at Mt. Sinai Hospital, and of Dr. Virgil P. Gibney, Surgeon in Chief, Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled, attending several excellent clinics. Then home safely.

²⁸ See *Appendix J* and *Appendix K* for reference and source material in the compilation of this article; also, *Appendix L* for historical notes on the Epworth College of Medicine, Oklahoma City.

APPENDIX A

Reference: *Muskogee Indian Journal*, April 21, 1881, p. 5, col. 2, in Newspaper Department, Oklahoma Historical Society.

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Muskogee, I.T., April 18, 1881.—At 2 P.M. a number of medical gentlemen met, pursuant to a circulated call, for a mass convention for the purpose of medical organization. The convention was called to order by Dr. B. F. Fortner, who nominated Dr. G. W. Cummings as chairman. The organization was completed by the election of Dr. Cutler as Vice-President, and Drs. Chas. Harris and B. F. Fortner as secretaries. The object of the meeting was presented by the chair, and committee appointed to draft Constitution and By-Laws. Adjourned till 9 a.m., April 19.

Muskogee, April 19, 1881. Convention met pursuant to adjournment, when the Constitution and By-Laws were adopted. The following officers were elected for one year, viz.:

President, B. F. Fortner.

Vice-Presidents—G. W. Cummings, F. McNair.

Secretary—M. F. Williams

Treasurer—R. B. Howard.

Librarian—E. P. Harris

Board of Censors—C. Harris, E. P. Harris, K. R. Cutler, W. T. Adair, W. H. Bailey.

Members Enrolled: B. F. Fortner, Claremore; R. O. Trent, Ft. Gibson; R. B. Howard, Ft. Gibson; E. Poe Harris, Savanna; K. R. Cutler, Okmulgee; W. H. Bailey, Eufaula; F. H. McNair, Cherokee Orphan Asylum; G. W. Cummings, M. F. Williams, Charles Harris, Muskogee.

Members Absent: S. F. Moore, Webbers Falls; A. J. Lane, Claremore; A. W. Foreman, Vinita; L. M. Cravens, Tahlequah; W. T. Adair, Tahlequah; E. B. Frazier, Vinita.

Honorary: J. T. Clegg, Sylvanus Spring, Ark.; T. R. Quarles Southwest City, Mo.; Wm. Yates, Cincinnati, Ark.; J. R. Southwest, M.D., D.D.S., Ark.

Papers on medical subjects were presented by Dr. L. M. Cravens and Dr. J. T. Clegg, which were read by the Secretary, and a vote of thanks extended to the authors.

Several interesting discussions took place on cases presented by the members.

The Association adopted the Code of Ethics of the American Medical Association as their guide:

"As good citizens, it is the duty of physicians to be ever vigilant for the welfare of the community, and to bear their part in sustaining its institutions and burdens; they should also be ever ready to give counsel to the public in relation to matters especially pertaining to their profession, as on subjects of medical police, public hygiene and legal medicine. It is their province to enlighten the public in regard to quarantine regulations, the location, arrangement and dietaries of hospitals, asylums, schools, prisons, and other similar institutions; in relation to medical police of towns, as drainage ventilation, etc., and in regard to measures for prevention of epidemic and contagious diseases, and when pestilence prevails, it

is their duty to face the danger and to continue their labors for the alleviation of the suffering, even at the jeopardy of their own lives."

The Association then adjourned to meet at Muskogee at the call of the President, during the meeting of the International Fair Association.

M. F. Williams, Secretary.

(Cherokee Advocate please copy.)

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Dr. Fred S. Clinton
230 East Woodward Boulevard
Tulsa 5, Oklahoma.
Dear Dr. Clinton:

In reply to your letter of 12 December we have located a brief history of the Indian Territory Medical Association on p. 221 of the *Transactions of the Joint Session of the Oklahoma State Medical Association with the Indian Territory Medical Association—1906*.

This page is as follows:

THE INDIAN TERRITORY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

"Owing to the fact that some of the records have been lost it is impossible to give an accurate history of the Association, however Dr. E. N. Allen has furnished the following data from memory.

"The Association was organized in Muskogee, in May 1889, with about ten Charter Members. Dr. B. F. Fortner, of Vinita, was elected President and Dr. Oliver Bagby, of Vinita, Secretary.

"A semi-annual meeting was held in Vinita in December of the same year. The second annual meeting was held in June 1890 in McAlester, when Drs. Fortner and Bagby were both re-elected.

"The annual meeting for 1891, was held in South McAlester, in June and Dr. W. R. Thompson, then of Oklahoma City but now of Fort Worth, Texas, was elected President, and Dr. Bagby re-elected Secretary. In 1892 Dr. H. B. Smith, of McAlester now deceased, was elected President, and Dr. Bagby still Secretary, since that time among the secretaries have been Drs. Le Roy Long of South McAlester, Fred S. Clinton, of Tulsa, and Dr. Craybill.

"Dr. E. N. Allen of South McAlester, served as President during the years of 1897 and 1898, and at the time of the amalgamation of the two Associations, Dr. Virgil Berry of Wetumka was President and Dr. Floyd E. Waterfield of Holdenville was Secretary."

(s)
Sincerely yours,
Scott Adams
Scott Adams
Acting The Librarian

APPENDIX B

B. F. Fortner, M.D.
President

M. F. Williams, M.D.
Secretary

R. B. Howard, M.D.
Treasurer

THE INTERNATIONAL INDIAN
MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Muskogee I. T. Oct. 13th 1881

Hon. Saml. Checote
Prin Chief Muskogee Nation
Dear Sir,

At a meeting of the International Indian Medical Association held at this place Sept 14 & 15th 1881. It was moved & unanimously carried that a committee of three Drs. Cutler Lindsey & Bailey be appointed to wait upon you & the members of Council. Urging that some legislation be adopted as will regulate the practice of Medicine & Surgery among the Creeks—as will admit of no non-citizen practising the same unless he shall appear before a board appointed for the purpose—& be examined or present such credentials as will permit him to practise & show that he has received a regular education in that line. This is not to be understood to interfere with the full blood Medicine Man—but to apply to white men & those married to Indian women—Praying you to assist the Com. to obtain such legislation—I have the honor to be

Your obt. Servant

(Signed) M. F. Williams Secy

(Copied from #29269, in file entitled "Creek-Doctors & Vaccination," in Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.)

APPENDIX C

BIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN F. FORTNER, M.D.

Benjamin F. Fortner, M.D., was born August 15, 1847, the third son of M. F. Fortner and his wife (nee Hall), natives of Kentucky, who were among the earliest settlers in the vicinity of Dallas, Texas. Benjamin F. Fortner attended private and public schools in Texas, volunteered in the Confederate States Army, and served until the end of the War when he returned home and again entered school. After his parents moved to Cane Hill, Arkansas, in 1866, he was a student in Cane Hill Academy and later taught a private school which he continued until 1868. In this year, he began the study of medicine in the office of Dr. W. B. Welch, a leading surgeon of Tennessee, subsequently attending a course of lectures at the Missouri Medical College, St. Louis, and graduating from the medical department of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1872. He began the practice of medicine at Cane Hill the same year, in connection with Doctor Welch his former preceptor. He afterward made his home and practiced at different periods in Siloam Springs and in Fayetteville where for a time he was in partnership with Dr. Clinton S. Gray who was counted among the prominent physicians in Arkansas.

In 1879, Doctor Fortner located on his farm and ranch near Claremore, Cherokee Nation, where he engaged in the livestock business and continued his practice of medicine. The "Record of Marks and Brands," Coowee-skoo-wee District, Cherokee Nation, now in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society (Cherokee Vol. 52), lists Doctor Fortner's cattle brands from 1880 to 1886 (BF, V—, V—V), and other cattle marks.

In 1884, he settled at Vinita where he continued his practice and made his home until a short time before his death in 1917, with the exception of a brief period beginning with 1907 when he was in charge of the

Frisco Railroad Hospital at Springfield, Missouri. In 1887, he entered into partnership at Vinita with Dr. Oliver Bagby, a native of Franklin County, Missouri. In 1890, Doctor Fortner took a post-graduate course in surgery in New York City.

In October, 1874, Doctor Fortner was united in marriage at Siloam Springs, Arkansas, to Miss Lucy Jennie Gunter, daughter of Cal Dean Gunter and his wife, Nancy (Ward) Gunter, who were of Cherokee descent. Doctor and Mrs. Fortner (born 1854, died 1928) were the parents of two daughters: Lucille who married Ewing Halsell; and Grace who married O. L. Rider. Doctor Fortner died suddenly from heat attack on September 23, 1917, at his country home and fruit farm near Rogers, Arkansas, to which he had just recently moved. Funeral services were conducted with Masonic rites and interment was at Fairview Cemetery, Vinita, Oklahoma, on September 25, 1917.

Aside from his profession, Doctor Fortner was held in highest regard as a citizen in the civic, educational, and religious life of his community. He became a Director of the First National Bank of Vinita in 1892. He was President of the Board of Galloway College (later Willie Halsell Institute) established by the Methodist Church at Vinita, in 1888, and also served on the Board of Worcester Academy at Vinita for a period. Though engaged in heavy practice, he took time to superintend a Sunday school for seven consecutive years. He was a Mason, a member of Knights of Pythias and other fraternal orders. In addition to serving as President of the Indian Territory Medical Association and later the Oklahoma State Medical Association, he had served as the President of the Medical Association of Northwestern Arkansas. He was honorary member of the State Medical Association of Arkansas and a member of the American Association of Railway Surgeons. For many years, he was surgeon for the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway, also for the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, and numerous insurance companies.

Doctor Fortner was a man of fine presence and physique. As an outstanding citizen, his many friends paid him tribute for his big heart, generosity, and capable and conscientious counsel. In his profession, he ranked among the highest as a physician, and as a surgeon, he was distinguished for his skill and success, in the Indian Territory and adjoining states.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

APPENDIX D

Reference: *The Wagoner Record*—Wagoner, I. T., December 7, 1899, page 8, col. 3 (Oklahoma Historical Society).

TERRITORY DOCTORS, THEY ENJOY A SUCCESSFUL SESSION IN WAGONER.

The Indian Territory Medical Association met here Tuesday in regular semi-annual session, and a good number of fine looking doctors attended.

On Tuesday evening at 8:30 a musicale was given the doctors in Cobb's Hall. Some splendid music was rendered by Professors Hiller and Appy, and Miss Dodge. Miss Alberta Lincoln recited a piece which took down the house. But what pleased the audience most was the song "September," by Mrs. Freeman. Few people in this country have a finer voice than Mrs. Freeman, and when it is announced that she will sing a song people know they will hear something worth listening to.

The welcome address on this occasion was delivered by City Attorney DeRoos Bailey, which was responded to by Dr. G. A. McBride, president

of the Association. The Doctor's address was so good that we publish it:
* * * * *

After the musicale the vast audience repaired to the banquet hall, where three tables full length of an 80-foot building, heavily laden with good things to eat, was awaiting them. Dr. J. D. Brazeel presided as toast master, and the toasts were responded to in a manner that pleased all—made them laugh heartily and enjoy their supper.

The feast was prepared by J. H. and Tom Roark. Many were the bouquets thrown at them—not only on account of so many good things to eat, but on account of the able and orderly manner in which it was served.

The meeting was one of the best ever held in the Indian Territory. The doctors adjourned late Wednesday afternoon to meet again in Wagoner on June 5 and 6, next year.

APPENDIX E

Reference: *The Wagoner Record*, Wagoner, Indian Territory, Thursday, June 21, 1900, p. 1, col. 3 (Oklahoma Historical Society).

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

The Physicians of the Indian Territory in Convention.
Their Regular Semi-Annual Meeting Held Tuesday and Wednesday

The Indian Territory Medical Association held its regular convention in this city Tuesday and Wednesday. Dr. G. A. McBride, of Fort Gibson, president of the Association, called the meeting to order at 1 o'clock P.M., after which Rev. E. L. Massey offered an invocation to duty.

An interesting program, which had been prepared for the occasion, was taken up and a number of interesting papers were read and discussed.

The program follows:

PRACTICE

W. B. Pigg, South McAlester, Chairman.

1. Address by chairman.
2. Cerebro-spinal Meningitis—W. H. Harrison, Webbers Falls.
3. Purpura Haemorrhagica—B. F. Fortner, Vinita.
4. Malarial Haematuria—D. H. Burk, Webbers Falls.
5. Duties, Responsibilities and Reward of the Country Doctor—G. A. McBride, Fort Gibson.
6. The Doctor as a Business Man—F. L. A. Hamilton, Wagoner.
7. The Man at the Head of the Table—R. J. Crabill, Allen.
8. Dysentery—W. H. Ford, Fairland.
9. Smallpox—M. C. Marrs, Fort Smith.

PAEDIATRICS

E. Pleas, Oologah, Chairman.

1. Address by Chairman
2. Management of Human Breast Milk in Infantile Indigestion—John P. Sudderth, Nowata.
3. Practical Classification of Infantile Diarrheal Disease, Including Treatment—A. W. Herron, Adair.
4. Classification and Treatment of Malarial Fevers in Children—J. W. Powell, Big Cabin.

5. Rectitis—E. Y. Bass, Talala.
6. Thirty-nine Cases of Scarlet Fever—A. J. Hoover, Wetumka.

GYNECOLOGY AND OBSTETRICS

LeRoy Long, Caddo, Chairman.

1. Address by Chairman.
2. Hysteria and Allied Affections —J. D. Brazeel, Wagoner
3. Management of Second Stage of Labor—A. Griffith, South McAlester.
4. Management of Difficult Labor—W. B. Bentley, Calvin.
5. Paper—Emory Lanphear, St. Louis.

SURGERY

B. F. Fortner, Vinita, Chairman.

1. Address by Chairman.
2. Appendicitis—J. R. Dawson, Afton
3. Appendicitis, with cases—P. Donohoo, Afton
4. Cases of Encysted Foetal Remains from Tubal Pregnancy—C. Bailey Bell, Vinita.
5. Noma—G. W. West, Eufaula
6. Burns—E. Please, Oologah.
7. Management of Compound Fractures—B. Hatchett, Ft. Smith, Ark.
8. How a Country Doctor Treats Cystitis—F. S. Clinton, Tulsa.
9. Suppurative Arthritis—F. M. Duckworth, Claremore
10. Surgery vs. Medicine—R. I. Bond, Hartshorne.
11. Paper—W. C. Graves, Hartshorne.
12. Paper—E. N. Allen, South McAlester.
13. Trauma of the Head—V. Berry, Wewoka.
14. Cause and Treatment of Metatarsalgia, or "Metrous Toe,"—W. A. Daly, Wagoner.
15. The Pathfinder—W. B. Pigg, South McAlester.
16. Paper—J. N. Fain, Wagoner.

OPHTHALMOLOGY, OTOLOGY, LARYNGOLOGY

M. Moulton, Ft. Smith, Chairman.

1. Address by Chairman.
2. Wounds of the Eye and their Treatment—L. Haynes Buxton, Oklahoma City, Okla.
3. Naso-Pharyngeal Fibro-Sacoma—Dr. Wear and Jones, Poteau.
4. Practical Points in Glaucoma—W. L. Solom, Oklahoma City, Okla.
5. The Eye as an Index to the Affections of the Nervous System—Flavel B. Tiffany, Kansas City.

The regular election of officers resulted as follows:

President, Dr. LeRoy Long, Caddo.

First Vice-President, Dr. Gardner, South McAlester.

Second Vice-President, Dr. J. N. Fain, Wagoner.

Secretary, Dr. Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa.

The place of holding the next meeting of the Association brought about a pretty little fight. Wagoner, Muskogee, Vinita and South McAlester were presented for consideration of the members. On first ballot the vote

stood, Vinita 10, Wagoner 7, South McAlester 6, Muskogee 5. It was moved that all except Vinita be dropped and that it be declared the next meeting place. The vote on the motion stood fourteen and fourteen and the president having the casting of the deciding vote declared the motion had carried. However, there was some dissatisfaction and a motion to reconsider prevailed and Muskogee captured the prize.

The convention was made up of workers. They went to work on their arrival and continued working until their departure. They were here for business and went about all matters in a business way. They are truly a representative body of gentlemen and it is an honor to any town to entertain them during their semi-annual meetings.

APPENDIX F

- (1) Reference: *The Daily Chieftain*, Vinita, Indian Territory, June 5, 1901, p. 1, col. 1 (Oklahoma Historical Society).

MEDICS MEET

The 24th Semi-Annual Meeting of the Indian Territory Medical Association—Closes its Session, Many Interesting Papers were Read and Discussed, and Light Refreshments Served. Enchanting Music, Merriment and Song.

The most successful and interesting meeting of the Medical Association of the Indian Territory held in this city, closed today. The attendance was large, and the papers and addresses of members was of a high order. At one o'clock yesterday the Association was called together in the Masonic Hall. The session was opened by a fervent prayer offered by the Rev. C. L. Browning, pastor of the Methodist Church of this city and the address of welcome on behalf of the Mayor and citizens of Vinita was made by Attorney Luman F. Parker, who in a short, happy strain welcomes the visitors to Vinita, and he was followed by Dr. Fortner, who on behalf of the medical profession of the place extended a cordial welcome to the medical gentlemen in attendance. The response was made by Dr. J. N. Jackson, a prominent physician and surgeon of Kansas City. Dr. Jackson spoke flatteringly of the reception of the people of Vinita had extended to the visitors and complimented the town highly.

After these preliminaries were through with, the business of the meeting began. After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting and the call of the roll, a number of papers were read and discussion followed.

At 9 p.m. a gay throng of town people met the visitors at the hall, and with music and light refreshments the time was pleasantly spent until a late hour.

- (2) Reference: *The Indian Journal*, Eufaula, Indian Territory, June 14, 1901, p. 4, col. 2 (Oklahoma Historical Society).

TERRITORY PHYSICIANS

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION HAS CLOSED ITS MEETING AT VINITA

Vinita, I.T., June 8, The Indian Territory Medical Association has just closed an important semi-annual session here. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: G. W. West, Eufaula, president; Louis Bagby, Vinita, vice-president; W. E. Harley, Durant, second vice-president; Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa, secretary and treasurer. The next meeting will be held in Muskogee in December.

(3) Reference: *The Stillwater Advance*, June 12, 1902.

South McAlester: The Indian Territory Medical Association closed its semi-annual session here. The usual technical subjects were ably discussed and a great deal of time was used in discussing how the territory might be rid of quackery. The next meeting will be in Muskogee. Officers were chosen for the ensuing year as follows: Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa, president; C. D. Frick, South McAlester, first vice-president; W. O. Shannon, Durant, second vice-president; R. H. Crabill, Wilburton, secretary and treasurer.

(4) Reference: *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1902, Vol. 39, p. 215.

Indian Territory Medical Association—the thirty-seventh semi-annual meeting of this Association was held in South McAlester, June 4. The chief topic of discussion was regarding the best methods to drive quacks out of the territory. In the Choctaw Nation the examining board gives a severe written test for all applicants to practice, regardless of what credentials they may bring or how long they have practiced medicine elsewhere. Doctors refusing to take or failing to pass the examination are forbidden to practice, under penalty of expulsion from the Territory. Other nations are less rigid, and the tenor of the discussion was for more strictness. The following officers were elected:

Dr. Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa, president; Drs. Charles D. Frick, South McAlester, and W. O. Shannon, Durant, vice-presidents, and Dr. R. J. Crabill, Wilburton, secretary and treasurer. The next meeting will be held at Muskogee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS 1902

We, undersigned committee on Credentials beg leave to report favorably on the following-named gentlemen:

R. F. Miller, Sherman, Tex.; B. F. McClure, Witteville, I.T.; B. D. Woodson, Monroe, I.T.; S. E. Mitchell, Brooken, I.T.; J. B. Wear, Poteau, I.T.; W. M. Milton, Caddo, I.T.; W. W. Sames, Gowen, I.T.; R. S. Miller, Hartshorne, I.T.; Robert A. Lively, Durant, I.T.; W. H. Horin, Haileyville, I.T.; T. S. Booth, Ardmore, I.T.; E. E. Chivers, Ardmore, I.T.; J. L. Jones, Wagoner, I.T.; Floyd E. Waterfield, Holdenville, I.T.; R. J. Crabill, McAlester, I.T.

We ask for further time on applications of following named gentlemen:

Willis M. Hunter, Vian, I.T., Wm. Cobb, Okmulgee, I.T.; Bascom J. Vance, Checotah, I.T.; Graham Street, South McAlester, I.T.

(Signed) B. F. Fortner, Chmn.
LeRoy Long
W. A. Tolleson

APPENDIX G

Reference: *Oklahoma Medical News-Journal*, Volume XIII, Number 7 (July, 1905) pp. 157-9.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

By Dr. E. N. Wright, Olney, Ind. Ter.

The president's address before the Indian Territory Medical association, at its annual meeting in Tulsa, I.T. June 20, 1905.

Gentlemen:—Appreciating the importance of the work to be accomplished by us at this meeting of our association, I beg your leniency, and beseech your support, recognizing that co-operation is necessary to success. It is with a feeling of pride that we look back over a decade of years, and see our association struggling in its infancy, until today it stands equal in strength and importance to many of the state organizations older than ourselves. Its members old and experienced, whose work is recognized by the best ability in the land, and members, though young in experience, able, conscientious, and ambitious for the highest standard of work. It is my hope that this meeting may give encouragement and zeal; and may map out such steps for a future organization that will combine unity and strength; and a standard of such excellence for the physician of the Indian Territory, that will be recognized the world over.

We at this meeting occupy a very unique position, in that it is the transition period from Territory to Statehood. If anything is to be done towards uplifting our professional standing, and the protection of the two million souls, who will step into statehood with us before our next meeting, the beginning must be made now.

The twin territories (Oklahoma and Indian Territory) are promised statehood about March, 1906, forming the State of Oklahoma, which I hope we will live to see.

The physicians of Oklahoma Territory are living under laws created by the territorial legislature, which I understand are inadequate. The physicians of the Indian Territory are practicing under laws passed by congress for the protection of the profession and her people, which I must admit is absolutely inadequate, this being due, not so much to the law, but incompetency of some of the boards. To sustain this statement, I will state the conditions, and find if possible the cause for so much dissatisfaction existing among the physicians of this territory, and I must admit that they had a right to complain. When we go into statehood, we do not want to come under the Oklahoma Territory laws, and I am sure the physicians of Oklahoma do not want to come under ours. But I think we all will agree to come under one new state law. In order to accomplish this, I would suggest that we at this meeting make the first step looking towards organizing the two territorial associations into one, before the statehood bill passes, thereby getting unity of action, so that our committee on legislation may be organized for work. Every day we see around us the lawyers, business men, farmers and all other organizations, whetting their political axes to elect members from their respective ranks to protect their interests in the coming statehood organization, and what are the physicians doing? The strongest organization in the two territories, as they are in closer touch in their every day life than all others combined; sitting still doing nothing. From the foundation of the several states, and especially the establishing of the United States, the grandest country today, when she determined to stand independent, and so declared by the Declaration of Independence, we find among the signers Dr. Benjamin Rush, a man recognized for his great medical ability, also called to assist in the affairs of state, creating this great declaration; and just here I would state that this association could do nothing more befitting to his honor, as one of our profession than to demand that his name be placed in the Hall of Fame.

We must lay aside all personal feelings, political and others, and get to work, to secure such laws in relation to the practice of medicine, that will protect our people from quackery, and elevate our professional standard, that all other states may point to us with pride. Be not de-

ceived that this is an easy proposition; but it will call upon our every resource to accomplish it. Although it is interesting and instructive to hear the different articles that will be presented at this meeting, still I feel the importance of the work suggested is so great to us individually and collectively, that we can well afford to cut short the program and give most of the time to it. Every year we see through the press and journals, efforts being made in the different state legislatures, to correct and improve the laws relative to the practice of medicine, which shows to us their inadequacy. To obviate such work and expense upon our organization in the future, I think now is the time to work. There are several other matters, that were the conditions different, I should mention in this address; but since we are in this transitory state, they would be of no benefit.

APPENDIX H

Reference: *The Oklahoma Medical Journal*, June 5, 1893 (copies bound as *Oklahoma Medical Journal*—1893-96, in Library of Oklahoma Historical Society), pp. 49-51.

A TERRITORIAL MEDICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

Persuant to a call published in the April number of the Journal, the Physicians whose names appear on another page met at the Commercial Club Rooms in Oklahoma City on Tuesday, May 9th, 1893 at 3:30 p.m. and organized, a Territorial Medical Society. The meeting was called to order by Dr. W. R. Thompson of Oklahoma City. Dr. E. O. Barker, of Guthrie, was elected temporary Chairman, and Dr. J. E. Fenelon, of Norman, temporary Secretary.

On motion the Chairman was instructed to appoint a committee of five on permanent organization.

Dr. T. A. Cravens, of Oklahoma City; Dr. J. A. Overstreet, of Kingfisher; Dr. W. P. Camp, of Tecumseh; Dr. N. W. Mayginnes, of Stillwater; Dr. H. P. Halsted, of Guthrie, were appointed.

On motion the chair appointed a committee on Constitution and By-Laws as follows: Dr. B. L. Applewhite, of Tecumseh; Dr. W. R. Thompson, of Oklahoma City; Dr. C. D. Arnold, of ElReno. Committee on permanent organization was given fifteen minutes in which to report; and reported as follows:—For President Dr. De Los Walker of Oklahoma City; Vice Presidents, Dr. H. P. Halsted, of Guthrie; Dr. J. C. Mahr of Tecumseh; Dr. J. A. Ryan, of Oklahoma City; Dr. W. H. Snow, of Norman; Dr. S. M. Barnes, of Stillwater. For Secretary Dr. C. D. Arnold, of El Reno; for Treasurer, Dr. E. J. Trader, of Council Grove.

The report was adopted but afterward reconsidered and the number of Vice Presidents reduced to one, and Dr. E. O. Barker, of Guthrie elected to fill that office.

Committee on Constitution and By-Laws recommended the adoption of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Indian Territory Medical Society, with some few changes. Report of Committee adopted.

A Board of Censors as provided by the Constitution was appointed by the President, which consists of three members as follows; Dr. A. A. Davis, of El Reno; Dr. J. E. Fenelon, of Norman; and Dr. J. A. Overstreet, of Kingfisher, to serve one, two and three years respectfully. The Board of Censors then proceeded to pass upon the credentials of applicants for membership. The following named gentlemen applied for membership and were declared eligible:—W. H. Clutter, J. M. Carson, W. H. Snow, E. J.

Trader, N. W. Mayginnnes, De Los Walker, J. R. McElvain, T. A. Cravens, J. A. Hatchett, H. P. Halsted, B. L. Applewhite, S. M. Barnes, W. McKay Dougan, A. A. Davis, J. A. Overstreet, J. E. Fenelon, J. M. Still, C. D. Arnold, A. H. Jackson, C. B. Bradford, F. S. Dewey, W. R. Thompson, E. W. Witten, J. A. Ryan, Harry Walker, J. B. Rolater, H. H. Black, E. O. Barker.

Committees on the different sections were appointed as follows:—On General Practice; Dr. J. A. Hatchett, Dr. T. A. Cravens, Dr. H. P. Halsted. On Surgery; Dr. J. A. Overstreet, Dr. W. R. Thompson, Dr. J. M. Still. On Obstetrics and Gynaecology; Dr. J. E. Fenelon, Dr. N. W. Mayginnnes.

The Oklahoma Medical Journal was adopted as the official organ of the Oklahoma Territorial Medical Society.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Henry Will for the courtesy extended in the use of his hall for the meeting.

Society then adjourned to meet at El Reno the first Thursday in November at one o'clock P. M.

C. D. Arnold,
Secretary.

De Los Walker,
President.

APPENDIX I

Reference: *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1906, Vol. 46, p. 1778.

MEDICAL NEWS—Oklahoma and Indian Territory Society Meeting.

The Oklahoma and Indian Territory medical association held a joint meeting in Oklahoma City, May 7, 8 and 9, under the presidency of Dr. Newton N. Rector, Hennessey, president of the Oklahoma State Medical Association. The address of welcome was delivered by Dr. Archa K. West, Oklahoma City, and responded to on behalf of the Indian Territory Association by its president, Dr. Virgil Berry, Wetumka, and on behalf of the Oklahoma association by Dr. A. L. Blesh, Guthrie, chairman of the council. The house of delegates adopted a resolution that hereafter the rules and by-laws of the association conform with those of the American Medical Association. Dr. Jabez N. Jackson, Kansas City, Mo., guest of the association, delivered an address on the standing of the medical fraternity in the West, and on the future of the organization. The association adopted the title of Oklahoma State Medical Association, pending the union of Oklahoma and Indian Territory into one state. The following officers were elected: Dr. Benjamin F. Fortner, Vinita, I.T., president; Drs. Mahlon A. Kelso, Enid, Okla., Walter C. Bradford, Shawnee, Okla., and Floyd E. Warterfield, Holdenville, I.T., vice-presidents; Dr. Eugene O. Barker, Guthrie, Okla., secretary and treasurer; and Drs. Fred S. Clinton, Tulsa, I.T., and John A. Hatchett, El Reno, Okla., delegates to the American Medical Association. The following councilors were elected: Drs. A. L. Blesh, Guthrie, LeRoy Long, South McAlester, I.T., Franklin M. Duckworth, Claremore, I.T., Bascom J. Vance, Checotah, I.T., Eliphalet N. Wright, Olney, I.T., Ney Neill, Mangum, Oklahoma, Herbert P. Wilson, Wynnewood, I.T., Everett S. Lain, Weatherford, Oklahoma, James H. Medaris, Helena, Okla., and Gregory A. Wall, Oklahoma City. Shawnee was selected as the next place of meeting, and \$100 was subscribed for the relief of the physicians of San Francisco.

Reference: *Ibid.*, 1906, Vol. 47, p. 715.

MEDICAL ORGANIZATION—Indian Territory.

Northern District Medical Society: At a meeting of this society in Pryor Creek, Dr. William T. Tilley, Pryor Creek, was elected president and Dr. Robert H. Harper, Afton, secretary.

Fifteenth District Medical Society: The physicians of the Fifteenth district met in South McAlester, June 30, on call of Dr. Eliphalet N. Wright, Olney, councilor for the central district, to organize a new society in conformity with the new arrangements under statehood.

Tulsa County Medical Society: The physicians of Tulsa met July 7, with Dr. B. J. Vance, Checotah, Councilor for the Western District and organized a medical society on the standard plan with the following officers: Dr. J. C. W. Bland, Tulsa, president; Dr. W. Albert Cook, Tulsa, vice-president; Dr. C. L. Reeder, secretary, and Dr. C. T. Hender-short, treasurer. Drs. Kennedy, Hawley and Webb, censors.

Twenty-sixth Recording District Medical Society: On June 8, a medical society was organized at Marietta by Dr. Herbert P. Wilson, Wynnewood, councilor for the Southern District. Of the twenty-four physicians in the district, twenty were present and were enrolled as charter members. The following officers were elected: Dr. A. E. Martin, Marietta, president; Dr. Benjamin S. Gardner, Marietta, vice-president, and Dr. John D. Batson, Marietta, secretary and treasurer.

Twenty-first Recording District Medical Society: At the meeting of the physicians of the Twenty-first recording district, held in Ardmore, July 19, Dr. Herbert P. Wilson, Wynnewood, councilor for the Southern District, presided and an organization was formed, to include the county in which Ardmore is situated when the counties are laid out for the new state of Oklahoma. The constitution and by-laws recommended by the American Medical Association were adopted. Dr. Philip H. Stephens Ardmore, was elected president; Dr. William T. Bogie, Ardmore, vice-president, and Dr. Robert H. Alvis, Ardmore, secretary and treasurer; Dr. Thomas S. Booth, delegate to the State Medical Society, and Dr. Jerome C. McNees, Ardmore, alternate.

Reference: *Ibid.*, 1906, Vol. 47, p. 1588.

MEDICAL ORGANIZATION—Indian Territory

Twenty-third District Medical Association: A meeting for the organization of this society was held in Coalgate, when the councilor for the central district, Dr. Eliphalet N. Wright, Olney, organized a society on the standard plan, with the following officers: President, Dr. Thomas J. Long, Atoka; vice-president, Dr. N. P. Skeen, Wapanucka, and secretary and treasurer, Dr. Leonard S. Willour, Olney (later of McAlester).

PRESIDENTS OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Name	Postoffice	Term of Office
B. F. Fortner, M.D.	Vinita	1881- ?
B. F. Fortner, M.D.	Vinita	1889-1891
W. R. Thompson, M.D.	Oklahoma City	1891-1892
H. B. Smith, M.D.	McAlester	1892-1893
Francis B. Fite, M.D.	Muskogee	1893-1894
J. S. Fulton, M.D.	Atoka	1894-1895
Oliver Bagby, M.D.	Vinita	1895-1896
A. M. Clinkscales, M.D.	Vinita	1896-1897

E. N. Allen, M.D.	McAlester	1897-1898
G. R. Rucker, M.D.	Eufaula	1898-1899
G. A. McBride, M.D.	Fort Gibson	1899-1900
LeRoy Long, M.D.	Caddo	1900-1901
G. W. West, M.D.	Eufaula	1901-1902
Fred S. Clinton, M.D.	Tulsa	1902-1903
W. A. Tolleson, M.D.	Eufaula	1903-1904
E. N. Wright, M.D.	Olney	1904-1905
V. Berry, M.D.	Wetumka	1905-1906

APPENDIX J

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Washington, 25, D. C.

Reference Department
Serials Division

November 24, 1947

Dear Dr. Clinton:

Your letter of November 17, 1947, has been referred to the Serials Division for attention and reply.

A search of the Indian Chieftan, Vinita (Indian Territory), Oklahoma for the period 1885-88 fails to locate any reference to the Indian Territory Medical Association.

I regret that due to the press of official work more time cannot be devoted to your request. However, I have listed below certain Oklahoma newspapers and periodicals available in Oklahoma libraries which may contain the information about which you inquire.

Indian journal. Weekly, daily. Eufaula.

The Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, has an incomplete file for 1876-1892.

Cherokee Advocate. Weekly. Tahlequah.

The Oklahoma Historical Society has an incomplete file for 1870-1906. The University of Oklahoma at Norman, has an incomplete file from 1873-1906.

Phoenix. Daily. Muskogee.

The Oklahoma Historical Society has 1904 to date.

Southwest Journal of Medicine and Surgery. Published by the Oklahoma State Medical Association at various times at Oklahoma City, El Reno and Guthrie. Ran from 1893-1922. No file located in Oklahoma, but the U. S. Surgeon General's office, Washington, D.C., is credited with a complete file.

We have talked to the National Archives, here in Washington and were informed that additional information is available in the Indian Office Archives there. I am therefore referring your letter to that office for further attention.

Very truly yours

A. B. EVANS
Chief, Serials Division

Dr. Fred S. Clinton

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.,

Dec. 24, 1947

Dr. Fred S. Clinton
230 East Woodward Boulevard
Tulsa 5, Oklahoma

My dear Dr. Clinton:

The National Archives has received by reference from the Library of Congress your letter of November 17, 1947, concerning the history of the Indian Territory Medical Association. We have also today received your letter of December 16, 1947, concerning this matter.

A careful search of the records of the office of Indian Affairs and the Office of the Secretary of the Interior in the National Archives has failed to reveal any reference to this organization in these files. The files show that the practice of medicine in the Indian Territory was governed by the laws of the several Indian nations of the Territory. The records further show that any inquiries received by the Office of Indian Affairs or the Office of the Secretary of the Interior concerning the practice of medicine in the Indian Territory were referred to the Indian agent at Muskogee. It is therefore suggested that, if you have not already done so, you address inquiries to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, which has custody of the records of the Five Civilized Tribes, and to the Five Civilized Tribes Agency of the Office of Indian Affairs at Muskogee, Oklahoma, which has custody of the records of that agency since its establishment.

It is regretted that we have not been able to be of more assistance than this to you in connection with this matter.

Very truly yours,
Herman Kahn, Director
Natural Resources Records Division

APPENDIX K

References: *JOURNAL OF AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.*

- | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|---|
| 1897 | vol. 29 | page 250 | Semi-annual meeting of Indian Terr. M.A., election of officers |
| 1898 | 30 | 1001 | Okla. Terr. M.A., notice of meeting with list of papers |
| | | 1244 | Indian Terr. M.A., notice of meeting |
| | | 1481 | Indian Terr. M.A., reg. semi-annual meet., election of officers |
| | | 929 | Indian Terr. M.S., mentioned under list of medical societies entitled to representation at A.M.A. |
| 1899 | 32 | 1312 | Indian Terr. M.A., notice of meeting |
| | 33 | 1489 | Okla. M.A., semi-annual meeting |
| 1900 | 34 | 1669 | Indian Terr. M.A., meeting, election of officers |
| | 35: | 758 | Indian Terr.—appointments |
| | | 1646 | Indian Terr. 24th semi-annual meeting |

- 1901 36 1412 Okla. M.A., 9th annual meeting
 1575 Indian Terr. M.A., annual meeting
 1799 Indian Terr. M.A., annual meeting, election of
 officers
 37 335,842 Oklahoma state news
 1011 Oklahoma practice laws (Queries & Minor Notes);
 practice of medicine in Territory of Oklahoma
 1265 Oklahoma Terr. M.A., coming meeting
- 1902 38 51 Oklahoma County (Okla.) M.A., 2nd meeting and
 officers
 521 Indian Territory news items
 39 215 Indian Territory M.A., 37th semi-annual meeting—
 topic of discussion best methods to drive quacks
 out of territory
 216 Oklahoma M.A., 10th annual session
 444 Indian Terr. M.A., 27th semi-annual meeting—im-
 portant business of reorganization in conformity
 with recommendations of A.M.A.
- 1903 40 598 Oklahoma Terr. M.A., annual meeting, election of
 officers
 1157 New Oklahoma law regulating medical practice in
 that territory
 1667 Oklahoma M. Soc. 11th annual meeting
 1786 Indian Terr. M.A., 23rd semi-annual meeting, elec-
 tion of officers
 41 1038 Indian Terr. Northern District M. Soc. organized
- 1904 42 721 Indian Terr. practice of medicine in, requirements
 (Queries & Minor Notes)
 1365 Oklahoma Terr.—news items
 1373 Oklahoma State M. A., reorganization
 43 1904 Medical practice act of Indian Territory
- 1905 44 410 Indian Territory report
 484 Oklahoma—news items
 882 Indian Territory—medical news
 45 652 Indian & Oklahoma Terr. M.A., decide to hold joint
 meeting
 930 News items—Oklahoma—(1 in particular) charter
 issued July 31, 1905 to Oklahoma State M. A.
 1416 Oklahoma—news items
- 1905 vol. 45 page 1807 Indian Territory—news items
- 1906 46 441,965,1295 and 1706 Oklahoma—news items
 889,1618 Indian Territory—medical news
 295 Indian Territory 16th District M. Soc. organized
 Indian Territory M.A., votes to merge with Okla-
 homa M.A.
 1630 Oklahoma M.A., resolution on minimum fee of \$5.00
 for examination
 1778 Oklahoma and Indian Terr. M.A., joint meeting
 May 7, 8 & 9, 1906
 47 517,1496,1749 Oklahoma—news items
 715 Indian Terr. M. Soc. notices of various meetings
 1588 Indian Terr. 23rd District M.A., organized

If available in your local public or medical library, See also Polk's Medical Directory, 1890-1906 where you will find Laws, Societies and Officers., of the Indian Territory Medical Association.

APPENDIX L

NOTES ON EPWORTH COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, OKLAHOMA CITY

The Methodist Churches sponsored the Epworth University of Oklahoma City, and it sponsored the Epworth College of Medicine from 1904 to 1910, when it was by negotiation transferred into the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine.

See *University of Oklahoma Bulletin*, "History of Medical Education in Oklahoma," from 1904-1910, By H. Coulter Todd, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S., L.L.D., published by the University, Norman, Okla., April 28, 1928.

HISTORY OF MEDICINE

This is an exact copy of this faculty from the catalogue for 1905 and 1906:

T. C. Jones, M.A., L.L.D., Acting President of University.
A. K. West, M.D., Professor P & P of Medicine, Dean of Faculty.
H. Coulter Todd, A.B., M.D., Professor of Descriptive & Surgical Anatomy, Secretary of the Faculty.

W. J. Jolly, M.D., Professor of Surgery.
L. Haynes Buxton, M.D., Professor of Ophthalmology.
U. L. Russell, M.D., Professor of Gynaecology.
R. T. Edwards, M.D., Professor of G.U. & Skin Diseases.
F. C. Hoopes, M.D., Professor of Rhinology and Otolaryngology.
L. A. Riley, A.M., M.D., Professor of Pathology, Histology & Bacteriology.
H. Coulter Todd, A.B., M.D., Instructor Clinical Surgery.
L. A. Riely, M.A., M.D., Instructor Clinical Medicine.
J. A. Reck, M.D., Instructor Electro-Therapeutics.
W. T. Salmon, M.D., Instructor Clinical Ophthalmology.
E. S. Ferguson, M.D., Instructor in Minor Surgery.
Wm. T. Boyd, M.D., Professor Materia-Medica, Therapeutics & Toxicology
J. B. Rolater, M.D., Professor Clinical Surgery.
R. T. Schaefer, M.D., Professor Obstetrics.
R. M. Howard, M.D., Ass't to Surgery.
W. A. Fullington, M.D., Ass't to Chair of Anatomy & Demonstrator.
W. A. Lytle, M.D., Ass't to Chair of Anatomy & Demonstrator

In 1906 and 1907, the school established a full four years course and had students in all the classes. The general catalogue for this year, however, only gives the names of the Dean, A. K. West, M.D., and the Secretary, H. Coulter Todd, A.M., M.D., the Medical catalogue cannot be found.

In 1907, Epworth College of Medicine became a separate corporation from Epworth University, each member of the Corporation paying \$1000.00, with which the Angelo Hotel on the northwest corner of 6th & Broadway was purchased for \$19,000.00, rebuilt and equipped for the Medical School. The following men were among those who entered the Corporation paying \$1,000.00 each:

A. D. Young, M.D.,
R. F. Schaefer, M.D.,
A. K. West, M.D.,
E. F. Davis, M.D.,
A. L. Blesh, M.D.,
L. H. Buxton, M.D.,
H. C. Todd, M.D.,
L. A. Riley, M.D.,

U. L. Russell, M.D.,
J. W. Riley, M.D.,
E. S. Ferguson, M.D.,
W. J. Wallace, M.D.,
Horace Reed, M.D.,
W. J. Jolly, M.D.,
R. M. Howard, M.D.,
J. M. Postelle, M.D.,

C. W. Williams, M.D.,
Hon. A. H. Classen
Hon. C. B. Ames.

F. C. Hoopes, M.D.,
W. J. Boyd, M.D.,

Directors

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After the purchase of the building at 6th & Broadway, which was remodeled with the Class Rooms and Laboratories well equipped for teaching, Epworth College of Medicine grew with great rapidity. None of the students' tuitions was paid as salary to any of the teachers. Their services were given free. All the money from tuition was put into equipment so that the school became quite creditably maintained in its laboratories and other appointments.

APPENDIX M

OUR NEIGHBORS

Distinguished medical men from the States were always welcome by the Indian Territory Medical Association. This policy was a look far ahead. It was the exercise of foresight and care for the future. These successful students and teachers of medicine brought mental or spiritual light and professional knowledge to help our patients and the communities. Many even joined from other states. The names of a few will be recalled from memory. Dr. H. Moulton, Fort Smith, Ark.; Dr. B. Hatchet, Fort Smith, Ark.; Dr. St. Cloud Cooper, Fort Smith, Ark.; Dr. Simon B. Langworthy, Leavenworth, Kan.; J. P. Kaster, M.D., Chief Surgeon, Santa Fe Railway, Topeka, Kan.; E. F. Yancey, M.D., Chief Surgeon, M.K.&T. Ry., Sedalia, Mo.; From Kansas City, Mo. came John Binnie, A.M., M.B., C.M., Prof. Surg. Pathology and Clinical Surgery, Kansas City, Medical College; Thomas J. Beattie, M.D., Clinical Professor of Gynecology, Kansas City Medical College; A. H. Cordier, M.D., Professor of Abdominal Surgery, University Medical College; H. C. Crowell, M.D., Clinical Gynecology, University Medical College; Andrew L. Fulton, M.D., Professor Clinical and Operative Surgery, Kansas City Medical College; George Halley, M.D. Professor of Principles and Practice of Clinical Surgery, University of Medical College; Arthur Hertzler, A.M., Ph.D., M.D., Professor and Demonstrator of Histology and Pathology and Bacteriology, University Medical College; Jabez N. Jackson, A.M., M.D., Professor of Surgery, University Medical College, and President of the American Medical Association 1927; John Punton, M.D., Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases, University Medical College, Kansas City, Mo.; Robert T. Sloan, A.M., M.D., Professor Clinical Medicine and Practice, Kansas City Medical College; Flavel B. Tiffany, A.B., M.D., Professor Ophthalmology, University Medical College; Jacob Block, M.D., Called "The Prince of Diagnosticians", S. A. Grantham, M.D., Bone Surgery, Joplin, Mo. From St. Louis, Mo.: George W. Cale, Jr., Chief Surgeon, Frisco Railway; Harvey G. Mudd, M.D., Professor Fractures and Dislocations and Clinical Surgery, Washington University; Ellsworth S. Smith, M.D., Professor of Medicine, Washington University; F. W. Floyd, St. Louis, Mo.; Emery Lanphear, M.D., St. Louis, Mo.; Charles M. Rosser, M.D., Dallas, Texas, Attending Surgeon, Baylor University Hospital; James A. Foltz, M.D., Chief Surgeon, Ft. Smith & Western R.R., Ft. Smith; Bacon Saunders, M.D., Chief Surgeon, Fort Worth and Denver, Col., and Wichita Valley

R. R.'s, Professor of Surgery and Clinical Surgery of the Medical Department of Fort Worth University, Texas.

All of these men, without exception, so far as I know contributed their time, abilities, and expenses, which was a practical, generous, and invaluable aid, in those important days of beginnings.

The above is just a sample list, many others made their contributions also. F.S.C.

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- V. Berry, M.D., Okmulgee.
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- Paul Fesler, Oklahoma City.
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The writer wishes to express appreciation to each of the above for assistance in the hunt for the hidden and fleeing facts concerning the first twenty-five years of the life of the Indian Territory Medical Association. I earnestly appeal to all persons to continue this search until we find the complete and authentic history. Send me any documented information, please.

Finally I wish to thank my wife, Beulah Jane Clinton, for active aid, and members of the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society for helpful cooperation and search.

JUNIOR COLLEGES IN OKLAHOMA

*By Frank A. Balyeat**

The junior college movement in Oklahoma dates back before World War I. In fact, the past quarter-century includes the rise and development of most of these schools,—public, church, and private. In general, the State schools have been the most permanent and steady in their growth. The local, public schools have been called “municipal,” though this term is not accurate, since it is the district and not the town in it that controls the school. The group of municipal schools, upper growth of the high schools in these towns, has witnessed too little planning and resultant uncertainty and instability. Church schools, of avowed junior college nature, have been few, though several denominational colleges have at some time or other confined their offering to the lower division. Private ventures in the junior college field have been almost absent from the Oklahoma picture.

With the rounding out of the first quarter-century of junior colleges in Oklahoma the time has come to shape this movement into a planned program. So far little attempt has been made in long-range planning or in legislation to make the junior colleges an integral part of secondary and higher education. A brief review of what we now have at this level of schooling and how the present situation arose should be helpful in planning for the critical years just ahead.

We find three kinds of these schools: (1) municipal (the local, public schools) junior colleges, of one or two years offering, parts of the district systems of towns; (2) State schools, usually serving a fairly well-defined region and designed, in the main, for special types of schooling; and (3) independent institutions, including church and private schools. Numerically they come in the order just named.

Municipal Junior Colleges

Since the Muskogee Junior College began in the fall of 1920 a total of 35 Oklahoma towns have extended their local schools upward by offering one or two years of college work. Always there was the intent of offering the second year as soon as there was sufficient demand. Most of these schools have been small, often too small for effective work or continued existence. Their rise has sometimes been due to prevailing conditions, economic or other, and in part to the ambition or energy of a dean, superintendent, board of education, or chamber of commerce.

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The accompanying map shows their geographical distribution and their relation to State and church colleges. Location has much to do with the need for a municipal junior college and the resultant support. This table shows the time when these schools began, how long continued, and the years when each operated:

DATES OF ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF MUNICIPAL
JUNIOR COLLEGES

1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1938
1. Chickasha (1) 1924-25	*1. Altus (23) 1925-48	1. Chandler (3) 1933-36	*1. Carnegie (6) 1938-42 & 1946-48
2. Elk City (1) 1924-25	*2. Bartlesville (18) 1927-43 & 1946-48	2. Drumright (3) 1934-37	2. Duncan (5) 1937-42
3. Frederick (7) 1922-25 & 1938-42	*3. Bristow (12) 1928-29, 1933-42, & 1946-48	3. Henryetta (1) 1932-33	*3. El Reno (10) 1938-48
*4. Hobart (15) 1923-25 & 1935-48	4. Okemah (11) 1926-28 & 1933-41	4. Holdenville (6) 1933-36 & 1939-42	4. Hollis (1) 1937-38
5. Lawton (3) 1922-25	5. Okmulgee (21) 1926-47	5. Sapulpa (10) 1932-42	*5. Mangum (9) 1937-44 & 1946-48
6. McAlester (3) 1922-23, 1925-26, & 1930-31	6. Ponca City (1) 1929-30	*6. Seminole (17) 1931-48	6. Oklahoma City (Capitol Hill) (10) 1935-45
*7. Muskogee (28) 1920-48		7. Wewoka (3) 1933-35 & 1945-47	7. Pawhuska (2) 1936-38
8. Pauls Valley (4) 1924-28		*8. Wetumka (12) 1932-37, 1938-43, & 1946-48	8. Pawnee (3) 1935-38
		9. Woodward (14) 1932-44 & 1945-47	*9. Poteau (7) 1935-37 & 1943-48
			10. Pryor (1) 1938-39
			*11. Sayre (6) 1938-42 & 1946-48
			12. Shidler (7) 1936-43

*Starred towns are operating municipal junior colleges in the spring of 1948.

For convenience these 35 municipal schools are grouped under four lists, as shown in the table. Each column is for a five-year period except the fourth, which concludes with 1938, the last year that any of them was organized. Between 1920 and 1938 only three years (1921, 1929, and 1930) did not add at least one. The figures in parentheses following the name of a town shows the number of years that it had a junior college, not always continuously, and the dates below show the years when it maintained such a school.

In the first five years eight towns organized junior colleges. Two of these, Chickasha and Lawton, necessarily discontinued soon, due to nearness of State schools. Both Frederick and McAlester made more than one effort before giving up. Elk City quit at the end of one year and Pauls Valley continued four years. Only two of the eight existed at the beginning of 1925-26. Of this group only Hobart and Muskogee are operating in the spring of 1948, the latter resuming in 1935 after a lapse of ten years.

Six new schools were started in 1925 to 1929. Four of these are operating today and the fifth closed at the end of 1946-47 after running for 21 years. Altus, starting in 1925, is second only to Muskogee in length of existence. Ponca City tried only one year; Okemah, in two attempts, ran for a total of 11 years. Bartlesville and Bristow both shut down during the war but have been in operation since 1946. Okmulgee, one of the pioneers in Oklahoma, discontinued in 1947 when the local A & M College branch increasingly cared for some of the need previously met.

The half-decade of depression saw nine new schools begin, only two of which still exist. Four of them were short lived, Henryetta closing at the end of the first year and Chandler, Drumright, and Wewoka operating three years each, the last named after two tries. Holdenville, with six years, and Sapulpa, with ten, made longer efforts. Woodward operated a total of fourteen years, but did not re-open after being closed by a tornado in the spring of 1947. Wetumka made its third start in 1946 and is still operating. Of this group only Seminole has had continuous existence.

The four-year period of 1935-1939 was the most prolific, twelve schools starting then. Four of them are running in 1947-48, though not all of them having had continuous existence. Only Hollis and Pryor closed after one year, Pawhuska ran two years, and Pawnee closed after a three-year trial. Duncan, with five years, Oklahoma City (Capitol Hill), with ten, and Shidler, with seven, all closed with the opening of the war and have not re-opened. Carnegie, Mangum, Poteau, and Sayre all resumed within the past five years and are still operating. Only El Reno of this group, has existed continuously from date of organization.

The peak of the junior college growth, so far as number of schools was concerned, came in 1938-39, though the next two years were very close seconds. War threats and attending conditions caused another slight drop and the number continued to decrease until it reached a low of seven in 1945-46. Post-war conditions raised it to fifteen in 1946-47, with a drop to twelve in the current year. What the immediate future will be with respect to number and size of municipal junior colleges will depend upon economic conditions and on the ability of senior colleges to instruct and house those who wish to attend, especially the veterans and the young women. Also, the effectiveness of work done by each of these schools will play a large part in holding students through the first year and into the second and in attracting new students.

The terminal concept of municipal junior college work is growing slowly in Oklahoma, more slowly than in some other states. Both at home and at the senior colleges, whither most of these students are now bound, the idea prevails that this study, conveniently and less expensively done nearer home, is but to prepare for second or third

year of college work or for vocational training to be done elsewhere later.

These municipal junior colleges have sometimes been substandard, due to smaller enrollment than will permit effective work. According to the reports of the State Department of Education up to and including 1943-44, the enrollments ran from 10 to 287, the latter figure being that of Altus in 1943. Several schools reported at some time or other fewer than 20 enrolled, usually those schools that were short lived. Sometimes these were in the smaller towns or in those fairly convenient to state or church colleges. The average enrollment for all the reports for the years included was about 70 and the median a little over 40. The relatively large number of little schools lowered the median significantly below the average.

For nearly two decades these municipal junior colleges operated without any explicit legal sanction, but with obvious public approval. The senior high school building has been shared, as has the staff, the expense being proportioned. The college share has been borne by tuition. In the past two years veterans have made up a large part of the enrollment in most of these schools, the federal money received being largely responsible for the existence and the size of some of them. When economic depression or when crowded conditions in the four-year colleges makes it difficult to attend schools further away from home, these local schools serve both their own districts and surrounding areas in caring for many who can not get into State or church schools or who can not afford to attend them.

In 1939 permissive legislation was enacted by the State. The bill merely legalized the practice of nearly twenty years. In recent legislatures some attempt has been made to get a beginning of State aid for these schools. Sentiment has grown in favor of this assistance and apparently the development of a systematic program and improvement of standards are needed before argument can be made sufficiently convincing to secure the needed and deserved State help.

In the beginning of this movement the recognition of credits earned was assured by advance approval of instructors and of library and laboratory facilities by the departments concerned at either the Oklahoma A & M College or the University of Oklahoma. Later a committee of three, made up of a faculty member from each of these institutions and a member from the State Department of Education, loosely supervised these local schools and provided a plan for recognition of their credits. In the spring of 1946 a committee of ten was organized to accredit and supervise the municipal, church, and private junior colleges of Oklahoma. It consists of two members from each of the two institutions mentioned above, appointed by their presidents; two from the staff of the Regents for Higher Education; and two from the State Department of Education. These eight choose a superintendent from each of two towns then operating

a junior college. These ten visit public as well as church and private schools annually or oftener, if needed, to make recommendations as to accrediting and strengthening their work.

State Junior Colleges

Very early in the history of the State, Oklahoma provided regional schools for the training of youth in the agricultural, mechanical, business, and domestic arts. At that time these schools were designed to supplement the inadequate high school opportunities in many parts of the State.

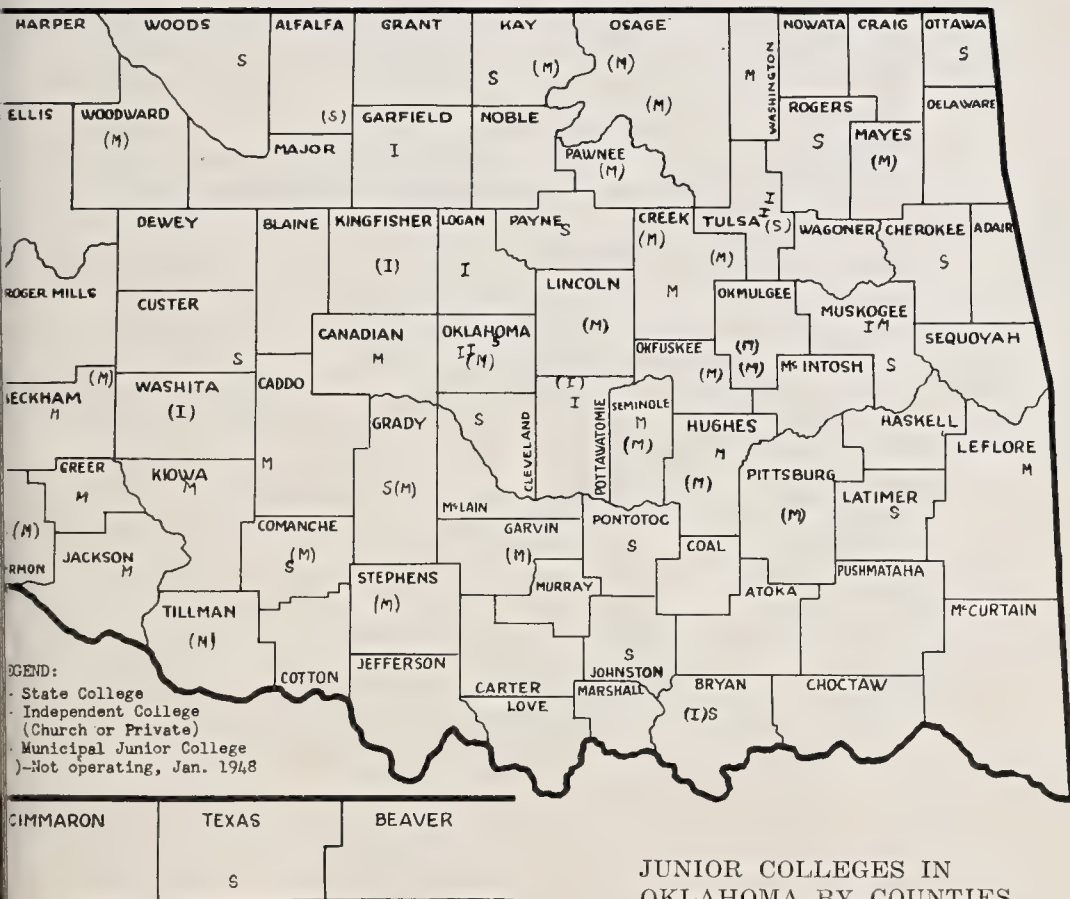
The First Legislature provided that as soon as possible such a school should be established in each of the judicial districts. Soon the Panhandle District was added, making six of these regional schools of secondary rank. Upper elementary grades were included and high school work was added as the enrollment demanded.

Two of these schools did not outlive the first decade of statehood. Connell, at Helena, and Haskell, at Broken Arrow, were officially closed before offering any college work. The Panhandle College grew through junior college status and the Eighth Legislature changed its name and nature to that of a degree granting college. That left three of the original six.

These three continued to grow and gradually to drop their lower grade offerings, becoming regional secondary schools, specializing in the lines needed by boys and girls from the farms and not adequately or conveniently served by high schools. The offerings gradually rose to include some at the college level.

In 1922 the Murray State School of Agriculture, at Tishomingo, was given legal junior college status. In the next five years the other two were thus officially designated. These were the Cameron State Agricultural College, at Lawton, and Conners State Agricultural College at Warner, near Muskogee. These have continued to function as junior colleges and have served especially in the areas of subject matter and for the regions for which they were planned. To these services have been added that of arts and science offerings to accompany the specialized training and for pre-professional preparation.

Besides these three agricultural schools, two other State junior colleges have been added, but under different circumstances. Both of them began as schools of mines. Opening in 1910 as the Oklahoma School of Mines, the school at Wilburton ran until World War I, when its doors were closed until 1920. Then it opened again, this time to train discharged veterans in the practical arts. Through the 1920's it struggled intermittently, always with uncertain future. In 1927 the legislature gave it a four-year college status again. Its nature was stabilized by the Seventeenth Legislature and for nearly



a decade it has operated as Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

The school at Miami began in 1919 as the Miami School of Mines, its name changed in 1925 to Northeastern Junior College. For the first twenty years it was governed by a separate board but in 1939 was placed under the Board of Regents of the State Colleges. In 1943 it came under the Board of Regents for Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges and is now directed by that body, as are the schools at Lawton, Tishomingo, Warner, and Wilburton. Its name is now Northeastern Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Northern Oklahoma Junior College, at Tonkawa, has the oldest total existence of any of Oklahoma's junior colleges. It began in 1901 as the University Preparatory School, as which it ran for nearly two decades. In 1920 some college work was added and in 1941 it was legally established as the Northern Oklahoma Junior College. Business and other practical arts are stressed.

The Oklahoma Military Academy, at Claremore, began in 1909 as the Eastern Oklahoma Preparatory School, changing in 1919 to a military academy with both high school and junior college divisions. Only boys are admitted and the work is designed to give both military training and varied work in the first two college years, as well as in high school. Like the school at Tonkawa, it has its own governing board.

As one reads these condensed reviews of the seven State colleges now operating, he is struck with the fact that through the years Oklahoma has not definitely planned a program of public junior colleges. Not one of them started as a junior college. For various reasons and through varied and uncertain experiences, they have come to fill a valuable and important place in the State's educational plan. The time has come when Oklahoma's experience and that of other states should be utilized in careful, long-range planning to fit the present facilities into the pattern of what will be needed for the years ahead.

Independent Junior Colleges

From time to time several of the church schools in Oklahoma, both in territorial days and since, have really been junior colleges. Some of them grew through that status into degree-granting schools. Others have discontinued upper division work and have become junior colleges in fact, if not in name.

At Durant the Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls served the Indian girls at the junior college level. In recent years it has become a dormitory for these girls, transporting them for their instruction to Southeastern State College.

St. Gregory, near Shawnee, has instructed boys and men at various levels of work, changing upward and downward through the years. At one time it gave four years of college work, then for several years was listed as an accredited junior college. Recently only secondary work is offered. It is a Catholic institution.

At Tulsa, Monte Cassino was established as a junior college for girls, a branch of the Catholic College for Girls, located at Guthrie. No college work is given at present.

Bacone College began in 1880, operating first at Tahlequah and then at Muskogee. Its level of offering has been up and down through the years, at one time including four-year programs. It serves Indian boys and girls of many tribes from several states. Since 1927 it has definitely been on a junior college basis. It is controlled by the Northern Baptist Board.

Pentecostal Holiness College, at Oklahoma City, and Apostolic College, at Tulsa, have begun since World War II. They are working toward accredited status.

The Spartan School of Aeronautical Engineering, at Tulsa, is the only private junior college in Oklahoma. It gives vocational training and is accredited for the first two years of work in aeronautical engineering.

GEORGE ALLEN HENSHAW

1867-1947

By Charles Evans

Oklahoma evolved into a state of the American Union in 1907, with a setting of 70,012 square miles, and a population of 1,414,177 (census of 1907), never having been equalled by any other territory in taking its place in the Union. Rich in its soil and its hundreds of villages, towns, and cities, a Territorial University, an Agricultural and Mechanical College, fair public schools, modern churches and homes, it had everything out of which to make a great state. Other states had their eyes on Oklahoma, when the men chosen from the two territories—ninety-nine Democrats, one Independent, and twelve Republicans—one hundred twelve in all, met in Guthrie November 20, 1906, to frame a constitution for the forty-sixth State of America.

With distinct pride to every Oklahoman, the electors of these Territories met every demand resting upon them. Perhaps no constitutional convention meeting at any time in America to develop a fundamental instrument of government for a state ever sent so many devoted and competent men into a convention as did the voters of the two Territories in their election of delegates to frame their fundamental law. Out of this group, the State of Oklahoma chose its leadership in the subsequent development of the state: Charles N. Haskell, from Muskogee, as the first governor; Robert L. Williams, of Durant, its first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and as third governor, who led the state through the period of World War I; Henry Johnston, from Perry, was made governor in 1927; William H. Murray, the president of the Constitutional Convention, served as governor from 1931 to 1935. If further proof than this, if any were needed that any man who sat in the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma in 1906 and 1907 was sitting among powerful leaders of modern statecraft, it could be found in many more delegates who served as members of its Supreme Court, as Members of its State administrations, as State Senators and representatives in the lower house of the Legislature, and many entering high places in the Federal Government in subsequent years. Truly, those who entered this Constitutional Convention had a right to believe that destiny had marked them as a distinct factor in an important field.

District No. 107, now embracing Marshall County, Oklahoma, chose to represent it at this Constitutional Convention a young attorney, George Allen Henshaw. Born in Stonefort, Illinois, October 2, 1867, he attended the public schools of Illinois and at nine-

teen entered an academy at Crab Orchard in that state. Though he had his eyes upon the law as a profession, he taught school in Williamson County and adjoining territory for several years until he entered Indiana College of Law, then a department of Valparaiso University in Valparaiso, Indiana, completing his law course in 1894. He practiced law for six years in Illinois, keeping for his residence Carterville, but doing most of his practicing in Marion, the county seat of Williamson County. Here in this region he remained until 1900. The new country of the Indian Territory attracting the ambitious young attorney, he came to the town of Madill, now the county seat of Marshall County, Oklahoma, and took up his residence and practice there in 1900.

He at once showed splendid character and leadership. He had served on the school board of Carterville, Illinois, and his neighbors in Madill, finding him deeply interested in education, placed him on the Board of Education and in time made him president of that body. Revealing a splendid aptitude for civic leadership and standing in the vanguard of the best attorneys of the Indian Territory, his people sent him to assist in making the Constitution of the new state. The leaders among the constitution makers at Guthrie knew him as a man of character and an attorney of splendid worth. He made friends with such men as Murray, Haskell, Williams, Johnston, Hayes, Ledbetter, and other delegates.

Out of this confidence, which he kept through the years as a sacred trust even to the end of his life, he received from Murray, the President of the Convention, the chairmanship of the Legal Advisory Committee. He performed his duties with such efficiency and power that he passed from the Constitutional Convention with the reputation that made him Assistant Attorney General under Charles West, and Counsel to the State Corporation Commission in 1907. Also, he was placed on other committees of value, one of which was given the task of setting up the boundaries and forming the counties of the future state. When it came to the naming of the county composing his territory, he submitted to the Committee that it be called Marshall County in honor of the name of his mother—Elizabeth Ellen Marshall (Henshaw), who was a collateral kin to John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, and of Thomas Marshall, a Judge and Congressman from Kentucky.

George A. Henshaw made such a splendid success of the work of Assistant Attorney General and counsel to the Corporation Commission that there was a call from the people for him to bring his knowledge of corporations and practices into the State Corporation Commission. He made the race on the Democratic ticket for membership on this Commission and was elected in November, 1910. Taking his place in January 1911, he served with distinction until January 1917.



GEORGE ALLEN HENSHAW

Among the many constructive measures dealing with corporations doing business in the state through the years as Corporation Commissioner, he assisted in drafting and pushing through departments of the State government oil and gas conservation rules, regulations and statutes which have protected Oklahoma even to this time from the wasting of oil and gas, running into many millions of dollars. He asked for and obtained assistance in this work from leaders at that time in the state engaged in the development of oil and gas, such as Mr. C. E. Burlingame, of Bartlesville, W. B. Pine, of Okmulgee, Wirt Franklin, Ardmore, and C. J. Wrightman, of Tulsa, now of Ft. Worth, Texas.

The work of the State Corporation Commission while Mr. Henshaw was a member in shaping a modern code of laws for the development and control of the vast oil, gas, and pipeline interests in Oklahoma was so important that a brief outline of the men and events relating thereto is in order.

At the latter part of the administration of Governor Lee Cruce and the first years of the succeeding administration—that of Governor R. L. Williams—the State of Oklahoma began a tremendous growth in wealth, enterprise, and population that soon demanded that its natural riches be not only properly developed, but closely guarded. The oil industry grew by leaps and bounds and soon there was an immediate need for a code of laws relating to oil and gas conservation and setting strict limits upon individuals and corporations engaging in the development of the oil industry in Oklahoma.

Mr. Henshaw had since his beginning as a member of the State Corporation Commission in January, 1911, for his co-worker the other able member of the Commission, Col. J. E. Love. Soon after the term of Governor Williams began in 1915, he appointed on April 30, Honorable W. D. Humphrey to succeed a former member, A. P. Watson. Mr. Humphrey had shown pronounced leadership as mayor of Nowata four times in succession from 1903 to 1906, and in that year resigned his mayorship to take his place in the Constitutional Convention from District 58, where he served through the Convention on important committees.

Just at the time when important jurisdictional questions involving power of the Commission were still being determined, Governor Williams appointed as a member of the Corporation Commission to take the place of Col. Jack Love, who died in June, 1918, Mr. Arthur Lee Walker, who had attracted the attention of the governor and the whole state upon his understanding and peculiar power to get at the very heart of needed legislation on the oil and gas industry. The Legislature of 1915 passed, on March 30, 1915, an Act entitled: "To Conserve Natural Gas in the State of Oklahoma, to prevent waste thereof, provided for the equitable taking and purchase of same, and conferring authority on the Corporation Commission and prescribing penalty for violation of same, and re-

pealing certain acts and declaring an emergency,"—Mr. Walker, who at that time was Secretary to the Speaker of the House, was appointed to organize the Oil and Gas Conservation Department of the Corporation Commission. Here the real team work of Henshaw, Humphrey, and Walker was begun, and, though Henshaw left the Corporation Commission in 1917, still his influence carried over into the code of laws whereby the waste of gas and oil was curbed; where provision was made for their conservation, and for the apportionment of any excess of gas supply; regulating the purchases of oil and gas and for fair treatment, and setting forth how hearings before the Corporation Commission should be conducted on these matters and providing for appeals to the Supreme Court for review, and for the Commission to make rules or regulations as to the waste and protection of all natural gas, and to employ or appoint such agents with the consent of the Governor. Mr. Walker was elected in November, 1918, to succeed himself as a member of the State Corporation Commission for a term of six years, and resigned in January, 1923. Mr. Henshaw, Jack Love, W. D. Humphrey, and Arthur Lee Walker together caused the framing of a code of laws for regulation and development of the oil and gas industry of Oklahoma which influenced other states, and whose practical values have been adopted by other Commissions and Legislatures.

In 1917, Mr. Henshaw did not stand for re-election for a place on the Corporation Commission. He entered into the practice of law in Oklahoma City and at the same time gave close consideration to investments in oil enterprises. He gave advice and legal direction to his sons, who were deeply interested in the oil fields of Oklahoma and Texas.

No higher tribute has ever been paid an attorney and citizen in Oklahoma than the one George Allen Henshaw received in 1924, when he was called out of his law practice and business world to be named joint receiver with the late John W. Shartel of the Oklahoma Railway Company. This company had served Oklahoma City through the years in the control of its city streetcar system and now in 1924 it was faced with disaster. Federal Judge Franklin E. Kennamer ordered this railway system into receivership. But a mere receivership, just any sort, would not solve the problem. The receivership must be conducted so that the Oklahoma Railway Company would not only be kept alive, but would make money. The big question was—how could this be done? Judge Kennamer decided two men could do this job: John W. Shartel, formerly general manager of the system, who was familiar with the property, and the other man must be—using a quotation from Harlow's Weekly, "A large caliber business man whose experience was broad and who possessed an understanding of the fundamentals of the public utilities business—and that man was George Allen Henshaw." These two men were appointed receivers and taking charge of the interurban city and bus lines in Oklahoma City and adjoining territory, brought

the Oklahoma Railway Company in three years, back to its stockholders with all interest paid on \$6,500,000.00 of bonded debt, and added \$575,000.00 to capital account and had placed \$432,000.00 in cash in the company's strong box.

In 1930, he again took up his law work, but soon found great interest in the gubernatorial campaign, since his Constitutional Convention friend, William H. Murray, was making the race for governor. Mr. Henshaw was given high command in the Murray headquarters and had much to do in landing Murray in the governor's chair in 1931. He was honored by Murray by being appointed to the District Court bench of the 13th Judicial District of Oklahoma, July 20, 1933. His record shows in this court that in less than a year as District Judge he, through his protective work and decisive action, rendered nine hundred seventy-three final judgments, passed three thousand eighty motions and demurrers, and more than seven hundred motions and temporary matters specially set. Through his service on the bench, no more than ten appeals to the Supreme Court were made.

In 1934 his friends urged him to make the race for Supreme Court Judge from the Supreme Court Judicial District No. 3. He yielded to their views and made the race, but lost. He went back to his law office and to a leisurely and delightful home life.

The annals of the family relationship of Judge Henshaw are simple but strong. His paternal grandfather was James Henshaw, a member of the Quaker colony of Winston, North Carolina. His grandmother was Carolyn Robinson (Henshaw), a descendant of good Tennessee farmers. To this union was born Carrol Henshaw, the father of Judge Henshaw, September 22, 1832, who married Elizabeth Ellen Marshall (Henshaw), whose father was John Marshall of Tennessee, and whose mother was Nancy (Bray) Marshall. To this union was born the following children:

William Riley Henshaw, born November 3, 1851; John A. Henshaw, born April 14, 1854, and died November 7, 1870; Sarah E. Henshaw, born March 18, 1862, died January 17, 1878; James I. Henshaw, born January 15, 1865, living at Madill, Oklahoma (county judge of Marshall County, Oklahoma); Mary E. Henshaw, born February 21, 1872, died July 1, 1898; George Allen Henshaw, the subject of this sketch, was born October 2, 1867, died March 6, 1947; and Francis Marion Henshaw, born January 1, 1870, now living in Oklahoma City at 1319 Classen Boulevard.

George A. Henshaw's first marriage was to Nettie E. Anderson, in Golconda, Pope County, Illinois, February 6, 1888. Nettie E. Henshaw died October 1, 1912, and is buried in Fairlawn Cemetery, Oklahoma City. His second marriage was with Lillie Duvall Hays, September 15, 1915, in Oklahoma City, the widow of Mr. Morgan J. Hays, a business man of Ardmore, Oklahoma, who died December 2, 1910, in Ardmore. Mrs. Lillie Duvall Henshaw has been a teacher

in Roosevelt Junior High School, Oklahoma City, for many years, and lives at 1200 North Hudson, Oklahoma City.

There were no children by the second marriage, but from his first there were six children, two of whom, Myrtle Henshaw, born August 1, 1890, and Herman Henshaw, born September 17, 1891, died in infancy.

His oldest living child, Walter Anderson Henshaw, was born February 26, 1893, and is now living in San Antonio, Texas. He enlisted in World War I, in the Air Corps, and was mustered out in 1918 as a lieutenant. His first wife was Dorothy Walsh of St. Louis by whom he had two children, a son, Walter, Jr., and a daughter, Florence. Walter Jr. served in World War II. His second marriage was to Frances Allen of Walters, Oklahoma, to whom was born George A. Henshaw, III.

George Allen Henshaw, Jr., his second son, was born in 1896 and died at San Angelo, Texas, April 23, 1933. He married Donnie Pulliam, by whom he had two children, now living with their mother in San Francisco. He entered World War I in the Machine Branch of the Aviation Division, and was mustered out in 1918, as a lieutenant.

Paul Anderson Henshaw was born January 1, 1899, and, as has been said, is living in San Antonio, Texas, and with his brother is engaged in the oil industry. He served in the Second World War, reaching the rank of Major in the Maintenance Division. His first marriage had been to Vivian Wells of Oklahoma City, and by her he had one child, Betty Ann Henshaw. Betty Ann Henshaw married Karl Zwick, and they have two daughters, whose names are Paula and Trudy. Mr. and Mrs. Zwick live in San Antonio, 922 Monte Boulevard.

The youngest member of the family of Judge Henshaw was a daughter, Ada Henshaw, born August 2, 1901, and who died November 19, 1917, while attending Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Missouri. She is buried near her mother and father in Fairlawn Cemetery in Oklahoma City.

In his relationship with society, Judge Henshaw found great comfort in his church and in his lodge. In his early married life he joined the Presbyterian Church, and remained in that denomination until 1915, when, with his second wife, he took up membership in the First Christian Church, Oklahoma City. The Independent Order of the Odd Fellows of Oklahoma paid him the great tribute of making him Grandmaster of the State Lodge in 1910.

No genuine movement for good in Oklahoma City and the state but what received the best tribute he could render. Thus runs the story of one of God's good men. He numbered his friends by his acquaintances and in his death, Oklahoma lost one of its eminent citizens.

APPENDIX

It has been my observation after watching the development of the State of Oklahoma since its beginning and adding to this a broad contact with the two territories before statehood, that the present generation and even many of the historians of the past progress of the State have not given a proper evaluation to the character, the dignity, and the service of the members who composed the Constitutional Convention.

Dr. Herbert Gambrell, in an article published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, No. 2, under the title of "The Founding of the Philosophical Society of Texas", points out with admirable style, that those Texans who composed the official body that framed the Constitution of The Republic of Texas, and men who, like Houston, Mirabeau B. Lamar, Anson Jones, Rusk, Kaufman, and others, gave their best to the founding of Texas, developed a devotion from their people that kept them public servants of Texas in high places long after Texas entered the Union in 1845.

It has been set forth here that associated with Henshaw were men who afterward were governors of this commonwealth, as Haskell, Williams, Johnston, and Murray. For the sake of the record that future generations may have this, a brief list of the men entering this Constitutional Convention and coming out of it served the State in future years, there is offered here a brief statement pointing out state official positions and services concerning certain members of the Constitutional Convention:

Royal J. Allen (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 20, p. 285), born October 5, 1865, in Collin County, Texas; died January 26, 1942, at Muskogee, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 93, Duncan, I. T.; at the beginning of statehood was appointed Member of the State Board of Affairs and served as Chairman until 1911, and afterwards served his city and county and state in various capacities.

Henry E. Asp (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, p. 256) born in Illinois; died July 4, 1923; Constitutional Convention from District 25, Guthrie; General Attorney for Santa Fe Railroad in Oklahoma; credited with inserting in the Constitution provision that Capital of the State would be at Guthrie until 1913.

William E. Banks (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, p. 133), born July 19, 1848, Springdale, Arkansas; died June 18, 1915 in Jackson County, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 51, Post Office, Hess, O.T.; Member of the First Legislature of Oklahoma; Baptist preacher for twenty-seven years.

George Norton Bilby (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 23, p. 181) born in Ottumka, Iowa, 1868; Constitutional Convention from District 6, Alva; served as State Health Commissioner 1931 to 1935.

Charles W. Board, born near Butler, Missouri in 1872; died Sept. 20, 1947 at Okemah, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 73; Register of Deeds, Okfuskee County 1907 to 1913; State Senator, Okfuskee County, 1913-1919; President Pro-tem of Senate, 1917; in 1924 became head

of the oil and gas division of the State School Land Commission and served until July, 1945 when he voluntarily retired from public life.

O. H. Brewer; Constitutional Convention from District 77, Webber Falls; member Oklahoma State Farm and Loan Department, 1908-10; Postmaster of Muskogee; County Judge, Muskogee County 1926 to 1933; District Judge from Muskogee District serving his fourth term.

James Shannoa Buchanan (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, p. 353) born October 14, 1864 at Franklin, Tenn.; died March 20, 1930, Norman, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 34, Norman; Dean of Arts and Sciences, Oklahoma University, 1908-1923; President of Oklahoma University, 1923-25.

Henry L. Cloud, born Nov. 5, 1874, Tahlequah, I. T.; educated at Cherokee Orphan Asylum and two years at Willie Halsell College; teacher and licensed preacher; Constitutional Convention from District 23, Wellston, O. T.; member of Ninth Legislature 1923-24 from Kingfisher County; Tenth Legislature, 1924-25 from Oklahoma County, District No. 1.

J. H. N. Cobb (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 12, p. 244) born December 14, 1858, Highland County, Virginia; died July 31, 1928, Sapulpa, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District No. 67, Creek County; Food Administrator during World War 1; member of Local Exemption Board, Creek County, World War 1.

Riley Copeland (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 22, p. 473), born in Cherokee Nation, I. T., Dec. 10, 1860 died June 2, 1942, at Grove, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 62, P.O. Fairland; State Game Department 1915-1919; in State Highway Department as Maintenance Superintendent over several counties in Northeastern Oklahoma 1931-35.

Joseph John Curl (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, p. 130) born July 23, 1868, Bristol, England; died March 22, 1934 at Cleveland, Ohio; located at Bartlesville in 1904 and organized Almeda Oil Co.; built Almeda Hotel and owner and operator of street car and interurban lines in and around Bartlesville; Constitutional Convention from District 57.

William Samuel Dearing (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 18, p. 206) born Oct. 8, 1865 at Harrison, Boone County, Arkansas; died Jan. 8, 1940, at Thomas, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 44, comprising about three-fourths of Custer County; member of Board of Control of the Asylum at Fort Supply 1907-10; member of House of Representatives of the Fourth Legislature 1913-14.

William Henry Edley (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 14, p. 127) born Jan. 20, 1860, in Warren County, Kentucky; died May 27, 1935, near Copan, Washington County, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 53, Fletcher, O. T. and later moved to Wyoming, where he was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys and Special Disbursing Agent.

Albert H. Ellis, born Dec. 17, 1861, Shelby County, Indiana; came to Territory in 1889; Constitutional Convention from District 14, Orlando; Vice-president of the Convention; member and speaker pro-tem of House of Representatives, 1907-08.

Charles C. Fisher (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 22, p. 471) born Dec. 16, 1867, Lenox, Iowa; died June 15, 1944; Constitutional Convention from District 39, Hinton P. O.; member of First Legislature of Oklahoma from Caddo County; School Land Inspector and Appraiser; First Legislature of Oklahoma; Inspector of the Federal Land Bank 1924-34.

C. O. Frye (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 6, p. 94) born Nov. 2, 1854, died August 17, 1913; Postmaster of Sallisaw from 1897 to 1913; Constitutional Convention from District 84; after a brief intermission, postmaster at Sallisaw, where he served until his death.

Neil B. Gardner, born October 12, 1875, Independence, Henderson County, Tennessee; Constitutional Convention from District 91, Stigler, P. O.; Superintendent of State Orphans Home, Pryor, 1905-1923; member of State Board of Education 1931-35.

James Clinton Graham (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, p. 135), born in Springtown, Texas 1870; died August 21, 1921 at Marietta, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 106, Marietta; First State Senator from District composed of Carter, Love and Murray Counties; member House of Representatives, from Love County, at time of death.

James A. Harris (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 25, p. 300), born July 26, 1870, died April 16, 1947; Constitutional Convention from District 71, Wagoner; in 1908-09 was Treasurer of the Republican State Committee, and in 1910 Chairman of that organization; Republican National Committee 1912-16; State Republican Committee 1920-21, and again a member of the National Committee in 1920-24.

Pete Hanraty (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 11, p. 875) born Dec. 14, 1864 in Blantyre, Scotland; died Sept. 7, 1932; came to Territory in 1883; Constitutional Convention from District 90, South McAlester; Chief Mine Inspector of Oklahoma 1907-11; Mayor of McAlester May 1910 to May 1912 and at the time of his death was in service of the State.

Ben F. Harrison, born Jan. 21, 1875; educated at Wapanucka Institute and Trinity College, North Carolina, A.B. Degree; Constitutional Convention from District No. 88, Calvin, P.O.; First and Second Legislatures 1907-09; Secretary of State of Oklahoma 1910-15; Member Fifth Legislature 1915-16; Seventh Legislature 1918-19; Eighth Legislature 1921; State Budget Officer in 1923; re-appointed to same office 1927 serving until 1931.

John B. Harrison (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 25, p. 302); born April 10, 1861 in Anderson County, Kentucky; died April 12, 1947, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; settled at Cheyenne in the Territory in 1903; County Attorney, Roger Mills County 1894-98; Constitutional Convention from District 45, Sayre P. O.; Member Supreme Court Commission 1911-14; Assistant Attorney General, State of Oklahoma 1914-18; Justice Supreme Court of Oklahoma 1918-29; Chief Justice 1921-22.

Charles N. Haskell (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 11, p. 890), born in Putnam County, Ohio, March 13, 1860; settled at Muskogee, Indian Territory in 1901; devoted himself to the upbuilding of Muskogee; assisted in developing industries, etc.; Constitutional Convention District 76, Muskogee; first Governor of Oklahoma 1907-11; In 1908 he headed the Oklahoma delegation to the National Convention at Denver; and for a while was Treasurer of the National Democratic Committee; delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1928; Governor Haskell remained active in political and social affairs of Oklahoma until his death. At his death tribute was paid him by the Oklahoma State Senate, in Resolution No. 25, of which Henry S. Johnston was Chairman.

A. L. Hausam (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 9, p. 490) born Oct. 19, 1866 at Wilkesbarre, Pa.; died Dec. 29, 1926 in Wagoner County, Oklahoma; made the run in 1889, settling on a claim near Guthrie; came to Coweta, Wagoner County, in 1901; farmer; Constitutional Convention from District 70; elected as County Commissioner, Wagoner County, 1922, and was serving as Chairman of that Board at the time of his death.

Samuel W. Hayes (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, p. 309), born Sept. 17, 1875 at Huntsville, Arkansas; died March 14, 1941, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 85, Chickasha; elected Justice of Oklahoma Supreme Court 1907; Chief Justice 1913-14; member, Board of Regents, Oklahoma University 1919; member, leading law and Civic Groups of Oklahoma City; elected Most Useful Citizen of Oklahoma City in 1939; in 1938 he was made a member of Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of the Tenth District; President, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce 1940, serving until his death.

Francis E. Herring (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, p. 507), born March 2, 1860, Hill County, Texas; died Sept. 15, 1938, Elk City, Oklahoma; cowboy, rancher, merchant; owner of stores at Elk City, Foss, Hammon, and other Oklahoma towns; Constitutional Convention from District 46; gave much time and money to development of Elk City.

Philip Bernard Hopkins, (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 9, p. 216), born June 1, 1862, Binghamton, New York; died December 14, 1921, Muskogee, Oklahoma. Elected, independent of Party affiliation, to Constitutional Convention from District 75. Active in the early day building program of Muskogee; aided in developing the transportation system of the city; trusted employee of the Dawes Commission, having a major part in the enrollment of the Creeks; resigned from the Commission in 1903, to become vice-president and manager of the Canadian Valley Trust Company, a banking institution at Muskogee; leader in the development of the oil industry in Oklahoma and Texas.

W. Bartlett Hudson (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, p. 147), born June 8, 1865, LaGrange, Indiana; died January 7, 1932, Henryetta, Oklahoma; delegate Constitutional Convention from District 79; served as City Treasurer and as a member of the City Council of Henryetta; member of Oklahoma Tax Commission from Jan. 21, 1931 to the time of his death.

William C. Hughes (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, p. 511) born October 24, 1869, Georgetown, Missouri; died March 22, 1938, Ada, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 28, Oklahoma City; Hughes County was named for him; Clerk of the Oklahoma County Superior Court 1907; Chairman State Board of Affairs 1931-1935.

Walter D. Humphrey (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 20, p. 430) born March 5, 1876, Richlands, North Carolina; died August 1, 1942, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 58, Nowata; resigned as Mayor of Nowata during his fifth term; appointed to the State Corporation Commission in 1915; elected to that office in 1916, serving as Chairman in 1918; Chairman, Oklahoma State Tax Commission 1931-1935; Chief Examiner for Federal Communications Commission 1935-1937; chosen as Principal Attorney for said Commission in 1937, a place he held until the time of his death, performing valuable services, while so engaged.

T. O. James (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 14, p. 129) born Jan. 15, 1863, Dodgeville, Wis.; died July 8, 1934, Des Moines, N. Mex.; Constitutional Convention District 1, Guymon; served on several important committees.

Henry S. Johnston was born at Evansville, Indiana, Dec. 30, 1870; County Attorney, Noble County 1901-4; Constitutional Convention District 17, Perry; Chairman Democratic Caucus, State Constitutional Convention; member and President Pro-tem of First Oklahoma Senate, 1907-8; Nominated twice to United States Congress 1908 and 1914; Governor of Oklahoma 1926-29; State Senator from District 10 1933-35.

Cham Jones, born in Fannin County, Texas June 1, 1872; Constitutional Convention District 101, Ryan; member State House of Representatives

from Jefferson County 1910-12; elected to office of District Judge, District 15, 1914; resigned in 1923 to accept appointment on Oklahoma Supreme Court Commission, where he served four years; member of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Legislature of Oklahoma from Stephens County; Assistant Attorney for State Corporation Commission 1935-37; appointed District Judge for Stephens and Jefferson Counties in August 1937 where he still serves (Nov. 26, 1945).

Matthew John Kane, born Nov. 28, 1863, Niagara County, N.Y.; died January 2, 1924; Constitutional Convention District 37, Kingfisher; elected Justice Supreme Court of Oklahoma Sept. 1907; Chief Justice 1909-12; re-elected and served 1917-29; delegate to Universal Congress Lawyers and Jurists, St. Louis, 1904; Elector, Hall of Fame, New York University.

Wade Hampton Kornegay (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 18, p. 92), born in Duplin County, North Carolina, Apr. 17, 1865; died Nov. 19, 1939, Vinita, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention from District 59, Vinita; served as Member of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, 1931-32.

J. Howard Langley (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 15, p. 359), born July 8, 1867, McDonald County, Missouri; died Oct. 27, 1935; Constitutional Convention District 65, Pryor Creek; named "Mayes" county in honor of distinguished Cherokee family; aided in all public projects for good of the state; secured land rights for the site of Spavinaw Lake; elected Justice of Supreme Court of Oklahoma District 1, 1930, but for reasons of his health resigned on Feb. 2, 1931; Chairman of Board appointed by Attorney General of Oklahoma in 1934 to aid in the building of three power dams on Grand River.

Miles Lasater (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 7, p. 350), born Jan. 8, 1872, Palo Pinto County, Texas; died Mar. 11, 1929, Wichita, Kansas; Constitutional Convention District 94, Pauls Valley; member Text Book Commission 1908; prominent Newspaper Publisher of Pauls Valley; member Board of Control, Training School for Boys, Pauls Valley, 1908; State Insurance Commissioner, 1909; at the time of his death he was president of the Federal Land Bank, Wichita, Kansas, also a director of the Equitable Life Insurance Company of New York City, N.Y.

T. J. Leahy (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 12, p. 240), born May 6, 1868, Osage Mission, St. Paul, Kansas; died Mar. 3, 1934, Pawhuska, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention District 56, Pawhuska; in 1926, at request of Osage Tribe, he was appointed as Special Assistant United States Attorney General to assist in the prosecution of Osage Tribe murder cases.

Walter A. Ledbetter (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 12, p. 236); born March 9, 1863, Fayette, Texas; died January 25, 1934; Constitutional Convention District 103, Ardmore; Chairman of Judiciary Committee of the Convention; took prominent part in bringing the state capital to Oklahoma City; Life Member, Oklahoma Historical Society; Member of Board of Directors; served as Vice-President of Board; member special committee to supervise planning and building of the Historical Building.

Benjamin Floyd Lee, born Raymond, Hinds County, Mississippi in 1867; Constitutional Convention District 110; Supt. State Orphanage 1908-09; Asst. State Auditor 1911-13; Manager mail order drug business 1914-16; Manager Farmers' Cooperative Store, Okla. City 1917-18; Active in a municipal campaign 1917-18 to establish a Commission form of Government for Oklahoma City which carried; Mayor in Mississippi; Delegate from Indian Territory Democratic Party to welcome Bryan on his return from Europe in 1908; now a resident of Washington D. C.

William C. Liedtke, born Feb. 13, 1882, Coesfield, Texas; came to Territory in 1904; Judge of the Superior County, Pittsburg County, 1913-16; Constitutional Convention District 83; now engaged in practise of law in Tulsa.

William N. Littlejohn (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 5, p. 423), born Dec. 22, 1845 in South Carolina; died June 6, 1927 at Gordon, Adair County, Okla.; enlisted in Confederate Army on Feb. 26, 1862 and served until the war was over in the spring of 1865; elected District Clerk of Flint District and Circuit Judge of Flint District; Constitutional Convention District 78; at statehood was elected County Judge of Sequoyah County and re-elected for a second term.

Isaac Benjamin Littleton (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, p. 302) born in 1843, Wilkes County, Ga.; died Feb. 7, 1925; interred in Tecumseh Cemetery; enlisted and served in the Confederate Army during the entire Civil War; at opening of Pottawatomie Reservation he filed on claim near Earlsboro in 1891; Constitutional Convention District 32.

Edward Oughten McCance (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 9, p. 113), born Sept. 16, 1874, McMinn County, Tenn.; died May 12, 1915, Silver City, New Mexico, where he had gone for his health; Constitutional Convention District 5, Mutual; represented Woodward County in State Legislature at time of his death.

Charles Morgan McClain (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 7, p. 347); born April 18, 1840, at Osceolla, St. Clair County, Mississippi; died January 22, 1915, at Purcell, Oklahoma. Enlisted in the Confederate Army and served until the close of the Civil War, when he removed to Texas, engaging in the Mercantile business at Gainesville until 1885, when he removed to the Indian Territory. Constitutional Convention District 86; elected register of deeds McClain County, which county was named for him; appointed chief assistant to the State Game and Fish Warden on January 13, 1915.

John Charles Major (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, p. 506), born May 20, 1863, Albion, New York; died January 30, 1937; Constitutional Convention District 7, Granton; member First Legislature of Oklahoma; Sheriff, Major County, 1913-15; County Treasurer, Major County, 1915-19; served four years as School Land Examiner and Appraiser, 1915-19, by appointment of Governor Williams.

C. C. Mathies (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 6, p. 95), born May 3, 1850, Gadsden, Alabama; died Jan. 7, 1915, Wister, Okla.; Constitutional Convention District 100, Monroe; served as Representative from LeFlore County in First and Second Legislatures; appointed postmaster, Monroe, by President Cleveland, where he served about twenty years; County Commission District 2, LeFlore County, Jan. 6, 1913 to Jan. 4, 1915.

Charles L. Moore (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 15, p. 502), born June 2, 1868, Fulton County, Illinois; died Oct. 14, 1937, Oklahoma City; Constitutional Convention District 13, Enid; served as Assistant Attorney General under Attorney General Charles West, 1907-13; assisted in organizing the Oklahoma Savings and Loan Association of Enid and Oklahoma City and served in that organization the last twenty-two years of his life.

William Henry Murray, born Collinsville, Texas, Nov. 12, 1869; Lawyer, Writer, Editor; legal advisor to Governor of Chickasaw Nation 1898-1901; Constitutional Convention District 104, Tishomingo; chosen President of the Convention; Chairman First Democratic State Convention of Oklahoma, after statehood, 1907; Speaker House of Representatives, 1907-09;

delegate-at-large, Democratic National Convention 1908-12-16 and 1932; member 63rd and 64th United States Congress, 1914-16; Governor of Oklahoma 1931-35; Chairman Oklahoma Code Commission 1931-41; author of numerous books.

Dr. Everett G. Newell (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, p. 422) born Jan. 10, 1870, Nevada, Mo.; died Dec. 17, 1930, Yale, Oklahoma; Delegate, Constitutional Convention District 19, Yale; Supt. State Hospital, Supply, 1908-15.

Gabe E. Parker, born in Choctaw Nation, Sept. 29, 1878; teacher; Constitutional Convention District 109, Academy; Register of U. S. Treasury, 1913; Supt. Five Civilized Tribes 1915-21; designed Great Seal of Oklahoma.

James Jones Quarles (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, p. 245), born May 5, 1862, Lafayette County, Miss.; died Feb. 11, 1941, Pawhuska, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention District 56, Fairfax; member Board of Regents Oklahoma Preparatory School, Tonkawa, 1907-11; member State Board of Public Affairs, 1910-11; Supt. Boys Training School, Pauls Valley, 1931-35.

Silas Marion Ramsey (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 14, p. 130), born Dec. 5, 1845, Lewis County, Mo.; Register of Deeds, Pottawatomie County, Jan. 1, 1897 to Jan. 1, 1901; Constitutional Convention District 30, Tecumseh; under-sheriff Pottawatomie County, Jan. 1, 1921 to Jan. 1, 1925.

Clement V. Rogers (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, p. 461), born Jan. 11, 1839, Going Snake District, I. T.; died Oct. 28, 1911; Constitutional Convention District 64, Claremore; father of celebrated Will Rogers; long and distinguished services rendered in development of churches, schools and government of the Cherokee Nation, 1878-1908; Rogers County is named for him.

Joel Mason Sandlin (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, p. 106), born Sept. 6, 1878, Hartselle, Alabama; died Apr. 7, 1940, Duncan, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention District 22, Prague; Private Secretary to Governor Chas. N. Haskell; Judge, Superior Court of Logan County, 1909-11; member, State Board of Education, 1915-29.

James Waite Swartz, born May 6, 1873 in Springwater, Livingston County, New York; served in Spanish-American War, First Illinois Cavalry, Troop H; Constitutional Convention District 61; County Attorney, Culbertson County (Van Horn), Texas, 1934; Assistant County Attorney, Miami, Oklahoma; President, Miami School Board, 1914-17; for past several years has resided at Van Horn, Texas.

Fred C. Tracy was born Jan. 17, 1868, Rochester, Illinois; came to Territory 1885; Constitutional Convention District 2, Beaver; member Board of Trustees, Beaver, 1914-24; member, Beaver School Board 1924-32; member of committee of twenty-one, proposing amendments to Oklahoma Constitution, 1931; member, State Text Book Commission, 1933; County Attorney, Beaver County, 1936-41; and again from July 1942 to present date (Aug. 25, 1947). President, Bank of Beaver.

Carlton Weaver, (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 25, p. 410); born Aug. 25, 1881; died Aug. 17, 1947, Wilburton, Okla.; came to Ind. Ter. 1899; Constitutional Convention District 87; publisher Latimer County News Democrat, 1914-39; subsequently published newspapers at Ada, Tecumseh and Shawnee; Speaker of the House during Thirteenth Legislature; President Wilburton State Bank; rancher.

Boone Williams (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, p. 350) born Rienzi, Mississippi, Oct. 9, 1872; died Jan. 12, 1930, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Constitutional Convention District 97, Lehigh; appointed 1910 member Capitol Commission; Warden Penitentiary at Granite, 1915-19.

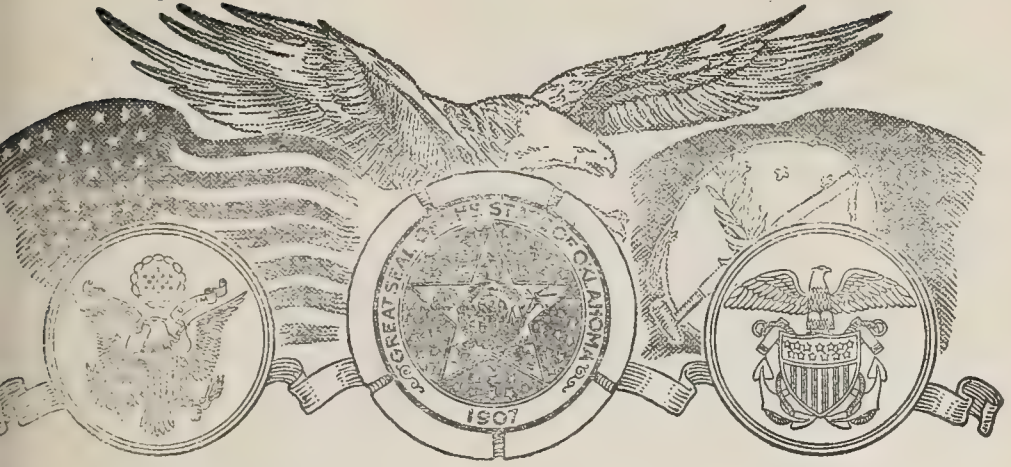
Edward Rutledge Williams (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 17, p. 255); born October 5, 1857, in Schuyler County, Illinois; died December 24, 1932 at Wichita, Kansas, interred at Buffalo, Oklahoma; educated University of Illinois; migrated to Kansas in 1884, became a Missionary; secured a homestead at Blackwell in Cherokee Outlet; Constitutional Convention District 3; 1918-19, Agent for Western Oklahoma Orphanage for white children at Helena.

Robert Lee Williams, born Brundidge, Alabama, Dec. 20, 1868; M. A. Southern University (now Birmingham-Southern College) Greensboro, Alabama, 1894; LL.D. 1913; LL.D., Tulsa University 1934; admitted to Bar 1891; came to Atoka, I. T. 1896; six months later moved to Durant; city attorney, Durant 1899; member, Indian Territory Democratic Committee, 1902-04; Democratic National Committee 1904-08; Constitutional Convention District 108, Durant; Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Oklahoma, 1907-08; re-elected for term 1909-15; resigned March 10, 1914; Governor of Oklahoma 1915-19; United States Judge, Eastern District of Oklahoma, Feb. 19, 1919-37; retired March 31, 1939, but continued to serve as needed; member, and president of Oklahoma State Historical Society; Chairman, Editorial Committee, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*; member, American Bar Association, Alpha Tau Omega (Alabama Beta Beta Chapter; methodist; Mason (32°).

George William Wood was born in Owen County, Kentucky, Dec. 23, 1875; came to Territory in 1893; Constitutional Convention District 8, Cherokee; Supt. Orphans Home, Helena, 1927-35; Pastor of Government Housing Project, East Vanport, Oregon.

T. Charles Wyatt (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 5, p. 423), born June 10, 1850, Humphrey County, Tenn.; died Sept. 28, 1922 at Shawnee, Oklahoma; moved to Territory in 1900; Constitutional Convention from District 33, Wanette; member Board of Arbitration and Conciliation under Governors Haskell, Cruce and Williams.

Those not listed here served their home districts, their counties and the whole social order of Oklahoma in private enterprises, in the professions, in the schools and churches.



OKLAHOMA WAR MEMORIAL—WORLD WAR II

PART XVIII*

GUILLERMO ABREGO, Technical Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Enid, Garfield County (from Laredo, Webb County, Texas), Mrs. Frances Abrego, Wife, 1012 North Washington, Enid. Born February 10, 1922. Enlisted 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Martin High School. Member of Catholic Church. Trained at Randolph Field, Texas, and Enid Army Air Field, Oklahoma. Died June 20, 1945, in action on Tinian Island, Marianas Islands, Central Pacific.

HOBERT STEELE BAKER, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Okmulgee, Okmulgee County. Mrs. Ruth S. Baker, Mother, 2914 West Broadway, Muskogee. Born January 13, 1923. Enlisted June 3, 1941. Graduated from Okmulgee High School on May 29, 1941. Eagle Scout rating in Boy Scouts. Commissioned June 30, 1943. Served as Co-Pilot on B-24. Listed as missing in action until January, 1946. Died December 1, 1943, in tropical storm on bombing mission, near island of Mille, Marshall Islands, Central Pacific.

* The purpose of the Oklahoma War Memorial—World War II, in addition to the publication of brief biographies of the State's war dead in *The Chronicles*, is the preservation of a record of the interests and achievements of each one of these who gave their lives in the service of their country in World War II. These records in the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society will hold their memory in honor and will be a source of pride to their relatives and to all who have an interest in Oklahoma history in the years to come. Many records have been completed and placed on file in the War Memorial and many are yet to be sent in by relatives when these can be reached by letters sent out by the Editorial Department. We ask that if additional information is received with reference to any service record that this be sent to the Oklahoma Historical Society to be placed with the papers already on file.—Muriel H. Wright.

GLENN V. BARBER, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Ida Sliger, Mother, 824 North Zunis, Tulsa 4. Born August 25, 1917. Enlisted March 3, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended public school at Sand Springs, and high school at Denair, California. Enlisted in California National Guard in 1939. Awarded Expert Infantryman and Good Conduct medals in service. Died February 2, 1945, in action near Bamban on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

MARION E. BAYLES, JR., Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Stilwell, Adair County. Mrs. Lucille A. Bayles, Wife, Stilwell. Born April 25, 1919. Enlisted July 18, 1944. Decorations: Order of the Purple Heart; Combat Infantry Badge. Graduated from High School, St. Paul, Arkansas, in 1939. Served in combat six weeks with the 78th Division, First Army. Died March 5, 1945, in action at crossing of the Erft Canal in the vicinity of Euskirchen, Germany.

LOYD FRANCIS BEACH, Machinist's Mate, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Bethany, Oklahoma County. Mrs. Edna Beach Plunk, Wife, 211 Tidwell Road, Houston 9, Texas. Born December 24, 1908. Enlisted in October, 1943. Decorations: Order of the Purple Heart; Presidential Citation; thirteen Battle Participation Stars; Victory Medal—World War II. Attended public school at Pocasset, Oklahoma. Member of Missionary Baptist Church. Served aboard the U.S.S. *Bunker Hill*, aircraft carrier. Died May 11, 1945, in action when the U.S.S. *Bunker Hill* was struck by a Jap suicide plane near New Britain, Southwest Pacific.

RICHARD HOLBROOK BECKER, Signalman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mr. and Mrs. Jack A. Becker, Parents, 2229 South Florence Ave., Tulsa 4. Born December 4, 1919. Enlisted July 5, 1940. Decorations: American Defense Medal; Fleet Bar; Victory Medal—World War II. Attended Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana. Served aboard U.S.S. *Utah*; U. S. Submarine No. 32, and U. S. Submarine *Dorado*. Died July 23, 1945, in line of duty in Caribbean Sea, Atlantic area.

GEORGE J. BOOKLESS, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Tyrone, Texas County. G. S. Bookless, Father, Tyrone. Born August 5, 1922. Enlisted December 1, 1942. Decorations: Order of the Purple Heart; four Battle Participation Stars; Combat Infantry Badge; French Citation. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Died December 18, 1944, in action at Rockerath, Belgium.

GEORGE H. BOYCE, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Clayton, Pushmataha County. Mr. and Mrs. R. B. McKinney, Foster Parents, Hugo, Oklahoma. Born February 5, 1918. Enlisted March 21, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Held as prisoner by the Japanese in Philippine Islands from the fall of Bataan.

Died October 24, 1944, en route on Japanese ship sunk by American forces in China Sea.

ROY D. BREEDLOVE, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Braggs, Muskogee County. Lee R. Breedlove, Father, Braggs. Born April 7, 1923. Enlisted October 24, 1942. Decorations: South Pacific Campaign Ribbon; Air Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster; Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated from Braggs High School in May, 1942. Basket ball player. Employed by Missouri Pacific Railroad before enlistment. First commissioned at Army Air Field, Ft. Worth, Texas. Pilot on Liberator (B-24) in heavy bomber unit "Jolly Rogers" of the Fifth Air Force. Served on his thirty-third mission. Died May 15, 1945, in action over Mindoro, Philippine Islands.

JOSEPH CURTIS BRIDGES, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Welch, Craig County. Mrs. Ethel Agnes Bridges, Mother, Rte. 1, Welch. Born April 19, 1925. Enlisted August 20, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Welch High School. Served in Aviation Engineers Department. Died February 27, 1945, in action in Luxembourg.

RICHARD E. BUCHANAN, Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. Army. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. Nora Elizabeth Buchanan, Wife, 1002½ N. W. 19th St., Oklahoma City 6. Born February 24, 1912. Enlisted as Reserve Officer and entered service in August, 1940. Decorations: Bronze Star Medal; Order of the Purple Heart. Headquarters Commandant of the 9th Infantry Division when wounded and captured. Died June 26, 1944, of wounds at Rennes, France.

WILLIE EARNEST BURROWS, Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Corps Reserve. Home address: Howe, LeFlore County. Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Burrows, Parents, Rte. 1, Howe. Born June 21, 1920. Enlisted November 24, 1942. Graduated from eighth grade, Monroe, Oklahoma, in 1936. Awarded Expert Rifleman Medal. Died May 12, 1945, in action on Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

EDWARD ROY BURTON, Steward, Third Class, U. S. Naval Reserve. Home address: El Reno, Canadian County. Mrs. Dorothy Burton, Mother, 610 Miles St., El Reno. Born September 6, 1926. Enlisted April 30, 1943. Attended Booker T. Washington High School, El Reno. Member of Sunrise Baptist Church. Served aboard the U.S.S. *Aringle*. Died April 16, 1945, in action in East China Sea.

RALPH EARL BYERS, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Ponca City, Kay County. Mr. and Mrs. Ben Byers, Parents, 503 James St., Salinas, California. Born November 9, 1922. Enlisted November 2, 1942. Decorations: Air Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster; Order of the Purple Heart. Member of Baptist

Church. Pilot on Fighter Plane (P-38). Died March 13, 1945, in action over Germany.

DONALD NEWTON CADE, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Bartlesville, Washington County. Mrs. Lois Cade, Wife, 523 Osage Ave., Bartlesville. Born December 13, 1914. Enlisted December 29, 1942. Decorations: Order of the Purple Heart; Bronze Star Medal; Combat Infantry Badge. Graduated Bartlesville Junior College, 1934; attended South Dakota School of Mines, Rapid City, South Dakota, eight months in ASTP, 1943-44. Member First Methodist Church, Junior Chamber of Commerce, and YMCA, Bartlesville. Served as Replacement Engineer on New Caledonia, September 1 to December, 1944; in Infantry on Luzon, Philippine Islands, December to February 1945; with 13th Engineers, Seventh Division, in road construction on Okinawa, for 64 days beginning April 1, 1945. Died June 4, 1945, in action on Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

ROY L. CALVERT, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Perry, Noble County. Mrs. Irene W. Calvert, Wife, Lela, Oklahoma. Born April 11, 1923. Enlisted December 28, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Awarded Expert Marksmanship and Good Conduct medals. Died July 10, 1944, in action in France.

JAMES WESLEY CAMPBELL, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Mrs. Wesley Crane, Sister, 737 S. W. 36th St., Oklahoma City. Born November 20, 1916. Enlisted November 2, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart; Bronze Medal (recommended by Battalion Commander). Graduated from Washington School, Oklahoma City, 1931. Served as a first aid man in North African, Sicilian, and Normandy campaigns. Wounded in action at Cherbourg, France, on June 22, 1944. Died June 23, 1944, of wounds in France.

CECIL WAYNE CARTER, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Hennepin, Garvin County. Mrs. Jessie C. Carter, Mother, Davis. Born May 17, 1925. Enlisted September 22, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Junior in Woodland High School. Awarded Expert Rifleman Medal. Served in Southwest Pacific. Died December 25, 1944, in action on Ormoc Road, Leyte, Philippine Islands.

WILLIAM WOODROW ("JACK") CASSELMAN, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Seminole, Seminole County. Mrs. Eva Virginia Casselman, Wife, Rte. 3, Orland, California. Born January 31, 1918. Enlisted April 22, 1944. Decoration: Combat Infantry Badge. Attended Seminole High School. Served overseas four months in anti-air craft. Died March 10, 1945, in action in vicinity of Dottenburg (Rhineland), Germany.

WILBUR D. CEARLEY, Technician, Fifth Grade, U. S. Army. Home address: Martha, Jackson County. Mrs. Murel Cearley, Wife, Mangum. Born September 27, 1918. Enlisted April 6, 1942. Decorations: Order of the Purple Heart; American Defense Medal. Served two years in the Aleutian Islands in anti-aircraft; transferred to the Infantry in October, 1944, and served in the European Theatre of Operations. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Died March 14, 1945, in action in Germany.

LEONARD MAYFIELD CHANDLER, Chief Torpedoman, U. S. Navy. Home address: Minco, Grady County. Mrs. Beatrice Chandler, Wife, 529½ N. W. 4th St., Oklahoma City. Born April 18, 1912. Enlisted November 25, 1931. Graduated Minco High School in 1931. Veteran of Foreign Wars. Completed two missions aboard the U.S.S. *Whale* in Pacific War Zone. Serving aboard the U. S. Submarine *Dorado* when reported missing in line of duty on October 13, 1943. Died July 23, 1945 (official date) in Atlantic area.

WILLARD ARNOLD CHANDLER, Seaman, Second Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Guthrie, Logan County. Mr. and Mrs. A. O. Chandler, Parents, 723 West Warner, Guthrie. Born May 6, 1927. Enlisted March 26, 1944. Attended Guthrie public schools. Member Nazarene Church and Boy Scouts. Served in Naval air operations. Died May 28, 1945, in line of duty aboard the U.S.S. *Wasp* when overcome by gas as a result of a fire in the hold of the ship.

CHESTER LEROY CHENEY, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Blackwell, Kay County. Mrs. Frances Cheney, Wife, 520 South 1st St., Blackwell. Born March 30, 1915. Enlisted April 6, 1944. Attended Central High School, Oklahoma City. Member of Presbyterian Church and of Woodmen of the World. Awarded Expert Rifleman Medal. Died November 26, 1944, in action in Germany.

ERNEST BLAIN CLARK, Technical Sergeant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Drumright, Creek County. Mr. and Mrs. Emsy Clark, Parents, Drumright. Born September 17, 1918. Enlisted May 13, 1942. Decorations: Air Medal; four Oak Leaf Clusters; Citation of Honor; Order of the Purple Heart. Senior, Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma. Member of Methodist Church and of Masonic Lodge at Drumright. Received wings at Fort Myers, Florida, in January, 1943. Served as a gunner on B-17 for eight months, and volunteered to serve as bombardier on the B-17, "Section Eight," in the first daylight raid over Berlin on March 3, 1944. Reported missing in action for sixteen months. Died March 3, 1944 (confirmed in July, 1945), in action at Peisson, Germany.

THOMAS NATHAN CLEMONS, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Calvin, Hughes County. Mrs. Mary J. Clemens, Mother, Calvin. Born January 13, 1911. Enlisted July 15, 1940. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended public school at Stony

Point, in Oklahoma. Member of Christian Church. Served in the Eighth Cavalry. Died February 25, 1945, in action on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

DENNIS HEARL DANIEL, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Hastings, Jefferson County. Mrs. Nellie M. Daniel, Mother, Hastings. Born August 6, 1918. Enlisted October 15, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended West Mountain Home school, Jefferson County. Died May 2, 1945, in action on Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

LOUIE M. DUMOND, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Hulbert, Cherokee County. Mrs. Pearl Dumond, Mother, Hulbert. Born June 8, 1926. Enlisted October 16, 1944. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Died June 6, 1945, in action on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

JAMES ROBERT EASLEY, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Minnie B. Easley, Mother, 2116 North Lewis Place, Tulsa. Born September 24, 1921. Enlisted November 2, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Attended Grover Cleveland Junior High School, Tulsa. Member of Apostolic Church, Tulsa. Died June 20, 1945, in action near Medeira, Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

MICHAEL WOODSON EVANS, Technical Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Okemah, Okfuskee County. Mrs. Janie Mae Evans, Wife, 316 South 4th St., Okemah. Born November 11, 1915. Enlisted May 12, 1944. Decorations: Presidential Citation; Combat Infantry Badge; Order of the Purple Heart (twice); Bronze Star Medal. Graduated from Beech Grove High School, McClean County, Kentucky, in May, 1935. Member of Cavalry Baptist Church, Okemah. Served in Oklahoma National Guard from May, 1938, to May, 1941. Died March 24, 1945, in action at Ukerath, Germany.

THEO HENRY FOGLE, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Hanna, McIntosh County. Mrs. Alice Fogle, Mother, Hanna. Born May 25, 1921. Enlisted October, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Served as Machine Gunner. His commanding officer stated that he did an excellent job in the campaign on Okinawa and measured up to the highest standards of the military service. Died April 19, 1945, in action on Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

FRANK DANIEL FOLTZ, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Goltry, Alfalfa County. Mrs. Maudelene J. Foltz, Wife, Carrier, Oklahoma. Born August 25, 1910. Enlisted February, 1944. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated from Goltry High School in May, 1927. Died March 8, 1945, in action in Germany.

QUINNAN V. FREUDENRICH, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Duncan, Stephens County. Mr. and Mrs. Rufus A.

Freudenrich, Rte. 1, Marlow, Oklahoma. Born January 18, 1926. Enlisted June 7, 1944. Decorations: Combat Infantry Badge; Order of the Purple Heart; three Battle Participation Stars; Citation of Honor awarded posthumously. Farmer before entering the army. Sailed for duty overseas in November, 1944. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Served in the Mountain Infantry, Fifth Army, in Italy. The Citation of Honor stated in part that Private First Class Freudenrich without hesitation joined a volunteer patrol that went forward during fierce fighting, to clear the opposition against a mountain infantry unit pinned down by enemy machine gun fire. Died April 15, 1945, in action near Rocca di Roffena, Italy.

LAWSON GOODNER, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Ponca City, Kay County. Mrs. Miles Knox, Mother, Rte. 3, Ponca City. Born November 22, 1923. Enlisted February 23, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Ponca City public schools. Member of the First Baptist Church, Junior Odd Fellows, and Boy Scouts. Died October 8, 1944, in action in Western Germany.

RILEY DENTON HURST, Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Ponca City, Kay County. Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Hurst, Rte. 1, 422 South Perry St., Ponca City. Born July 2, 1920. Enlisted April 6, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Senior High School. Football and basketball player. Died July 7, 1944, in action in France.

HENRY KILLIAN, JR., Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Broken Bow, McCurtain County. Mr. and Mrs. Henry Killian, Sr., Parents, Rte. 1, Broken Bow. Born April 12, 1925. Enlisted September 20, 1943. Decorations: Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal and three bronze Battle Participation Stars; Combat Infantry Badge; Philippine Liberation Medal and one bronze Service Star; Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Attended Broken Bow High School. Sailed for duty overseas in March, 1944. Served in the New Guinea, Southern Philippine, and Luzon campaigns. Died May 8, 1945, in action at Colibong, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

JOHNIE KINGORE, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Canute, Washita County. Mrs. Emma Kingore, Mother, Canute. Born February 9, 1925. Enlisted September 2, 1943. Decorations: European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Medal; three bronze Battle Participation Stars; Combat Infantry Badge; Meritorious Service Unit Insignia; World War Victory Medal and Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Attended Canute High School. Sailed for duty overseas June 28, 1944. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Died October 7, 1944, in action at Aachen, Germany.

LONNIE GEORGE LAMB, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Fletcher, Comanche County. Mrs. Nora G. Lamb, Mother, Rte. 3, Lawton, Oklahoma. Born June 6, 1923. Enlisted November 16,

1943. Attended Lawton public schools. Sailed for duty overseas in July, 1944. Died May 4, 1945, in action on Okinawa, Ryukyu Islands, East China Sea.

LAKE L. MADDOX, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Fort Gibson, Muskogee County. Mrs. Mary Maddox Caton, Mother, 524 West Georgia Ave., Phoenix, Arizona. Born December 14, 1925. Enlisted February, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Died March 7, 1944, in action at Anzio, Italy.

PAUL MORRIS McDONALD, Seaman, First Class, U. S. Navy. Home address: Cache, Comanche County. Mr. and Mrs. E. R. McDonald, Parents, Cache. Born April 29, 1921. Enlisted March 12, 1940. Decorations: Presidential Unit Citation; Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated as an outstanding student from Cache High School in 1939; attended Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton, Oklahoma. Served at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, and at Shanghai and Hong Kong, China. Reported missing in action aboard the U.S.S. *Houston* from February 28, 1942, in the Battle of the Java Sea. Died December 15, 1945 (official date), in action when the U.S.S. *Houston* was sunk (February 28, 1942) off the Island of Java.

CARL JULIUS MILLER, Private, First Class, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Guthrie, Logan County. Mrs. Ann Nau, Aunt, Rte. 2, Guthrie, Born January 5, 1922. Enlisted November, 1940. Graduated from Guthrie High School in May, 1940. Member of Future Farmers of America. Served at Shanghai, China, before Pearl Harbor; transferred to Philippine Islands. Died December 7, 1942, in Japanese Prisoner of War Camp.

SAM DAVID MORRIS, Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Battiest, McCurtain County. Juanita Morris, Wife, Battiest. Born July 21, 1922. Enlisted July 21, 1942. Decorations: Combat Infantry Badge; Bronze Star Medal; Citation of Honor. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Died April 2, 1945, in action at Selfin, Germany.

HERMAN DAVID NUTT, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Erick, Beckham County. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel D. Nutt, Parents, Erick. Born December 29, 1924. Enlisted May 19, 1944. Attended public school at Texola, Oklahoma. Died December 14, 1944, in action in Germany.

ELVA PACK, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Fort Cobb, Caddo County. Mrs. Mary Pack, Mother, Fort Cobb. Born July 4, 1926. Enlisted October 6, 1944. Died April 11, 1945, in action in Germany.

ROBERT BERNARD PATTERSON, Staff Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Okmulgee, Okmulgee County. Mr. and Mrs. R. A.

Patterson, Parents, 522 North Okmulgee, Okmulgee. Born November 9, 1920. Enlisted June, 1943. Decorations, awarded posthumously; Order of the Purple Heart; Bronze Star Medal; Presidential Citation; American Legion Gold Star Citation. Graduated from St. Anthony's Parochial School, Okmulgee, in May, 1938. Three years attendance (Junior, Electrical Engineering) at Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater. Member of Reserve Officers Training Corps (enlisted October 13, 1942); Sigma Phi Epsilon Fraternity; Veterans of Foreign Wars; St. Anthony's Church (Catholic), Okmulgee. Awarded Good Conduct and Marksmanship medals. Died December 3, 1944, in action in Germany.

MICHAEL EMIL PESHEK, Captain, U. S. Marine Corps. Home address: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County. Mrs. Dora Peshek, Mother, 1125 North Brauer, Oklahoma City. Born October 4, 1917. Enlisted July 6, 1939. Decoration: Silver Star Medal awarded posthumously. Graduated from High School in June, 1935; from the University of Oklahoma, Business Administration, in June, 1939. Member of First Presbyterian Church, Oklahoma City. Silver Star Medal awarded for entering a Jap bombarded tunnel and rescuing a party of soldiers at Fort Mills, Corregidor, April 13, 1942. Died December 31, 1944, in line of duty somewhere on Pacific Ocean.

ERMAL LEE PINKLEY, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Tulsa, Tulsa County. Mrs. Irma Pinkley, Mother, 215 South Nogales Ave., Tulsa. Born June 29, 1924. Enlisted April 8, 1943. Decorations awarded posthumously: Order of the Purple Heart; Air Medal. Attended High School, Tulsa; Western Reserve College (ASTF), Cleveland, Ohio. Member of Assembly of God Church. Received wings and commission at San Marcos, Texas, August 28, 1944. Served overseas two months as Navigator-Bombardier. Died February 3, 1945, in action over North Sea on return from bombing mission over Berlin, Germany.

MELVIN J. POPE, Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Manitou, Tillman County. Mrs. Mary E. Pope, Mother, Manitou. Born March 27, 1915. Enlisted April 6, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated from Laing High School, Tipton, Oklahoma, in 1933. Member of Methodist Church. Served overseas in the 60th Infantry, Ninth Army. Died March 11, 1945, in action in Western Germany.

GOMAN JEWEL POWELL, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Belzoni, Pushmataha County. Mrs. Pearl Powell, Mother, Belzoni. Born August 31, 1925. Enlisted April 12, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended public school at Rattan, Oklahoma. Served overseas three months. Died March 2, 1945, in action in Western Germany.

TALMADGE DELMAR RAINS, Technician, Fifth Grade, U. S. Army. Home address: Stroud, Lincoln County. Mrs. Clema Mae

Rains, Wife, Rte. 1, Stroud. Born November 5, 1918. Enlisted January 27, 1943. Attended public schools, Cushing, Oklahoma. Member of Free Will Baptist Church. Served overseas with Combat Engineer Corps. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Died June 6, 1944, in action at Omaha Beach, France.

ELVIS REYNOLDS, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Wayne, McClain County. Mrs. O. C. Minyen, Aunt, Wayne. Born January 14, 1925. Enlisted August 9, 1943. Served as Paratrooper, Airborne Command. Died March 24, 1945, in action in Germany.

CLARENCE D. SELF, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Kingston, Marshall County. Mrs. Ruth Mae Self, Wife, Kingston. Born June 6, 1909. Enlisted April 20, 1944. Member of Church of the Nazarene. Sailed for duty overseas December 4, 1944. Died January 11, 1945, in action in Belgium.

MELVIN WILLIAM SMITH, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Guymon, Texas County. Mr. and Mrs. William N. Smith, Parents, Guymon. Born May 28, 1918. Enlisted August 1, 1943. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Graduated from Guymon High School in May, 1936. Attended Northwestern State College, Alva, two years, at the same time working as printer in the office of the *Alva Daily Record*. Member of Guymon Methodist Church. Employed in office of *Daily Herald*, Borger, Texas, before enlistment. A leader in Servicemen's Christian League and choir. Died February 3, 1945, of wounds received in action on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

BILL GENE STARKS, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Hominy, Osage County. Mrs. Sylvia F. Starks, Wife, Hominy. Born March 22, 1924. Enlisted August 1, 1943. Decorations: Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal; Philippine Liberation Medal; three bronze Battle Participation Stars; Bronze Arrowhead, invasion of Luzon; Combat Infantry Badge; Presidential Unit Citation; World War II Victory Medal. Attended public school at Mound Valley, Hominy. Served seven months in South Pacific and New Caledonia. Awarded Good Conduct Medal. Died February 12, 1945, in action in Manila, Philippine Islands.

FORREST WAYNE STEWART, Second Lieutenant, U. S. Army Air Corps. Home address: Bixby, Tulsa County. Mrs. Jean A. Stewart, Wife, 103 North 23d St., Muskogee, Oklahoma. Born August 28, 1923. Enlisted November 3, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Member of Methodist Church, Bixby, Oklahoma. Served overseas six weeks. Died January 29, 1945, in action over Castro-Rauxel, Germany, on 5th combat mission.

JAMES DEWEY STEWART, Technician, Fifth Grade, U. S. Army. Home address: Lexington, Cleveland County. Mrs. Lulu S. Garrett, Mother, Lexington. Born April 27, 1909. Enlisted February 25, 1941. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended Lexington High School, and Shinn's Business College, Oklahoma City. Member of Baptist Church. Employed in South America before enlistment. Served in Field Artillery in Hawaii and in New Guinea. Died May 18, 1945, in action on Luzon, Philippine Islands.

FLOYD LEE THOMPSON, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Frederick, Tillman County. Mrs. Dessie T. Thompson, Mother, Snyder, Oklahoma. Born March 4, 1925. Enlisted September 10, 1943. Attended Frederick public schools. Awarded Expert Rifleman Medal. Died October 19, 1944, in action in France.

BEN TREVINO, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Verden, Grady County. Mrs. Anna Trevino, Mother, Verden. Born August 4, 1922. Enlisted July 10, 1941. Attended High School, Binger, Oklahoma. Member of the Catholic Church. Served in the Medical Corps, twenty-two months in Iceland. Died August 3, 1944, in action at St. Lo, France.

JOHN D. B. TUCK, Private, U. S. Army. Home address: Ringold, McCurtain County. Mrs. Ollie Tuck, Mother, Ringold. Born February 8, 1922. Enlisted December 19, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart. Attended district schools in McCurtain County. Awarded Expert Rifleman Medal. Died February 19, 1945, in action in Germany.

GUY LEON WALDRON, Private, First Class, U. S. Army. Home address: Stratford, Garvin County. Mr. and Mrs. Walter Waldron, Parents, Yuba City, California. Born March 19, 1917. Enlisted July 21, 1941. Attended public school at Vanoss, Oklahoma. Served in the Medical Corps. Taken prisoner by the Japanese on May 9, 1942, Philippine Islands. Died December 15, 1944, on a Japanese transport moving out from Subic Bay, Philippine Islands, when the vessel was torpedoed by a U. S. Submarine.

HENRY THOMAS WALLS, Sergeant, U. S. Army. Home address: Talihina, LeFlore County. Mrs. Allie Walls, Mother, Rte. 1, Talihina. Born August 14, 1908. Enlisted June 13, 1928, and re-enlisted in 1940. Decoration: Silver Star Medal; Bronze Star Medal; Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Graduated from Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in May, 1928. Choctaw Indian. Served in the regular Army six years and received honorable discharge from the Eighth Cavalry in September, 1934, as private with excellent character. Employed five years by Choctaw Lumber Company, Pine Valley, Oklahoma. Sailed for duty in the European Theatre in June, 1942, and subsequently moved to the Philippine Islands. One Citation stated that his cool daring and prompt thinking saved his

squad from annihilation when it was subjected to withering barrage of enemy mortar and automatic fire: "Crawling forth and over an area devoid of concealment, Private Walls became the principal target of this fire, but he coolly put his gun into action and by his accurate fire shattered the enemy strongpoint. . . ." Died April 22, 1945, in action near Santa Clara, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

OMAGENE CLINTON WHITFIELD, Technician, Fifth Grade, U. S. Army. Home address: Golden, McCurtain County. Mrs. Ida M. Whitfield, Mother, Golden. Born January 1, 1922. Enlisted in February, 1942. Decoration: Order of the Purple Heart awarded posthumously. Junior in High School, Broken Bow, Oklahoma. Member of First Baptist Church, Golden. Served with Combat Engineer Corps. Awarded Expert Rifleman Medal. Died June 19, 1944, in action in European Theatre.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX FOR *THE CHRONICLES*, VOLUME XXV (1947)

Upon request addressed to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma, members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and all those receiving *The Chronicles* may secure the published Index for Volume XXV, 1947, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk Archivist.

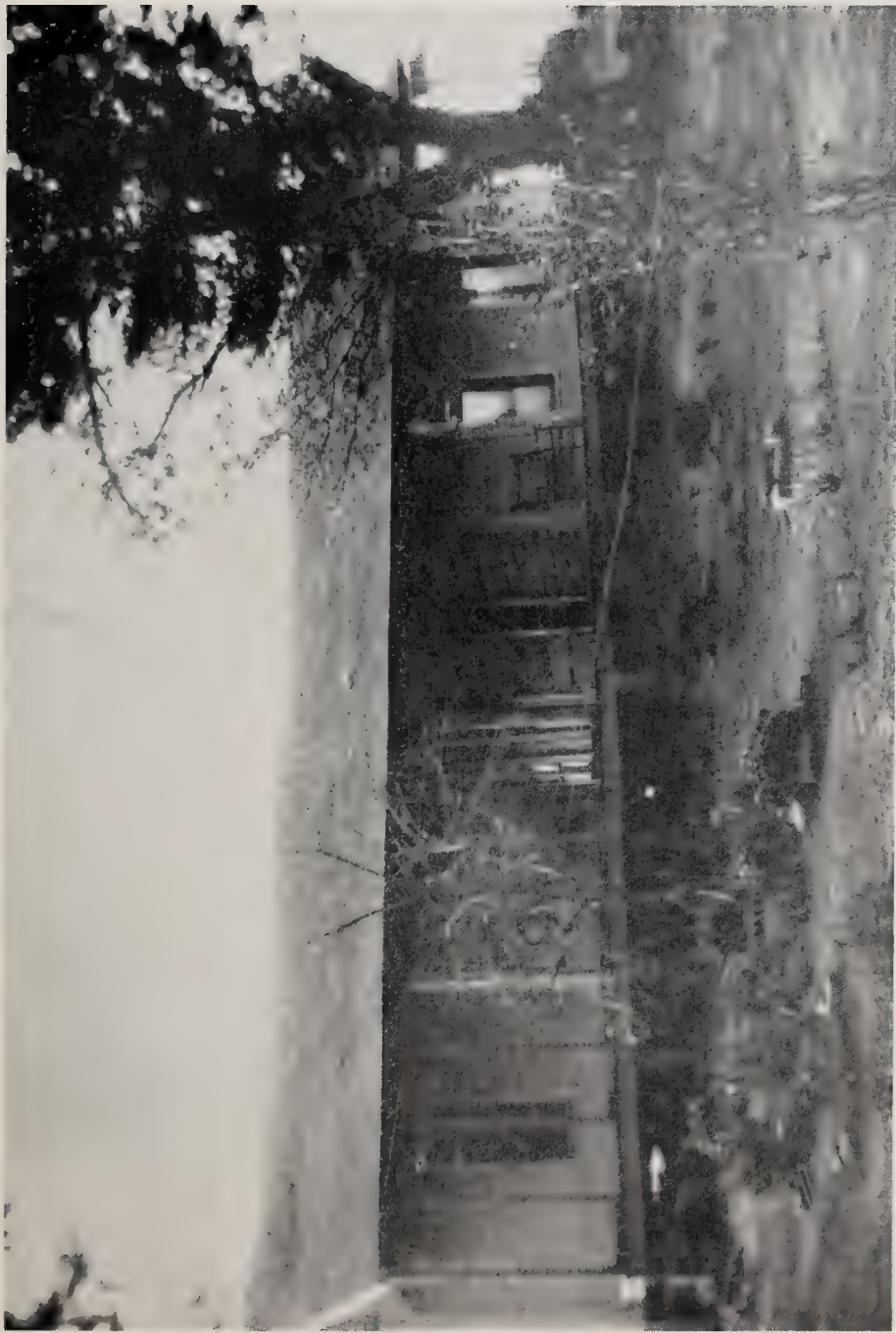
PRESENTATION OF THE PORTRAIT OF DR. ANGELO C. SCOTT

The portrait of Dr. Angelo C. Scott was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by members of the Men's Dinner Club of Oklahoma City, at a dinner meeting of the group held on the evening of October 7, 1947, in the Silver Glade Room of the Skirvin Tower Hotel. Judge Edgar S. Vaught made the presentation address, and Judge Robert L. Williams accepted the portrait on behalf of the Historical Society. The following biographical notes are in part taken from Judge Vaught's address, a copy of which is on file in the Oklahoma Historical Society:

Angelo Cyrus Scott, distinguished educator, born near Franklin, Johnson County, Indiana, on September 25, 1857. Education: A.B., Kansas University, 1877; A.M., 1880; LLb., LL.M., George Washington University Law School, 1885; honorary Litt.D., Emporia College (Kansas). Began law practice at Iola, Kansas, 1885. Came to Oklahoma City at the Opening in 1889; founded (with W. W. Scott) *The Oklahoma City Times*; appointed by President Harrison, 1890, to Townsite Board to determine controversies; U. S. Commissioner, 1891-1892; Oklahoma Executive Commissioner, World's Columbian Exposition 1893; Senator, Oklahoma Territorial Legislative Assembly, 1895-97; President, Oklahoma A. & M. College (Stillwater) 1899-1908; since has served as a faculty member at Epworth University, Oklahoma City University (Professor Emeritus, English Literature), and the University of Oklahoma. Member of the State Board of Education, 1912-14. One of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church, Oklahoma City, 1889; founder of Oklahoma Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1916 (Director 5 years); founder of Men's Dinner Club and President since 1909; selected as "Oklahoma City's Most Useful Citizen," 1937; cited for distinguished service, 1942, by Kansas University and its Alumni Association. Member Beta Theta Pi and Phi Beta Kappa. Republican. Clubs: Oklahoma Men's Dinner Club and Young Men's Dinner Club (Sequoyah). Author: *Scott's Practical English*, 1908; *The Story of Oklahoma City*, 1939; also, many pamphlets and brochures, etc. Home: 310 N. W. 18th St., Oklahoma City.

OLD CHOCTAW AGENCY, OLDEST BUILDING IN OKLAHOMA
BURNED IN 1947

The old Choctaw Agency located at the once well known village of Skullyville, Choctaw Nation, about a mile and a quarter east of the present town of Spiro, in LeFlore County, was accidentally destroyed by fire on Friday morning, September 12, 1947. With the passing of the Choctaw Agency, Oklahoma lost its oldest building, older buildings having long ago disappeared. In September, 1831—exactly 126 years before the fire last September—it was reported officially that Captain William McClellan, Sub-Agent for the Choctaw, had located a place for the Agency about 15 miles west of Fort Smith, in the Choctaw country, and had already planned for the erection of the buildings. The Agency building when completed consisted of two large rooms of hewed logs connected by an open hall or "run-way" between, with a porch clear across the front of the house facing east. In recent years, the building was weather boarded on the outside and other rooms added in the rear, thus covering up the great hewed logs in front though these could be glimpsed in the rafters under the eaves. Business was carried on at the Choctaw Agency in the spring of 1832, with Major Francis W. Armstrong as Agent in charge. His son, Frank C. Armstrong, born at the Agency in 1835, was appointed and served as a member of the Dawes Commission from 1895 to 1905, with the distinction of rendering the longest service as a member of this historic Commission and of being the only native (not Indian) of the Indian Territory ever appointed as one of its members. Major Armstrong died in 1835 and was succeeded by his brother, William Armstrong, who was appointed Choctaw Agent and lived at the Agency until his death in 1846. Some years afterward, the building was purchased by Tandy Walker, who was elected Governor of the Choctaw Nation in 1858. The village that had grown up around the Agency had for a long time been popularly known as Skullyville, the name being anglicized from the Choctaw word *iskuli*, "a piece of money," from the fact that the Choctaw annuities were paid out at the Agency for many years, in gold or silver coin. The post office, however, was listed as "Choctaw Agency" when first established on June 26, 1833, with Major F. W. Armstrong as postmaster. On September 19, 1858, the first Overland Mail stage coach carrying the first bag of U. S. transcontinental mail to San Francisco stopped at Governor Walker's place at Skullyville and was such an event that Walker himself came out and helped hook up the traces in changing horses. Henceforth, the Choctaw Agency was regularly listed as "Walker's Stage Station" on the regular Overland Mail line through the Choctaw Nation until early in the War between the States. After the War, for many years, this was a stage stand for stage coaches traveling west from Fort Smith. Governor Walker, better known as Colonel Tandy Walker for his service in the Confederate Army, made his home in the Agency building until a short time before 1881 when



Choctaw Agency at Old Skullyville, Choctaw Nation, log building erected in 1832, burned 1947.
(Courtesy Mrs. Edgar A. Moore.)

he sold the place to Thomas D. Ainsworth, a prominent Choctaw citizen. Mr. Ainsworth made his home here until his death in 1917. At the time of allotment of Choctaw lands in 1901, his son, Thomas G. Ainsworth, filed on the site and the land around of the old Agency as a part of his allotment. He was the owner and made his home in the historic building when it burned on September 12, 1947. The old Choctaw Agency had a great story and Oklahoma has lost a priceless relic of more than 125 years in history and romance.

—(M.H.W.)

MORE ORIGINAL RECORDS OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES PLACED IN THE INDIAN ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT

Through the interest and efforts of Doctor Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, 399 volumes of original documents were recently secured from the Five Civilized Tribes Agency and placed in the Indian Archives Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk-Archivist, reports these old records date back as early as 1852 and are included in 221 Choctaw, 77 Chickasaw, 66 Creek, and 46 Cherokee volumes. These volumes cover Acts and Journals of the National Councils; Journals and Dockets of the various county and district courts of the Nations; Supreme Court dockets and decisions; treasurer's records, and marriage license records.

EARLY GREER COUNTY RECORDS PRESENT TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY

Through the efforts of Mr. E. H. Kelly, State Bank Examiner, and Mr. L. H. Tittle of Mangum, Oklahoma, the Historical Society Library has recently received the following records pertaining to the early history of Greer County when it was a part of Texas and after it was attached to Oklahoma Territory, as reported by Miss Hazel E. Beaty, Librarian: 9 framed land records, miscellaneous; records of live-stock brands May 3, 1883; original plat of Mangum, framed; 5 envelopes with post marks from 1884-1904, framed; 8 miscellaneous documents, framed; 1 box of old letters, 1877 to 1894, bills of sale, cattle brands, etc.; 61 volumes of miscellaneous records.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The following list of books was accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1946 to July 1, 1947, and compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger (700 Volumes):

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BOOK REVIEWS

South of Forty. From the Mississippi to the Rio Grande: A Bibliography by Jesse L. Rader (University of Oklahoma Press, 1947, Pp. 336).

Mr. Jesse L. Rader, librarian of the University of Oklahoma since 1909, has for twenty-five years been gathering source material on the American Southwest, with the intention, as the University of Oklahoma Press declares, that, on its publication it may "prove of greatest usefulness to scholars, collectors and booksellers."

Any one who is fortunate enough to receive this book, limited to one thousand volumes, will agree that Mr. Rader has achieved this purpose. Because of its broad range of subject matter, its complete covering of specific territory, (an area defined on the North by the fortieth parallel, on the West by the Rio Grande, on the South by the Gulf of Mexico and on the East by the Mississippi River) and compact accessible arrangement, has offered to students and writers a book all but indispensable on subjects touching this area.

The period covered extends from the time of discovery until 1939. The earliest exploration, immigrations of Indian tribes, individualism of the earliest settlers, sagas shaped by the years, eye witnesses of dynamic events, views of writers of authority—all this and more—are placed at the command of the seeker of source material on this region.

It seems for fear the searching mind might not be served, the author pushes his way to the very outer rim of history of the Southwest and lists almost innumerable individuals who contributed to its history.

A brief presentation of subjects and characters dealt with should not be attempted. The work lists nearly 4000 individual titles. Beginning on page 1, with, "1. Abbott, Aaron. The Lure of the Indian Country, etc.", it ends on page 323 with "3791. Zitkala Sa. Oklahoma's poor, rich Indians, etc." The author in interesting preface dated March 15, 1947, says "No previous attempt has been made towards an exhausting bibliography". Of course to the reviewer or critic no work of this or any other kind is wholly satisfactory. It seems at times that in his long list of almost four thousand names of men and women contributing to the history of the land South of Forty he left out names he might have inserted. In listing under the name of each author it appears he omitted good books, articles by that author. However before too much of such criticism of this kind is offered it might be well in simple justice

to let the author set forth the basis upon which he made this selection.

Mr. Rader, like thousands of Oklahomans, is an Oklahoman by adoption, a Missourian by birth. The University of Oklahoma Press on its tasteful cover announcement of the book says: "Starting as a student assistant in the University of Oklahoma Library in 1904, he became Librarian in 1909 and organized the School of Library Science in 1929. He holds B. A. and M. A. degrees from the University of Oklahoma, has been a member of the Oklahoma Library Commission since 1920 and was one of the founders and charter members of the Oklahoma Library Association. He has edited texts of Sheridan's, 'The Rivals' and Goldsmith's 'She Stoops to Conquer', and collaborated with Edward Everett Dale in preparation of 'Readings in Oklahoma History.' "

Any person or library fortunate enough to get a copy of this work will have something not only beautiful in print and binding but also will be definitely as useful.

Charles Evans,
Oklahoma Historical Society.

Muskogee and Eastern Oklahoma. By Grant Foreman. (Muskogee: The Star Printery, 1947. Pp. 78. Maps.)

When the Muskogee, Oklahoma, Chamber of Commerce, decided to publish a small book that might tell something of the fascinating early history of said city, as well as point out the historical surroundings, they went the whole way, and chose to edit that book, Dr. Grant Foreman, Director Emeritus for Life of the Oklahoma Historical Society; charter member of the Society of American Historians; Fellow of the American Geographical Society; honorary membership in the Mark Twain Society, Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Oklahoma, and honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from the University of Tulsa, and himself a resident of Muskogee.

In this small, neatly bound book, he has lifted from his wealth of historical knowledge, vivid, dramatic scenes of early Eastern Oklahoma history, and presented them in a way that one feels that he must see, and know more about the setting of these stirring events.

For action, there is the danger and excitement of warfare between the different Indian tribes; the coming of the United States Troops, to establish Forts to aid in maintaining order; the establishment of Indian trading posts by such men as Joseph Bogy, the Chouteau's, Nathaniel Pryor, and others.

He describes the huge, flat-bottomed boats, that were built by skilled workmen in the shipyard on the banks of the Verdigris, on which the skins and furs obtained in trade with the Indians, were floated down the river to market.

The coming of the missionaries; the founding of schools and churches; the establishment of the first printing press; names of some of the distinguished visitors in this part of the country included the Naturalist, Thomas Nuttall, George Catlin, the celebrated painter, and the great writer, Washington Irving, and the names of famous generals who commanded troops in the Indian country and events concerning the Civil War, are specifically mentioned.

The Texas Road, the Abilene and the Chisholm trails to well known points in the Indian Territory, as well as the colorful panoramas that once moved over these roads are specifically mentioned. Great herds of cattle driven to market, freighter's wagons, prairie schooners, stage coaches and little mules, with kegs of Spanish coins strapped to their back, and strong Indian women, bending beneath the weight of the green peltries they carried to the trading posts, are described.

Interest is added to the book by the maps which were drawn from data supplied by the author, the early settlements in the region, and from the visible remains of old trails and settlements, and as well as the names of early settlers. The maps will be appreciated by the student of history, as well as the tourist.

By Robert L. Williams,
Durant, Oklahoma

The Cross Timbers. By Carolyn Thomas Foreman. (Muskogee: The Star Printery, Inc., 1947. 123 pp. Map, Notes, and Bibliography.)

Extending northward from central Texas to the Red River, and far beyond it into Oklahoma, are two broad belts of forest known as the Cross Timbers. The more western of these wide strips of woodland, called the Upper Cross Timbers, seems to divide the more rolling and humid area of central and northern Texas and a part of Oklahoma from the wide stretches of dry, level plains extending westward to the base of the Rockies. From the early part of the nineteenth century, or even before, many travelers and explorers have referred to the Cross Timbers but this book gives the first comprehensive account of these regions and of their effect upon those who visited or sought to traverse them. In seven chapters the author describes these wooded areas and gives a colorful account of the various individuals or expeditions that penetrated them on their way farther west, or established settlements, trading posts, or forts near their border or within their limits. Here is told the story of Aaron B. Lewis who in 1831 left Fort Towson for Santa Fe and described the Cross Timbers which he traversed in the course of his journey. The following year Washington Irving, Charles Joseph Latrobe, and Henry L. Ellsworth made their famous journey to the prairies and all three of these men have left us vivid descriptions of their ex-

periences in crossing this "iron bound region" of the Cross Timbers. Two years later, or in 1834, the artist, George Catlin, accompanied the Dodge-Leavenworth expedition and both he and Lieutenant Thompson B. Wheelock, an army officer with the expedition, wrote interesting accounts of this "timbered thicket" and the difficulty of traversing it with "fifty litters in our train; men in them extremely sick." Many other accounts are given of expeditions that traversed the Cross Timbers as well as of the activities of the army or of settlers in or near them. These include an account of the establishment of Camp Holmes, the Gregg and Kendall expeditions through the Cross Timbers, Randolph B. Marcy's expeditions, and the reports on these wooded areas made by Whipple, Marcy, Cooper, and Edward F. Beale. To nearly all of those who sought to penetrate them the Cross Timbers proved a difficult barrier and almost every traveler breathed a sigh of relief when he emerged from these gloomy forests upon the open prairie. This book, though small, is a significant contribution to the historical literature of the Southwest. Its value is considerably enhanced by the map in the back of the volume. To the casual observer, it might appear that the wooded area extending north from the Canadian just east of Norman and Oklahoma City to a point far beyond Guthrie is really an extension of the Cross Timbers and in consequence, this strip of forest might logically be shown as extending considerably farther north. This reviewer whose boyhood was spent on a farm at the western edge of the lower Cross Timbers would have welcomed some account of the life of the people of this wooded area during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The purpose of the author, however, was only to give a description of this interesting region and of its significance in the history of the Southwest, and in this she has succeeded admirably. Perhaps she, or some other writer, may in the future give us an account of the social and economic life of the people who have occupied the Cross Timbers region as contrasted with that of those residing beyond its borders on the open prairie. Such a study could hardly fail to prove interesting and would be a fitting sequel to this delightful little volume.

Edward Everett Dale
University of Oklahoma

NECROLOGIES

T. MYRON PYLE

1882-1947

In memory of T. Myron Pyle it is a melancholy pleasure to record these salient facts of the good life of a fine citizen. Strength, courage, and loyalty were so mixed in his character that he had great capacity for friendship. He was a noble gentleman.

Mr. Pyle was a Virginian to the manor born, and Bristol, Virginia, was his natal place. He was born June 25, 1882. There in that beautiful old Southern town which is half in Virginia and half in Tennessee, he was educated in the public schools and at King College which was to that section a cultural center. Thereafter in 1902 he attended Shenandoah Valley Academy, Virginia. He went to Colorado in 1905 and worked on a ranch until 1907, and became thoroughly imbued with the mystic charm of Western life. Still in early manhood, he returned to his native Virginia and entered the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, graduating in law in 1910. However, before his graduation he was admitted to the bar in Virginia in 1909. In the year of his graduation in law he married Miss Ruth Hidy of Charlottesville. Two sons were born to them, Myron, Jr., and John Randolph, the latter having died in infancy. Myron, Jr. is an attorney and at the present resides with his wife and young son in Jackson, Mississippi.

Having "punched" cattle on a Colorado ranch for some three years the love of the Western prairies was in the blood of T. Myron Pyle. He and a boyhood friend opened a law office in Oklahoma City in 1910. After some years in the private practice, he took a position in the tax department of the Internal Revenue Service; and for a time he was Assistant Attorney General of Oklahoma. Thereafter he became tax attorney for the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company, having a great many counties of Oklahoma under his charge with respect to assessments of his company's interests. As such he became an expert in certain lines of tax matters. He retired from active duty with his company last year because of ill health, after nearly 24 years of able and valued service.

A genial, gracious man, he was widely known in business and legal circles as "Jack" Pyle. All the courtliness, gentle dignity and cordiality of the Southern gentleman was his. His was not alone a fine courtesy, his uniformly kindly deeds were the constant fruitage of a Christian heart. Born of an old and fine Southern family, he reflected their high ideals, and lived the good neighbor to a shining circle of friends. He was active in the good works of his community and his church and state. He and his family were members of the First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City.

T. Myron Pyle was as open hearted and neighborly as he was courtly and gracious. More than most men he was mindful of the aged and infirm, and visited them. He was always present to help bury his neighbor's dead. Because of his warm and bouyant nature he loved life; he enjoyed its clean sports and pleasures to the full. He laughed merrily and with a heartiness that kindled sunshine. In the requirements and duties of life he responded with a warm zest. He wore the yoke of good citizenship with a true sense of duty. When on October 2, 1947 Jack Pyle departed



T. MYRON PYLE



BENJAMINE FRANKLIN WILLIAMS

this life, he left to a fond wife and noble son, and to myriads of friends a lasting memory of one of God's good men.

—By Baxter Taylor.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

BENJAMINE FRANKLIN WILLIAMS, JR., 1875-1946

Benjamin Franklin Williams, Jr., son of Benjamin Franklin Williams, Sr.¹ (born in Giles County, Tennessee on April 8, 1828 and died at Clinton, Oklahoma in March, 1912; son of Benjamin and Margaret Hall (Robson) Williams, Welsh and Colonial pioneers in South Carolina), was born in Texas on March 21, 1875 and died at Norman, Oklahoma, on September 24, 1946.²

His paternal ancestors (on the Williams side) were Welsh and his maternal grandfather was of Scotland. His people were slave-owners and prosperous.

Benjamin Franklin Williams, Sr., was educated at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and Center College, Danville, Kentucky. From Tennessee he migrated to Mississippi, where after the death of his first wife, he married Miss Etta H. Rucker and from there removed to Upshur County, Texas, where he practiced law and from there, just prior to the Civil War, he removed to Jefferson County, Arkansas, when he enlisted in the Confederate Army. At the close of the War Between the States, he located temporarily at San Antonio, Texas and then removed to Falls County, Texas. In 1881 he was appointed by Governor Roberts as District Judge of the District embracing Young County in the Northwest and was re-elected as District Judge and afterwards removed to Henrietta, Clay County, Texas and then at the opening of the Oklahoma Territory he came to Oklahoma City and was admitted to the Bar and then located in the practice of law at Norman and on a visit to a daughter at Clinton where he died. When located in East Texas he acted as District Attorney for a short time and was an early-day Cleveland County Judge in Oklahoma Territory. In the various localities in which he lived in Texas in that early day he enjoyed a large practice as a lawyer. He was a member of the Methodist Church and the only secret order to which he belonged was the Odd Fellows. By his first wife he had two children:—

1. Mrs. Mary Carnahan, wife of a retired farmer, Rogers, Arkansas;
2. Robert L. H., Attorney at Goldwaite, Texas (deceased).

By his second wife, Etta H. (Rucker) Williams, he had the following children:—

1. Annie, wife of W. I. Brannon, merchant, Clinton, Okla.;
2. Clara, wife of Rev. Evan Dhu Cameron;²
3. Mattie, wife of W. M. Newell, attorney, Norman, Okla.;
4. Jean, wife of W. E. Forgy, attorney, Archer City, Texas;
5. Benjamin Franklin, the subject of this article;
6. Etta, wife of W. R. Barksdale, merchant, Memphis, Tenn.;
7. Johnnie, wife of H. L. Quiet, banker of Clinton, Okla.;

¹Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1900).

²R. L. Williams, "Rev. Evan Dhu Cameron (1862-63)," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March, 1933), p. 741.

8. Charlie, twin sister of Johnnie, wife of William Milterberger, Clinton, Okla.;
9. Lee, wife of Dr. Baugaus, Temple, Texas;
10. Kate, twin sister of Lee, teacher at Archer City, Texas.

In September, 1900 he was married to Miss Ninis O. Hullum, and to this union were born two daughters, Mildred Lee and Margaret Lucile.

Benjamin Franklin Williams, Jr.³ the subject of this article, was educated in the common schools of Texas and at Polytechnic College at Fort Worth, Texas and read law in his father's office. He was admitted to the Bar in Oklahoma City in 1899 and located at Norman. He was a foremost lawyer both in civil and criminal practice and probably one of the most distinguished criminal lawyers in the State. His office in the Hullum Building on Main Street in Norman, from which he gave his time to the practice until 1942 when, on account of disability due to illness, he retired from the practice of law.

He was a member of the Democratic Committee, a member of the State Bar Association, and fraternally affiliated with Norman Lodge No. 7, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Norman Camp No. 154, Woodmen of the World; Ancient Order of United Workmen at Norman; and Purcell Lodge No. 1260, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks.

At the organization of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma in December, 1907, he was appointed as a member of the Bar Commission to supervise admission of members to the bar and was chairman for a number of years, and from 1907 until 1925 when the Board of Governors was created then he became a member of that board. He was President of the Oklahoma Bar Association in 1934. In his friendships he was loyalty personified, a good citizen, and a fine husband and father.

—By Robert L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

JAMES WATSON BOLEN

1871-1946

James Watson Bolen, son of William Bolen and his wife, Mary, was born on August 31, 1871 in Pontotoc County, Mississippi. He attended Toccopola Junior College at Toccopola, Mississippi, and registered at the University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi, on September 14, 1895, giving his post office as Randolph, Pontotoc County, and graduated from said law school in 1896.

Soon after his graduation he located at the town of Center in the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, at which, as well as Stonewall, a United States Commissioners Court was located and United States District Court was also held at Pauls Valley and Tishomingo, where he engaged in the practice of law until the United States District Court was located at Ada when he removed to Ada and continued the practice of law until he retired on account of his health. During that period he was engaged with John P. Crawford in the practice of law and for a part of that time C. C. Williams, now of Poteau, was a member of the firm.

³ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1916), Vol. 5, pp. 1883-85; and *Journal of the Oklahoma Bar Association*, 1946, Vol. 17, pp. 1588-89.



JAMES WATSON BOLEN

In 1902 he was married to Emma Kathleen Sugg and to this marriage came two children, to-wit:—a daughter, Celma, who married Louis Escalda of Nogales, Arizona, where they reside; and another daughter, Ruth, who married Warren Kice of Ada, Oklahoma, where they reside. He is also survived by his wife and a sister, Miss Ida Bolen, both of Ada.

He died at Ada, Oklahoma, on Tuesday, December 24, 1946. Funeral services were held at Criswell's Chapel on December 26, 1946, with interment in Rosedale Cemetery. Active pallbearers were Mack Braly, Claude V. Thompson, Bill Crawford, Turner King, Virgil Stanfield and Hugh Mathis.

When Thomas D. McKeown was elected to Congress in 1916 he resigned the office of District Judge and James Watson Bolen was appointed by the Governor to fill said office and at the end of said term he was elected and re-elected until he retired on account of failing health. He was never a candidate for any other character of office but was active in the politics of the State and a loyal supporter of the Democratic Party, an effective orator whether in the court or on the hustings. Ada was in the territory embraced in what was Pontotoc, in the Chickasaw Nation.¹

¹ *Ada Evening News*, Dec. 26, 1946.

—By Robert L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD
OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 29, 1948.

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, at 10:00 A. M., January 29, 1948, with the president, Judge Robert L. Williams, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll. The following members were present: Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, General William S. Key, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, and the Secretary.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that absentee members be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Robert L. Williams presented a picture, "The Birth of our Country," the gift of the West Publishing Company. Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that the picture be appropriately framed and that the Secretary be directed to write a letter of thanks to the donor. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Directors which met on October 24, 1947.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the regular meeting of April 1948 be postponed until May 26, 1948, to be then held, when the annual meeting is held in Guthrie, Oklahoma. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary presented a list of applications for membership, as follows:

LIFE: Mrs. Gertrude S. Phillips, Norman, Oklahoma.

ANNUAL: W. P. Atkinson, Oklahoma City; Arthur J. Black, Tulsa; Nelson M. Blake, Hyattsville, Md.; Mrs. James F. Blanton, Pauls Valley; L. Kenneth Cargile, Bartlesville; R. A. Clifford, Austin, Texas; Robert E. Cullison, Oklahoma City; Paul Cummings, Alva; Mrs. Orella R. Dameron, Tulsa; Mrs. Daniel Delly, Choctaw; Loyd E. Drake, Mutual; Paul Fesler, Oklahoma City; Gilbert C. Fite, Norman; M. W. Fulks, Hominy; Preston W. George, Altus; Mrs. J. J. Glaser, Alva; W. E. Harvey, Ada; Oscar Hatcher, Tulsa; Mrs. M. P. Hatchett, Ada; H. A. Hewett, Durant; Henry J. Holm, Chicago, Ill.; Bruce E. Holmes, Oklahoma City; Ralph P. Hron, Huntington, W. Va.; May Hessey, Cleveland; Irvin Hurst, Oklahoma City; N. A. Lago, Oklahoma City; H. B. Largent, Oklahoma City; Mrs. B. L. Logan, Tonkawa; George E. Millard, Whittier, Calif.; Daisy L. Moore, Ada; Mrs. Sue K. Morris, Soper; Mrs. Marion Mumford, Shidler; Irene M. Pollock, Quinton; Inez G. Schneider, Eufaula; Woodrow W. Staats, Bartlesville; Anna W. Stewart, Washington, D. C.; E. W. Snoddy, Alva; Mrs. Emma D. Thompson, Guthrie; Thomas Alfred Tripp, New York City; Mrs. A. Z. Yeary, Chickasha.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made the motion that the list of applicants be accepted in the class as indicated. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President reported that the office of Colonel Chorpensing of the U. S. Army Engineers, had advised that if there was any danger of Nathaniel Pryor's grave being inundated as a result of the Fort Gibson Dam, that his body would be disinterred and removed, possibly to the National Cemetery at Fort Gibson.

The President reported that Senator Elmer Thomas had advised that he is doing everything possible to secure for the State, for the benefit of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the office building used by General Sheridan at Fort Reno. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made the motion that General William S. Key be appointed as a committee of one in the matter of securing the title to General Sheridan's office building at Fort Reno. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General William S. Key reported that a group of civic leaders of Oklahoma City wished to present to the Society a painting of Mr. Frank Buttram of this city, and made the motion that the painting be accepted. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President called attention to the condition of the walls of the historical building and the ceiling of the Directors' room. Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that a committee be appointed to take up with the Chairman of the Board of Affairs the matter of repairing the walls and ceilings of this building. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President appointed Judge Robert A. Hefner, Chairman, General William S. Key and Judge Baxter Taylor to serve on the above mentioned committee.

General William S. Key read a letter addressed to the Board from Dr. Grant Foreman, calling attention to some very fine and rare maps of Oklahoma made in 1872, one set of which is supposed to be on file in the capitol building, and which Dr. Foreman believes should be secured and placed in the historical building for reference and safe keeping.

Mrs. John R. Williams made the motion that the Secretary be directed to make a search in the Capitol for the Maps of 1872 mentioned in Dr. Foreman's letter with a view of placing them in the historical building for safe keeping. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

A committee composed of General William S. Key, Judge Robert A. Hefner and Judge Baxter Taylor was appointed to act with the Secretary in the above matter. Miss Hazel Beaty, Librarian, and Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, of the staff, were directed to assist the committee.

General William S. Key made the motion that the Board extend its sympathy to Dr. Grant Foreman in his illness and wish him a speedy recovery and that it appreciates his efforts in looking after and aiding in the transfer of the tribal records to the historical society. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General William S. Key made the motion that since there were no petitions filed for positions as Directors of the historical society in the place of Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Hon. W. J. Peterson, Hon. Thomas G. Cook, Hon. Edward C. Lawson, and Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, whose terms expire in 1948, that the rules be suspended pursuant to the Constitution and By-

laws of the Society and each of these be elected to succeed himself or herself. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle moved that since Section 3 of Article 3 of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Oklahoma Historical Society, provides in part as follows: "on each even-numbered year, the Board of Directors shall convene for the purpose of electing a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer for a term of two years, or until their successors shall have been chosen and qualified, such election to be by ballot," therefore that the rule requiring "such election to be by ballot," be suspended and that the Board proceed to the election of the present staff of officers by viva voce, which motion was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and unanimously adopted.

Judge Thomas H. Doyle thereupon further moved that the present staff of employees of the society be re-elected and continued in office for the ensuing term of two years, with the exception that the present status of the position of Chief Clerk shall remain in status quo until further orders, which motion was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor and unanimously adopted.

The Secretary read a list of gifts that were received during the quarter: Three gold watches; framed miniature of Robert L. Owen; Proficiency Certificates received by Robert L. Owen when a student; original Marriage Certificate of Capt. and Mrs. George B. Hester; copy of marriage certificate of Robert Owen and Narcissa Chisholm; Autograph Album owned by Narcissa Chisholm Owen; Framed Certificate-Senator Owen's membership in the Oklahoma Memorial Association; Framed Certificate-Senator Owen's membership in the Hall of Fame, all presented by Mrs. Dorothea O. Whittemore.

Leather Wallet containing documents and letters of the late Gen. F. M. Canton. Presented by Mrs. F. M. Canton.

A Gun. Presented by Ben Ellis III.

A Fluting Iron. Presented by Mrs. C. F. Trader.

Invasion Money. Presented by George Sherwood.

Invasion Money. Presented by Sgt. James F. Choate.

Norden Bomb Sight. Presented by Flight Officer Thomas G. Kugler.

Box of Flags used in World War II. Presented by the Adjutant General's Office.

PICTURES

Dr. A. C. Scott, oil portrait. Presented by The Men's Dinner Club.

Dr. Charles Evans, oil portrait. Presented by The Oklahoma Memorial Association.

Boss Neff. Presented by Mrs. Neff's family.

Early Day Oklahoma, oil painting. Presented by Robert Pearson, artist.

Crayon Sketch of Negro Servant. Presented by Mrs. Dorothea O. Whittemore.

Crayon Sketch of a house. Presented by Mrs. Dorothea O. Whittemore.

Two photographs of the Cemetery at Pearl Harbor. Presented by W. H. Williams.

Photograph of Gen. F. M. Canton. Presented by Mrs. F. M. Canton.

Hon. W. J. Peterson made the motion that these gifts be accepted and the donors thanked. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made the motion that a separate case for the Owen Collection be purchased from the Alexander Drug Company for the sum of \$240.00. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary called attention to the annual meeting to be held at Guthrie, Oklahoma, in May 1948, and suggested that a committee be appointed to assist him in making up the program for the Society. Judge Thomas H. Doyle made the motion that Judge Baxter Taylor be invited to make the address. General William S. Key seconded the motion which passed unanimously, the committee to consist of the President and other members of the executive committee and other members of the Board that may be present.

General William S. Key made the motion that a letter of sympathy be written to the family of the late Admiral Marc Mitscher and that they be asked to place his portrait in the historical building, along with other mementoes, to be preserved and identified with the history of this State. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President presented a statement for the premium on the Treasurer's Bond, in the amount of \$22.50. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made the motion that the account be paid out of the private funds. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously, and draft for payment of same has been accordingly drawn and delivered to the Secretary.

Judge Robert L. Williams, the President, called attention to a book entitled "Alexander Hamilton," by Nathan Schachner. Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the Society buy a copy of said book. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the Board invite the Sons of the American Revolution to hold their annual meeting in the Auditorium of the historical building. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Ralph Hudson, Librarian of the State Library in the State Capitol, had recently purchased a Microfilm Machine and had offered the use of it to the historical society at any time. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that Mr. Hudson be thanked for his offer. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that the historical societies all over America have bulletins or postcards to give or sell to visitors. Mrs. John R. Williams made the motion that the Secretary be instructed to investigate as to the cost of bulletins or postcards for this Society. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General William S. Key made the motion that the Society accept a portrait of Bishop Eugene J. McGuinness which the Catholics desire to present to this Society. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President appointed Judge Thomas H. Doyle, General William S. Key and the Secretary on a committee to make arrangements to secure the portrait of Bishop McGuinness.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made the motion that the Board express to Bishop Francis C. Kelly its hope that his health will improve. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that a letter of sympathy be written to Hon. J. B. Milam on account of the death of his sister. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the meeting stand adjourned subject to the call of the President. General William S. Key seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

ROBERT L. WILLIAMS, *President*
Presiding.

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor*

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT

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JAMES H. GARDNER

THE SECRETARY

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ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS

By Charles Evans

John Ruskin said, "The finest of fine arts is the art of right living." There is so much truth in this, it renders the efforts of the biographer difficult. Two forces make us what we are: heredity and environment. Heredity is defined as all things before; environment as all things afterward. That power to take these two forces, and so blend or use the good in one to offset the bad in the other, until a useful, competent, and beneficial life shall be presented to mankind, that soul may be said to have mastered the art of right living.

Robert Lee Williams, a resident of Oklahoma for fifty-two years, I knew well. I met him on the streets of Ardmore in 1905, and I knew at once that he was a man of decided opinions, and that he was profoundly interested in building a State that he and all thinking men and women could see at that time, was just around the corner. Upon inquiry, I found that coming to the Indian Territory in 1896, he set up a law office in Atoka in the Choctaw Nation and at once interested himself not only in the practice of law, but in setting up movements whereby the law or government of the coming State might be grooved and kept in the hands of the party in whose doctrines and faith he had been cradled in Alabama, the product of Thomas Jefferson, the Democratic Party. He, together with T. F. Memminger, J. D. Lankford, and a young man from Tennessee, Baxter Taylor, a scion of a Tennessee family that gave two governors to that State, set up a newspaper at Atoka—*The Atoka Democrat*, and Taylor, was made editor. Baxter Taylor had been admitted to the Bar and had been a cub reporter on the *Bristol Courier*, Bristol, Tennessee. *The Atoka Democrat* continued under their control until the event of statehood, and played a prominent part in shaping the policies of the Democratic Party in the Indian Territory.

After a residence in Atoka from August 10, 1896 to January 17, 1897, Robert Lee Williams reached the conclusion that Durant, then a hamlet in a rich, agricultural region, now the county seat of Bryan County, was a better point for operation. He, the twenty-three year old Alabamian, hung out his shingle there, and there he made his home until the time of his death, April 10, 1948.

Between these dates, 1900 and 1948, perhaps no man ever lived in Oklahoma, and not many in America, ever packed in and pressed down more achievement than did Robert Lee Williams. Without embellishment or pausing for details, let us note what history records



(Photo taken during administration as Governor)

ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS

Third Governor of the State of Oklahoma, 1915-1919



UNITED STATES 10th CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS—1939

Left to right: Judge Sam Gilbert Bratton; Judge Orie Leon Phillips; Judge Robert L. Williams; Judge Walter A. Huxman.

of his progress. First, he was one of the leading men in demanding that Congress admit the territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as a state, and getting that piece of work accomplished.

Then in 1906, offering himself to the Bryan County area District 108, as a candidate for membership in the Constitutional Convention meeting in Guthrie, November 20, 1906, he was elected and took his seat with the one hundred and twelve men who wrote Oklahoma's fundamental charter. He is rated by historians as one of the big five who gave substance and shape to our fundamental law. Some rate him first. The Constitution was completed and signed, September 17, 1907. He offered himself as a candidate for the position as member of the Supreme Court subject to the election held on that day. Again his people honored him, and the highest state tribunal organizing for work, his associate justices, elected him to the exalted position of Chief Justice or presiding judge of the Oklahoma Supreme Court. On this court he served for eight years. He was here no time server, but the record reveals that he blazed trails of legal procedure and law interpretation which have shaped and pointed out the course of the courts towards the ends of high honor, simple justice, and fearless defense of human rights that has given Oklahoma law distinct and high value throughout America.

Believing that he could serve the people better, although re-elected to the Supreme Court in 1914, he offered himself as democratic candidate for Governor and was elected, taking his seat, January 11, 1915 and serving until January 14, 1919. Here again he was not merely an office holder. He won fame throughout the State as an economist and throughout the nation as Oklahoma's War Governor.

America had discovered in Governor Williams, a judicial mind of fearless thinking and dauntless integrity. So on March 19, 1919, he was appointed Judge of the U. S. District Court of the Eastern District of Oklahoma by President Wilson, where he served with distinction.

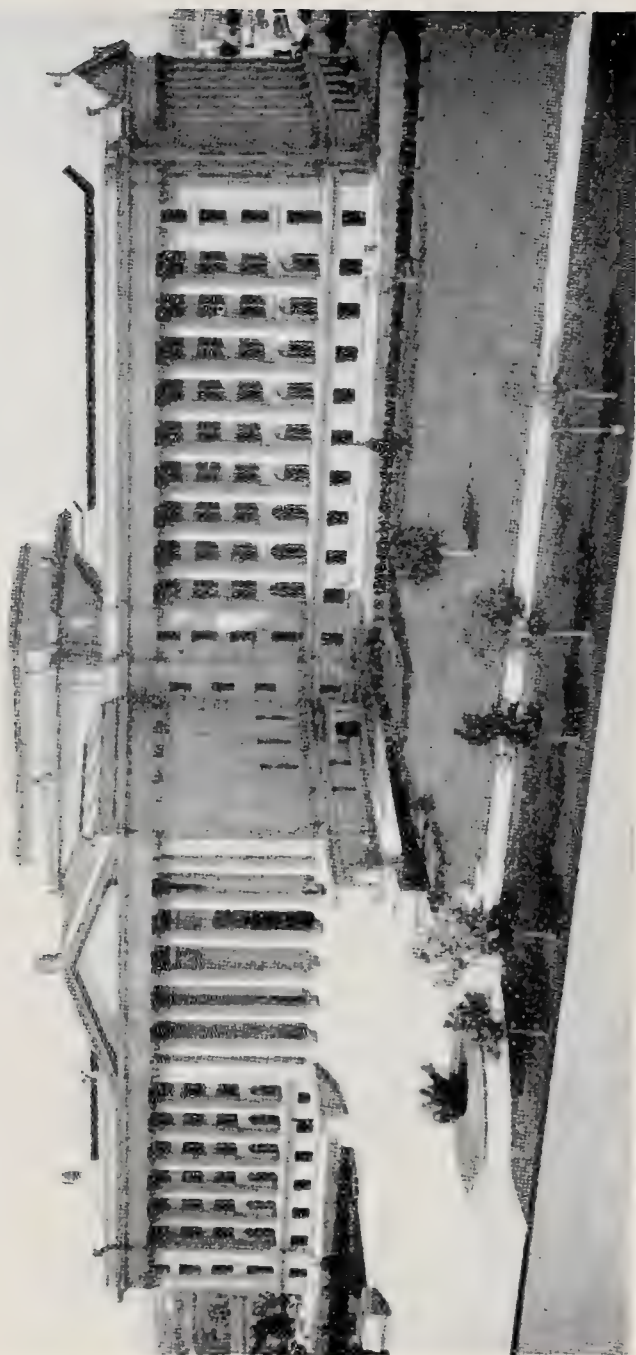
Then in his sixty-seventh year, to set the shining shield of merit upon his marvelous career, President Franklin Roosevelt elevated him to the second highest legal tribunal in the land by appointing him to be a member of the United States District Court, 10th Circuit, April 26, 1937.

In the sketch of his life in "Who's Who in America" in the sentence telling of his retirement from his United States Circuit judgeship, it says: "Retired, March 31, 1939, but continued to serve." It never was a part of his life to give up, to quit.

So runs the larger threads of his life's service. But about, and through all this, there ran the warp and woof, the untiring, un-

ceasing labor for the betterment of the social order in his city, county and state. Only a few illustrations of this can be offered. Williams was not rated by the casual observer as interested in the church or religious influence. Deep in his nature he was devout. He told all those close to him that the home, school, and society needed nothing so much as leaders of high moral character to serve the state. He never forgot the old Methodist Church in Pike County, Alabama and he sent money to keep it in order. This was the church in which he was baptized. He sent money yearly to keep the old cemetery of his ancestors and his family, clean and protected. He ordered simple and neat markers to be set up at his expense for his fore-fathers in the community of his birth. A story of his charitable and religious nature was unfolded at his funeral by his pastor, Reverend Don La Grone. He said, "Judge Williams, when I came to Durant four years ago, took me by the hand and said to me, 'Remember sir, you are my pastor and I want to help. Look about you not only in the church, but throughout the city and the community and when you find the needy and the helpless, there is a fund that I place at your command to give relief.' " He took this love and friendship of moral forces into the big endeavors of his life. He leaned in his governorship heavily on the advice and friendship of the Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaert, Rabbi Blatt and Dr. Forney Hutchinson, Pastor of St. Lukes Methodist Church, Oklahoma City.

He received as a poor boy great kindness from a Church College, Southern University at Greensboro, Alabama. While Governor, he was called to the defense of the Church Colleges of Oklahoma. The President of one of the state teachers colleges (there are six) was elected in 1916, President of the Presbyterian Synodical College at Tulsa. Knowing the Church College could never make growth or find proper power without equal privileges and certification in parallel courses with State supported institutions, he drew up a bill granting church colleges this certification and presented it through Mr. Glenn Condon of Tulsa to the Legislature. The bill had scarcely appeared before it begot the hostility, hidden of course, but sure and positive of all the State supported institutions of learning—State colleges, the A. & M. College and the University. Nothing could be done about the bill without Governor Williams' support. He was visited and he said, "Of course I will support it. It is just and right and best of all, we need the moral and religious strength which only church colleges can give. When you need me, call on me and I think I can show these big school leaders a thing or two." The bill passed the House but got lost in the Senate, and it was found that it was being held back by a senator who was in close touch with the State supported institutions. Through a friendly senator, a call for the bill was made, and it was placed on the calendar. Not many hours before the close of the session, the Senator said, "Governor Williams, promised his help in passing this bill. Go down and tell



The beautiful Capitol of the State of Oklahoma was erected at a cost of \$1,500,000 in 1915-1918, Governor Robert L. Williams having given its construction his personal attention, thus saving the State \$2,000,000 of the originally estimated cost of \$3,500,000.

him I need him badly and at once." Needless to say, in a few minutes, "Old Bob" as he was called, was moving casually about the floor of the Senate and in a few minutes when the bill was taken up and only one speech was made against it by a senator from Hugo, the bill was passed and it became and is now the law. All because Robert Lee Williams believed in supporting all agencies of morality and just religions.

Children loved him because he loved them first. He found time always when he was governor to stop and talk with some child. He came to the conclusion that if anyone would enjoy a big turkey dinner on Thanksgiving, it would be the American newsboy. So, he sent forth an invitation for all the newsboys of Oklahoma City to join him in one of the best hotels of the City to enjoy turkey and all the fixings for a Thanksgiving banquet. He made this an annual affair. The whole State felt a little better on Thanksgiving to hear that "Our Bob" with band, special singers, clowns, and all that boys enjoy, was giving Oklahoma City newsboys a genuine gesture of faith and love.

Many executives and busy statesmen after appointing boards and committees to do certain jobs go off to more absorbing business. While he made a reputation for bringing the best men about him and giving them confidence, he promised Oklahoma there would be no extravagance or graft in the State business and they must hold him responsible and not his appointees. For example, in building the Capitol, after receiving from the preceding Governor, Hon. Lee Cruce and the legislature, many commissions, architects, contractors, blue-prints, and all such, he took all this up, simplified it, chose his own contractor, consulted him, lived in the life of this capitol construction down to the closest detail, until when the Capitol was dedicated, it was revealed that the building that was laid out and estimated to cost Oklahoma three and one half million dollars had actually cost the people approximately one and one half million. This was due to the meticulous economy carried on by Governor Williams, even to the point that it bordered on personal drudgery. He often chuckled when speaking of the building of the Capitol, "We skinned the contractors." The same story relates to the building of the edifice on Lincoln Boulevard, the beautiful and modern home of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Williams as a child, often drew special attention from teachers and others because of reading and talking history. It grew into a life passion. In his State papers, in his relations with the law and the courts, all along his line of living, he wanted to know all about the history of the States of America and especially of Oklahoma. So it was no wonder when at last, the men and women who held control of the Oklahoma Historical Society, founded at Kingfisher, May 26, 1893 by the State Press Association, driven from pillar to post with

no funds, no home, and not much hope, came to Governor Williams, he said to them, "Bring it out here to the Capitol. We'll find room for this Society. Let me help you." They moved the Historical Society collections near him and from that day, it became one of the chief cares of his life, and for many years, he was its staunch friend. Finally in January 18, 1918, he became one of the Directors. He set in motion along with earnest assistants, the bill granting out of the State's public fund, \$500,000 for the erection of a home for the Society. He was almost sole agent in drawing plans for the building. He was given the power to select the architect and contractor and through them have personal power and responsibility for the Historical Building. Today, as the visitors, and there are more than 50,000 annually, pass through the great granite pillars into the halls of this building dedicated to the preservation of Oklahoma's history, they should find here a monument to Robert Lee Williams, more than to any other man.

In his later years, he gave the Oklahoma Historical Society, the largest part of his thought and work. The Archives with its Indian records—the second largest in America—the Newspaper Room where newspapers from Oklahoma's first day may be found in 26,000 volumes, the Library where he selected most of the 22,000 volumes, the Museum holding over 14,000 articles featuring the history of the State, and the Union and the Confederate Memorial rooms, each and all of these were the "very apple of his eye." He was one of the founders of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, and to his last days, he was critic, contributor, and guardian of its honor and character.

The last business he performed as an official of the State was calling the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors, of the Society to order and transacting business for the Society for almost two hours, on January 29, 1948.

These are a few of the many social problems he met in his adopted State through half a century and how his spirit coined them into fame! What now in brief of that blood and bone, that he inherited and some of the closer, primal values that gave him the brain, the temperament, the habits that moved through all the things he said and did, and shaped him into the lawyer, jurist, executive, and the man he was. One of the old prophets in talking to his people bade them think of the "rock from whence they were hewn, the hole of the pit from whence they were digged."

Robert Lee Williams came of Welsh ancestry. He was Celtic in blood, so stubborn and stout that when the Piets, Scots and other primitive races of the British Isles were driven back and all but destroyed by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, the people of Wales stood among their mountain crags and preserved the purest stock of Celtic blood in existence. Williams in explanation of some fiery act or



More than 50,000 visitors annually pass through the great granite pillars of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building completed in 1930 and dedicated to the preservation of the State's history, now a fitting memorial to the interest, thought, and work of Robert Lee Williams.

decision would snap his clear, blue eyes and say, "I just can't help it. I am Welsh." Among his papers, a short statement concerning his family and ancestry is set forth.

He was born December 20th, 1868, in a log cabin on Bear Creek about a half mile North of where Williams Church is now located and about two and a half miles east of Brundidge, Alabama. He was the second of a family of ten children. His parents were Jonathan Williams and Sarah Julia Paul who married September 10, 1865. Their family consisted of Mary Irene Williams, deceased; Robert Lee Williams, deceased; Louisa Williams, deceased; Orrar Williams Prince, deceased; Simeon W. Williams, Atlanta, Georgia; Bolen Williams, Dallas, Texas; Thomas M. Williams, Durant, Oklahoma; Edgar P. Williams, deceased; Myra Evelyn Williams Walker, Washington, D. C.; Collins C. Williams, Poteau, Oklahoma. His paternal grandfather, Simeon Williams was born in New Hanover County, North Carolina, August 1st, 1797, and died on July 12, 1870. His maternal grandmother, Louisa Maria Adams was born in Edgefield, South Carolina and died August 17, 1901. They were married on June 18, 1835. Their place of burial is at Williams Chapel Cemetery, Pike County Alabama. His paternal great-grandfather, Jonathan Williams, whose ancestors had emigrated from Wales, was born in the Colony of Connecticut on April 17, 1764. In 1778, he ran away from Connecticut and at the age of fourteen, joined Colonel Beardley's Colonial Regiment in the American Army and he served until independence was established.

Through his mother, Sarah Julia Paul, daughter of Robert Paul and Harriett Stallings, he received the heritage of devotion to the South. Robert Paul was Lieutenant in Company L, 15th Alabama Regiment, C.S.A. and died in the service of the Company in 1862. Jonathan Williams, his great grandfather located in Craven County, North Carolina. He married Frances Carver, September 17, 1787. In 1820, he left with members of his family for the Creek Country of Alabama. Reaching Jones County, Georgia, they were delayed for three years because of conditions in the Creek Country. In 1823 they resumed their journey through the wilderness, entering Alabama at what is now known as Eufaula on the old Federal Road leading to Sparta. In January 1824, they pitched their camp on Bear Creek, made a clearing in the forest and erected a substantial log house.

Robert Lee Williams was brought up on a farm until he was past ten years old. The first school he ever attended was in 1876 when he was about seven years old. This school was taught at Pea River Church, about two miles from where he lived and in 1878, he attended school at Williams Church. About January 1st, 1879, his parents moved to the town of Brundidge, Alabama and he attended school there. In September 1888, he was awarded a scholarship

which carried free tuition to Southern University, Greensboro, Alabama, by O. R. Blue, presiding elder of the Methodist Church Conference of that district.

In after years, in telling of the early impressions of his pioneer home, he said:

"At the age of six, I was given the job by my parents of watching flocks of chickens and the livestock about the place, and the lonely watching in the woods often grew long and monotonous. But I never thought of giving up the job for my mother, even at that early age, had thoroughly impressed upon me the fact that I would have to work my way through life and the importance of faithfully doing well any task that was assigned to me. My father had been taught by his father all of the old traits of the Puritans. He could build a brick or stone chimney, mix lime and cement, build hearths, and repair such farm equipment as we had in those days. He was a fairly good shoemaker, blacksmith, and wood worker. As a small boy, I would often sit up late at night and watch him make or repair shoes after hard work on the farm all day. All that was ever done around the place from January 1st to December 31st of each year was work. It seemed there was never a moment's rest except on Sunday."

The records disclose that Judge Williams first revealed his ability as a leader in school life when in June, 1885, he won the prize of a gold medal given for the best declamation. At this time it should be said that he had mastered arithmetic, University algebra, plain and solid geometry, and had read *Caesar* and *Virgil* in Latin, and *Anabasis* in Greek. Much of this work was accomplished at home under the tutorship of his mother.

He entered the Southern University at Greensboro, September 1888. His sense of honor, his irrepressible ambition for leadership and distinction in learning, soon stamped him as one of the outstanding characters of the school. Energetic, industrious, and studious, he was soon regarded as a leader in every phase of student activity in which he engaged.

While in the University, young Williams had occasion to reveal certain traits of character that marked him throughout life. He with other young men presented to one of the teachers a protest of certain features of class recital. It was done in orderly and dignified fashion but the professor resented it. Young Williams in a later conference with three other members of the class, suggested hanging the teacher in effigy. This was done and in the affair, all of the boys took flight except Williams who was arraigned before the faculty and asked to give the names of the other boys in the episode. He refused and the faculty gave him finally seventy-five demerits but did not expel him. He felt that the matter had been settled but to his amazement when honored speakers were named to represent the class at Commencement, he was left off the list. He knew that his grades were far above those who had been selected. He found that the English professor who had been the center of the protest by him and his class

associates, had not forgiven him and would not consent for him to appear as one of the honored speakers. He told the President that he thought he had made sufficient amends, accepted punishment and had lived up to every requirement. The President told him that he could not over-rule the decision of a member of his faculty. He told the President that he would not graduate at all then, unless with the honor he felt due him. He went to the Secretary of the faculty and withdrew his application for a degree. A few weeks before Commencement, the President sent for Williams and asked him whether he was going to renew his application for a degree. He told him that he had passed all his examinations and only needed to write a thesis. Williams told the President:

"I will not apply for a degree. He insisted on my going ahead and taking the degree but I told him the Bible says, 'Blessed is the man that sweareth to his own hurt and changes not.' I have said that I will not and I did not." On the day of Commencement, I sat in the balcony along with the spectators. I was then twenty-one years old. I had in my possession a certificate signed by the President of the College, certifying that I had passed with distinction all examinations necessary for an A.B. Degree. Three years later however, without solicitation on my part, the faculty awarded me the A.B. Degree and I accepted it."

Williams determined this time to have something to say and do as to the Senior Class. He proposed with his friends to have a slate of Class officers. These were elected and he was named orator.

This controversy with the University resulted in no ill feeling on his part toward his Alma Mater. A few years after locating in the Indian Territory, he visited Greensboro, Alabama, to attend a commencement at the college. He learned that the financial affairs of the school were in bad condition. He went to the financial agent and insisted upon payment of the full tuition for the period when he attended the school on a scholarship, and also for the time when he came back to study in the University for the ministry. He gave his note with compound interest for this, which he paid later with all accumulated interest.

After completing the undergraduate course in Southern University, Greensboro, Alabama, Robert Lee Williams first work was teaching school. During the fall of 1890 and the spring of 1891, he taught at China Grove, a small rural community in Pike County, Alabama. It was during his teaching experience that his ambition for the law began to take practical form. During this period, he read Walker's *American Law* in which he gained his first knowledge of the fundamentals of the profession that he was to follow throughout his life. On May 9, 1891, he entered the law office of Colonel William S. Thorington at 22 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama, where he continued to read and study law under Colonel Thorington who at the time was regarded as one of the South's most learned and eminent lawyers. He was later a member of the Supreme Court of

Alabama and at one time Dean of the Law School of the Alabama State University.

It was while in Colonel Thorington's office that young Williams exhibited unusual aptitude and talent for the law that won for him the admiration and assistance of his mentor and other distinguished lawyers with whom he came in contact. Within five months he qualified himself for admission to the Bar in Alabama, an accomplishment requiring a minimum of two years. But to do this, "I often burned the midnight oil in reading and studying from twelve to fifteen hours a day," he said. On September 26, 1891, the Supreme Court of Alabama met in a special session. When the court convened, Colonel Thorington vouching for Williams' moral character and fitness moved that he be examined for admittance to the Bar. The Court named a special examining committee consisting of the William M. Martin, then Attorney General of the State of Alabama, and Thomas H. Watts, Jr., and Horace Stringfield, all of Montgomery. In the library room of the Alabama Supreme Court, the oral examination lasting for more than three hours was held. Williams was the only candidate examined for admission at the time. At the conclusion of the examination, the committee voted unanimously for his admission.

The West beckoned when the Cherokee Strip was about to be opened for settlement and development in September, 1893, and once again young Williams, growing restless amid staid old southern ways and customs, came west to make the run into Perry with the crack of the gun that signalled the opening of the Cherokee Strip.

On his way into Oklahoma, he stopped at Arkansas City, Kansas, at a time when a meeting was being held by real estate boomers to organize the Ponca City Townsite Company in opposition to the town of Cross, and it was at this meeting that he made his first investment in Oklahoma real estate by way of exhibiting his faith in the future development of the new country. Determined to take a chance with other pioneers and settlers, ready to advance on the new country, he went to Guthrie to purchase a set of the 1893 territorial statutes, and thus equipped with a sufficient law library, he would hang out his shingle and begin the practice of law. Roy Hoffman, then the editor of *The Guthrie Leader*, and also Secretary to Governor Renfrow, Territorial Governor at the time, and C. J. Wrightsman, then a struggling young lawyer, who was later one of Oklahoma's many multi-millionaires, were the first men in Oklahoma with whom he became acquainted. Armed with his new law book, young Williams left for Orlando to await the opening of the Cherokee Strip.

He became disappointed and discouraged and once again his path led back to his old home in Alabama. Reaching Troy he found the little town agog over a revival being conducted by Sam Jones which had sent the religious fervor and interest of the community to a

high pitch, while scores of conversions were being recorded each day. Williams attended one of these meetings. Under the influence of deep emotion, stirred as never before by the eloquent and inspiring preaching of the great evangelist, scores of "sinners" from every walk of life, publicly confessed their sins and forever renounced their evil ways. Among the converted, Williams recalled there was a man who was then Police Chief of Troy, but who in the early days of the Reconstruction Period in Georgia had fled to Mexico to escape reconstructive justice and who had since squared his crime with society and wanting to adopt the Christian life had made public avowal of the long past deed. The spectacle of thousands of persons in all walks of life professing faith, and the fervent religious atmosphere of the community created by the soul-stirring appeals of the great evangelist, fanned the flames of religious fervor in the heart of young Williams and he resolved to prepare himself for a life devoted to the ministry. He again entered the Southern University at Greensboro, Alabama, to prepare himself for the ministry and he received his M.A. degree in 1894. He sincerely entered the ministry and with the enthusiasm of a crusader, he worked hard and faithfully but he was soon impressed that this was not the calling for his life work, and during the early part of July 1896, with the consent of his presiding elder, he gave up his charge. In the early part of the following August, he located at Atoka in the Indian Territory. At a meeting of the Territorial Courts for the Central District of Indian Territory, held at Atoka November 1896, Robert Lee Williams was admitted to practice in the Territorial courts. Thus equipped for a career as a lawyer, he began his public service.

His attitude as a jurist and statesman can perhaps be best revealed in his words taken from his inaugural address as Governor, January 11, 1915 in the old Overholser Opera House:

"The fact is, the entire world has been living too fast. . . . I believe in party government. . . . Those men who in serving the public, prefer to give more to the State than they receive by way of material considerations are the ones that appeal most to me. I hope to make myself clear. In this administration, with my consent, there shall not be an easy place and there shall not exist a sinecure, but the road shall be rugged with work and devotion to duty. . . . It is right that a man should love his friends. Every true man will, but I have my ideals and I think that those who have fought with me in the political contests in this State and who know me intimately, know that I have cherished all these ideals all these years and that I was moved to seek the office of chief magistrate of this State with the purpose of exemplifying those ideals in public service. In the exercise of this great service, we must look first in all things to the public welfare. Every real friend of mine will expect this. But do not get the idea that I am not a partisan Democrat. It is my ambition to discharge the duties of this office so as to endear the Democratic party to every citizen who desires good government. To do this we must remember that he who serves the State best, serves his party most. I have no patience with the mongrel, either in politics or in any other walk of life. . . . I love the stalwart. If I lose in the preliminary party contests, I shall acquiesce

and never ask for quarter, giving at the same time my loyal support to my opponent. . . . The incompetent, the laggard and the hanger-on must know that they can have no place in this administration and the grafter must go to sleep during these four years, or take up his abode in some other jurisdiction. . . . We are fresh from the people upon a platform whose declarations are hardly cold. These declarations must be carried out in good faith. We declared that every unnecessary board, officer, or employee of the State, County, or Municipality must be abolished and dispensed with, and that the public servants remaining, must earn their salaries by actual service. . . . ”

Upon his return from the meeting of the Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, January 29, 1948, Judge Williams was attacked by a cold which developed into a weakness which demanded that he enter the Wilson N. Jones Hospital, Sherman, Texas, February 15th. His sister, Mrs. Paul Walker came from Washington, D. C. to care for him and with other loved ones and friends about him, he sank to rest between 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. April 10th. His remains were brought to Durant, his home.

Governor Roy J. Turner, upon being informed of his death immediately issued a proclamation paying the third governor of the state high tribute. He ordered all flags over state institutions at half mast and called upon all citizens of Oklahoma to pay honor to his life and labor. Flags at Durant Post Office and City Hall also flew at half mast. The body of the deceased lay in state Sunday and Monday in the R. L. Williams Public Library attended by an honor guard from the Durant National Guard Company. At 10:00 a. m. Wednesday, simple but impressive funeral services were conducted by Rev. Don H. La Grone, Pastor of the First Methodist Church, Durant, assisted by Rev. J. C. Curry, District Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Oklahoma City, and the Reverend John Abernathy, Pastor of the Crown Heights Methodist Church of Oklahoma City. High state officials led by Governor Roy J. Turner and his staff together with the plain people who knew him as a friend, composed an audience representing a splendid cross section of all Oklahoma. Ex-Governor William H. Murray who had fought with him for half a century for the State's welfare was present. The judges of the Supreme Court were in attendance, as were Lieutenant Governor James E. Berry, A. P. Murrah, Judge of United States Court of Appeals, Judge Bower Broadbush, Federal District Judge, and many others of eminence. Members of the Bryan County Bar sat in a body. Active pallbearers were: Henry Gibson Jr., Muskogee; R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee; S. C. Boswell, Ada; Earl Pruett, Oklahoma City; Dr. C. S. Lynch, Ardmore; George C. Pendleton, Durant; Elmer Hale, McAlester; and John Craig, Idabel. Music for the service was provided by William Edwards, head of the Music Department of Southeast State College, at the organ, and members of the a capella choir. The Reverend La Grone took as his text the sixth chapter and eighth verse of Micah, “What doth the Lord re-

quire of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

An honor guard of highway patrolmen led the funeral procession through flag lined streets to the cemetery, one mile south of Durant. Hundreds of persons stood with bared heads as the cortege passed through the business district. He was buried in Highland Park Cemetery overlooking Durant, which had been his home for fifty-one years.

These are only traces of the life of one of the most distinct and singular men it has fallen to my lot to meet.¹ His story will be told some years hence in a volume where his individualism will be given the varied colors his deeds demand.

He was stern; he was kind. He was harsh; he was gentle. He was plain and unassuming as an Oklahoma commoner. Yet he towered in his fight for better laws, government, and the principle of American democracy so that for almost half a century he was "a rock in a weary land" for those seeking honesty, integrity and economy in Oklahoma affairs. Perhaps he was hated. It is known that he had friends who gave him deep reverence, if they did not love him. A noted Oklahoma editor said of him, "Years ago, a militant American chose these words for his epitaph, 'Here lies a man who was much loved and much hated, but never despised by mortal man.' Robert Lee Williams would have loved that epitaph."

¹ By special request, a short, factual statement on the life of Judge Robert Lee Williams is given in Notes and Documents of this issue of *The Chronicles*, page 251. —Ed.

"THE OTOE AND MISSOURIA RESERVATION"

By Berlin B. Chapman*

PART I

The Otoe and Missouria reservation embraced 129,113.2 acres in what is now the east central part of Noble County and the northwest part of Pawnee County. Red Rock, Otoe, and Watchorn are on the site of the reservation. Part One of this article tells how the reservation was established. Part Two will give the history of the dissolution of the reservation.

The Otoe and Missouria reservation was the sixth and last reservation established in the Cherokee country west of the ninety-sixth meridian. The Otoes and Missourias differed from the occupants of the five neighboring reservations in that there was lasting dissension among the Otoes and Missourias as to what lands in Indian Territory they should occupy.¹

In 1869 the Otoes and Missourias numbered about 440. In Nebraska and Kansas, just south of Beatrice, they occupied a fertile reservation of 160,000 acres.² The United States had assigned the reservation to them for their future home. For several years white settlers in Nebraska and Kansas, with a desire to secure the lands of the reservation for themselves, used their political influence and other means to have the Indians removed to the Indian Territory. They "made the lives of the Indians so wretched that they were anxious to escape to the Indian Territory."³

In Washington on February 13, 1869, Hampton B. Denman and Thomas Murphy representing the United States, concluded a treaty with a delegation of the Otoe and Missouria tribe.⁴ It was stated

* In contributing this article to *The Chronicles*, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Associate Professor of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, has reported that he is indebted to the Social Science Research Council for a grant-in-aid to complete a project of which this study is a part. He is on sabbatical leave, and is continuing research at the National Archives under the auspices of the Research Foundation of the College. His project is a history of the Indian Reservations and other lands of Oklahoma Territory.—Ed.

¹ The Otoe and Missouria Indians are often referred to as Otoes. There were about fifty Missourias in 1880.—*Indian Affairs*, 1880, p. 119. (The spelling of the two tribal names was determined by the Bureau of Ethnology and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1902: *Oto*, became the approved spelling for "Otoe," and *Missouri*, for "Missouria." See Charles J. Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 1021.—Ed.)

² C. C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*, maps 27 and 42.

³ Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, (Chicago, 1946), p. 259. A. E. Sheldon, *Land Systems and Land Policies in Nebraska*, pp. 10-12.

⁴ The treaty is in OIA (Office of Indian Affairs), *Rec. of Treaties*, No. 2, pp. 473-480.

in the treaty that the Otoes and Missouriias desired to secure a new and permanent home in the Indian Territory, and to sell their reserve in Nebraska and Kansas reserved to them by the treaty of December 9, 1854.⁵ Provision was made whereby the Saint Louis and Nebraska Trunk Railroad Company and the Atchison and Nebraska Railroad Company might purchase the lands of the reserve on certain terms.

Article two of the treaty provided that as soon as practicable after the ratification of the treaty, a delegation of Otoes and Missouriias should be sent to the Indian Territory, by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanied by such officer of the Department as he should designate, who should select there a new reservation for the permanent home of the tribe, out of the lands recently purchased by the United States for the settlement of Indian tribes thereon, which new reservation should include not to exceed 96,000 acres, or not less than 64,000 acres. If the selection should be satisfactory to the tribe and should be approved by the Secretary of the Interior, he should sell such new reserve to the Otoes and Missouriias at the price per acre which the United States paid for the same, and should cause the tribe to remove thereto as soon as practicable, but not without their consent, before April 1870. Article eight of the treaty provided that any amendments thereto which might be made by the Senate, not affecting the price to be paid for the lands or the disposition of the proceeds of the sale thereof, were thereby accepted and ratified in advance.

President Johnson transmitted the treaty to the Senate on February 18, 1869. In his annual report under date of September 25, Superintendent Samuel M. Janney stated that the price named in the treaty for the lands proposed to be ceded by the Indians was far below their market value.⁶ Commissioner E. S. Parker in his annual report under date of December 23 set forth no objection to the ratification of the treaty. However, on January 21, 1870, he recommended that the President be requested to withdraw the treaty from the Senate.⁷

On or before January 29 the following petition signed by eight chiefs and a hundred braves was addressed to the President and Senate:⁸

"Whereas—a few Chiefs of the Otoe and Missouriia tribe of Indians having been inveigled by corrupt and designing men into giving assent to a treaty which is entirely subversive to the best interests and at variance with

⁵ Kappler, ii, 660.

⁶ *Indian Affairs*, 1869, p. 339. In a letter to E. S. Parker on February 5, 1870, Janney stated that the price named in the treaty was not half the market value of the lands; OIA, Otoe, J. 1009-1870.

⁷ Parker to Sec. Int., OIA, *Rpt. Book 19*, pp. 135-138.

⁸ The petition is in OIA, Otoe J. 1001-1870. It bears no date. The treaty is that of February 13, 1869, although it is not specifically designated in the petition.

the wishes of the tribe, and said treaty being looked upon by the tribe as a plot to rob them of their scanty possessions, Now therefore we the undersigned Chiefs and braves of the Otoe and Missouri tribe, do most respectfully and humbly petition that a treaty so unjust in all its provisions may never be enforced upon us."

On February 4 President Grant requested the Senate to return the treaty to him, and it was not ratified.⁹

In the autumn of 1871 the Chiefs of the Otoes and Missourias requested permission to visit their relatives, the Osages, in the Indian Territory, having in view a removal to the Territory, if the country pleased them better than their own. Superintendent Barclay White induced them to postpone consideration of the visit at that time. But in April 1872 he consented that when they had planted their crops, a company of them, numbering not more than twenty, might make the visit. A delegation of the tribe visited the Indian Territory accordingly. They were absent from their agency about a month, "made a selection of land adjacent to the Osages," and returned with favorable reports.¹⁰

In council on September 6 the Otoes and Missourias rejected the provisions of the Act of June 10, 1872, whereby a portion of their reservation, not exceeding one half, might be sold.¹¹ Nevertheless they were dissatisfied with their location.¹² According to White they desired that all their lands be sold, that a reservation be purchased for them near the Osages, and that they be removed thereto.¹³ The Department of the Interior was willing that provision be made for removing them to the Indian Territory, and in December the Department recommended that the Act of June 10, 1872, be so amended that their entire reservation might be sold.

On January 26, 1873, the legislature of Nebraska in a memorial to Congress stated that the Otoes and Missourias had expressed a desire to sell their entire reservation and remove to the Indian Territory.¹⁴ The legislature requested that favorable and prompt action be taken to gratify this desire. But there was already a division of sentiment among the Otoes and Missourias upon the subject of removal.¹⁵

In the spring of 1873 Jesse W. Griest, who entertained grave doubts whether they could gain anything of importance by removing

⁹ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, vii, p. 47. See also J. D. Cox, Sec. Int., to the President, Feb. 4, 1870, OIA, Pt. 2, *Letters, Indian Affairs*, vol. 16, pp. 280-285.

¹⁰ White to Com. F. A. Walker, Dec. 19, 1872, OIA, Otoe W. 631-1872; same to same, April 23, 1872, *ibid.*, W. 1485-1872; Agt. A. L. Green to White, Sept. 6, 1872, *Indian Affairs*, 1872, p. 225.

¹¹ Kappler, i, 138; "Relief of Indians in Northern Superintendency," *H. Ex. Docs.*, 42 Cong. 3 sess., vii (1865), no. 73.

¹² *Ann. Rpt. Bd. Ind. Commissioners* 1872, p. 35.

¹³ White to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 24, 1872, *Indian Affairs*, 1872, p. 214.

¹⁴ The memorial is in *S. Misc. Docs.*, 42 Cong. 3 sess., i(1846), no. 61.

¹⁵ White to Walker, Dec. 19, 1872, *loc. cit.*

to the Indian Territory, entered upon his duties as agent at the Otoe agency. For seven years he served as agent. The longer he served the more he was disliked by the portion of the tribe known as the "wild party" or "wild faction" who agitated a removal to the Indian Territory, and were content with the ways of their fathers. In his first annual report he expressed the belief that the sentiment of the tribe, if numerically expressed, would be largely in favor of remaining where they were.¹⁶ In part he attributed the agitation for removal to a class of scheming white men.

Early in the autumn of 1874 about one fifth of the Otoes and Missourias, without permission, left their reservation to visit southern tribes and to find a place where they could procure game and other subsistence. They were captured by the military, the leaders confined for a time at Fort Hays, and the others were sent home.

Commissioner E. P. Smith considered it possible that this movement toward the Indian Territory might renew the agitation of the question of the removal of the tribe.¹⁷ He looked somewhat favorably upon the matter of their removal. "Lands of good quality," he said, "can be obtained in the Indian Territory for one-fourth, and perhaps one-eighth, of the price per acre which their present lands will bring in a fair sale." There was an increasing feeling of unfriendliness between the portion of the tribe that favored removal to the Indian Territory and the portion that opposed it. According to Griest the former portion numbered about one-fourth to one-third of the tribe, and their object in removing to the Indian Territory was to get away from civilization where they could pursue their old Indian customs.¹⁸

In the spring of 1876 the information of the Office of Indian Affairs was to the effect that the Otoes and Missourias were strongly opposed to a removal to the Indian Territory, and in view of this information it was determined to assign them allotments of land in severalty on the reservation they occupied.¹⁹ However Commissioner J. Q. Smith was of the opinion that if the consent of the tribe to remove to the Indian Territory could be obtained, it would be to their interest as well as to that of the people of Nebraska and Kansas that they should be so removed.²⁰ On December 23 the tribe gave their consent to the sale of 120,000 acres from the western side of their reservation.²¹

Fourteen chiefs and headmen of the Otoes and Missourias on April 11, 1877, addressed a petition to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stating that it was the desire of their tribe to have the subject settled

¹⁶ Griest to White, Sept. 4, 1873, *Indian Affairs*, 1873, p. 196.

¹⁷ Smith to White, Oct. 10, 1874, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 121, pp. 124-125.

¹⁸ Griest to White, Oct. 26, 1874, OIA, Otoe W. 1753-1874.

¹⁹ J. Q. Smith to W. A. Phillips, May 1, 1876, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 130, pp. 167-168.

²⁰ Smith to H. S. Paddock, May 4, 1876, *ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

²¹ This was in conformity with an act of Aug. 15, 1876; Kappler, i, 167.

as soon as practicable where their future home was to be.²² The petition said in part:²³

"We have been told that there is a country south of here, that is intended for all Indians and that we can go to that country and live as Indians used to live on the wild game that the Great Spirit has provided for us. Many of our tribe believe that, and do not want to work like white people if they can live without it as we did in olden times."

It was requested in the petition, in order to determine the desirability of removal, that a suitable delegation of Otoes and Missourias be permitted, at tribal expense, to visit the Indian Territory, or such part of it as might be designated as available for the future home of the tribe. Before the views of the "wild party" are condemned, it may be well to ponder whether a civilization higher than that of the hunting stage has contributed more happiness than misery to humanity.

Commissioner Smith in a practical way directed Griest to explain to the tribe that the purpose of the government in settling them in the Indian Territory was not that they might roam over the country in search of game, free from labor and restraint, but that they might build homes, cultivate farms, accumulate property, establish and maintain churches and schools, and adopt in all respects, the habits and modes of life of civilized people.²⁴

On June 20 Smith requested Superintendent William Nicholson to report the localities in the Indian Territory which, in his judgment, were most appropriate and available for the future home of the Otoes and Missourias, with any other facts or suggestions relative thereto that he might deem important.²⁵ In a reply three days later Nicholson stated that there was no necessity for the tribe sending a delegation to the Indian Territory to select a location.²⁶ He stated that the lands there had been surveyed and reported upon so that if it were decided that the tribe should go to the Indian Territory the place to which they should be removed could be assigned them by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with far better judgment than they were capable of exercising.

In the opinion of Nicholson the best arrangement would be to place them on the Kaw reservation. He said:

"There is every probability that the Kaws would be quite willing to this arrangement—but whether they are or not, can make no material difference as they have never paid for this reservation—the Government having advanced the necessary funds, and therefore having a full right to assign a portion of it to the Otoes and Missourias, if it deems it advisable so to do."

²² The petition is in OIA, Neb. O. 26-1877.

²³ Wah-con-ra-scoonie observed that "we are Indians and want to be Indians."

²⁴ Smith to Griest, June 20, 1877, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 136, pp. 314-315.

²⁵ Smith to Nicholson, June 20, 1877, *ibid.*, p. 314.

²⁶ Nicholson to Smith, June 23, 1877, OIA, Cent. Supt., C. 760-1877.

In accordance with Smith's direction, Griest on July 9 submitted to the Otoes and Missourias Nicholson's recommendation that they be consolidated with the Kaws, or placed on their reservation.²⁷ The chiefs and leading men of the tribe assembled in open council on July 19 or 20 and unanimously adopted a resolution rejecting the recommendation and requesting that the tribe be permitted to remain on the reservation they occupied.²⁸

On September 26, 1878, a petition purporting to convey the sentiment of two hundred Otoes and Missourias, was addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting that proper steps be taken to have the lands of the tribe exchanged for lands in the Indian Territory and that Griest be removed as agent.²⁹ It was apparent to Acting Commissioner W. M. Leeds that sooner or later the tribe would be compelled to yield to the pressure of white settlers upon them and dispose of the lands of their reservation. On October 8 he directed Inspector John McNeil to visit the tribe and ascertain the number and condition of those who desired to remove to the Indian Territory.³⁰

McNeil arrived at the reservation November 12. In council on November 15 Little Pipe explained that some of the Otoes and Missourias had visited the Indian Territory and "selected land by the Sac and Fox reservation"; he stated that one of the chiefs had been left on "the land we picked out."³¹ McNeil stated that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs thought it would be better for the tribe to select lands on the Chikaskia, west of the Kaw Reservation. But Ar-ke-ke-tah replied: "It is thirty miles beyond that, where our chiefs selected." When a vote was taken on the question of removal to the Indian Territory the "wild party" carried the day by a small margin; 229 persons voted to remove, 213 voted to remain on the reservation and 17 were absent.³² Those who voted to remain on the reservation apparently realized that the time was near when they must go to the Indian Territory; and their intent seems to have been to wait until they could select a suitable location there and properly dispose of their reservation. Henceforth the issue among the tribe was not whether they should remove to the Indian Territory, but rather what lands they should occupy there.

On March 14, 1879, Acting Commissioner E. J. Brooks stated that since a large part of the Otoes and Missourias were anxious to go to the Indian Territory, some definite action would be taken, as

²⁷ Smith to Griest, June 30, 1877, OIA (Large) *Letter Book* 136, p. 357; The Kaw reservation has become the portion of Kay County east of the Arkansas River.

²⁸ OIA, Neb. O. 92-1877.

²⁹ OIA, Neb. 1421-1878.

³⁰ Leeds to McNeil, Oct. 8, 1878, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book* 144, pp. 280-282.

³¹ The council was held Nov. 15, 1878; the proceedings are in OIA, Insp. File (McNeil), no. 931.

³² McNeil to Com. Ind. Aff., Nov. 25, 1878, *ibid.*

early as practicable, to aid them in their efforts to settle there.³³ According to a report of Inspector W. J. Pollock on August 31, all the Otoes and Missouriias were clamorous to remove to the Indian Territory.³⁴ Four families of the tribe, numbering eighteen persons, left their reservation in January 1880 and arrived at the Sac and Fox agency the following month. In a telegram³⁵ to Griest on March 5 Brooks said: "No legislation will be allowed to interfere with Otoes if they desire to remain where they now are. The Department desires to settle them on present reservation." Commissioner R. E. Trowbridge on May 4 directed Agent John S. Shorb to permit the four families of the tribe at the Sac and Fox agency to go to work upon such lands as he might deem best. On the same day Pollock reported that with one voice the Otoes and Missouriias in Nebraska and Kansas asked to go to the Indian Territory.³⁶

Secretary Carl Schurz on May 17 stated that he interposed no objection to a certain bill providing for the sale of the lands of these Indians and their removal to the Indian Territory. The next day Griest said in a telegram to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "Wild faction of Otoes, believed about one hundred, left for Territory last night. Have no means to bring them back." On July 6 Shorb reported that 181 Otoes and Missouriias had arrived at the Sac and Fox agency and were located with the four families who had arrived earlier.

In regard to a future home, a delegation from the Otoes and Missouriias in Nebraska and Kansas, when in Washington in January 1881, expressed a preference for the country immediately north of the Ponca reservation and east of the reservation occupied by the Nez Percés³⁷ The portion of the tribe in the Indian Territory claimed that their number constituted a majority of the tribe,³⁸ and that they should have more voice in the selection of a reservation than the portion of the tribe who had not removed to the Indian Territory. They had selected "a country on the south side of the Cimarron River, just west of the old trail leading from Coffeyville to the Sac and Fox Agency."³⁹

³³ Brooks to W. A. Phillips, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book 150*, pp. 124-125.

³⁴ Pollock to Com. E. A. Hayt, Aug. 31, 1879, OIA, Insp. File, No. 1158.

³⁵ Tel. of March 5, 1880, OIA, (Large) *Letter Book 154*, p. 321.

³⁶ "Confederated Otee—Missouria Indian Reservation," *H. Reports*, 46 Cong. 3 sess., i (1982), no. 31.

³⁷ Act. Com. E. M. Marble to Sec. Int., April 5, 1881, OIA, *L. Letter Book 79*, pp. 103-104. The Nez Percés were living on the Oakland reservation, subsequently known as the Tonkawa reservation.

³⁸ It appears that in 1880 the Otoes and Missouriias numbered 438 and that 216 were at the Sac and Fox agency; *Indian Affairs, 1880*, p. 246. It also appears that in 1881 the number of these Indians at the Otee agency was 238, and the number at the Sac and Fox agency was 235; *Indian Affairs, 1881*, pp. 278; 282.

³⁹ J. M. Haworth to Schurz, Jan. 29, 1881, OIA, *Special Case 95*, no. 2381-1881. See map in *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix (2686), no. 78.

At a general Council of the Chiefs and
head men of the Otoe and Missouri tribe
of Indians held at Oto Agency, Mo.
on the 2nd day of June 1881 in presence
of Gen. M. Neil, Indian Inspector and
Agent Woodin and others the Chiefs
in making a report of their visit to
the Indian Territory for the purpose
of selecting a new home said in substance
as follows:-

Chief Menchehinhwa, Ojibwa: Our Indians
have been waiting a long time for you
to come and go with us to look at the
country. Our Great Father wishes us to
look at the country. We do not like the
country so far south but that on each
side of the Red Rock. We think it is a good
for farming and for stock.
We all selected that land for our home
and we wish our Great Father to help us.
I think when we move to that place and
get our annuity all our trouble will
be settled.



THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Letters Received, 1881/10959 (Page 1 of Enclosure 2);
Special Case 95.

Three Centimeters
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

An act⁴⁰ approved on March 3, 1881, provided for the sale of the lands of the Otoes and Missourias in Nebraska and Kansas, a tract of 42,000 acres. The act provided that the Secretary of the Interior might, with the consent of said Indians, expressed in open council, secure other reservation lands upon which to locate them, cause their removal thereto, and expend such sum as might be necessary for their comfort and advancement in civilization, not exceeding \$100,000, including cost of surveys and expense of removal, the same to be drawn from the fund arising from the sale of certain of their reservation lands. In open council on May 4 the Otoes and Missourias in Nebraska and Kansas voted unanimously to accept the act, and to remove to the Indian Territory as soon as arrangements could be made therefor.⁴¹ The portion of the tribe in the Indian Territory in a like council on May 19 accepted the act by a unanimous vote.⁴²

Under the supervision of McNeil, a delegation consisting of at least four chiefs, representing the portion of the tribe in Nebraska and Kansas, visited the Indian Territory in May to select a future home for the tribe. The selection of lands west of the Sac and Fox reservation made by the Otoes and Missourias in the Indian Territory did not suit the delegation. They wanted farming and grazing lands and did not want to be too far from a market. The delegation visited the Oklahoma country, some thirty-five miles southwest of the Sac and Fox agency, but found those lands too remote from civilization. They objected to the Chikaskia country because the best timber there had been removed. Furthermore they did not want their tribe to be "set up as a fence" between other tribes, and whites on the Kansas line.

The delegation made a selection of lands on Red Rock Creek, just south of the Ponca reservation. The Otoes and Missourias in Nebraska and Kansas in a council held June 2 approved this selection.⁴³ In his report on June 4 McNeil said: "They ask the land between the Poncas and the Pawnees—running from the Arkansas River west. They ask this strip for twenty-five miles. I would respectfully recommend that their request be granted—as to locality;—quantity to be regulated by the Indian Bureau."⁴⁴

The Otoes and Missourias in the Indian Territory were the "wild party" with a fair proportion of adullamites in their train. It would seem proper that since the Indian Territory had become a retreat for their tribe, they might well take up their abode in a central

⁴⁰ Act of March 3, 1881, 21 *Statutes*, 380. In regard to the sale of the lands of the Otoes and Missourias in Nebraska and Kansas, see *S. Documents*, 55 Cong. 2 sess., x (3599), no. 132; OIA, Flat File, 39313 -11-310.

⁴¹ Certificate of May 4, 1881, OIA, *Special Case* 95, no. 10007-1881.

⁴² Certificate of May 19, 1881, *ibid.*, no. 9271-1881.

⁴³ The proceedings of the council held June 2, 1881, are in *ibid.*, no. 9916-1881.

⁴⁴ McNeil to Sec. S. J. Kirkwood, June 4, 1881, *ibid.*

part thereof. According to McNeil, the portion of the tribe in the Indian Territory for the most part went there to escape work, and to avoid all authority or solicitation for improvement. "Their selection west of Sac and Fox," he said, "is made with this view, there being nothing in the Country but the wild game and the mast for feeding hogs that offers any temptation to the industrious settler."

Commissioner Hiram Price stated that it would be doing them no injustice to say that in the matter of the selection of their new reservation, they were far less deserving than their brethren who were yet upon their reservation in Nebraska and Kansas, and who constituted a majority of the tribe.⁴⁵ In his opinion the reasons assigned by the latter for the selection of lands made by them were much more worthy of consideration than were the reasons which it was understood influenced the others in their selection. To little avail did the Otoes and Missouriias in the Indian Territory explain that they had removed there because Griest and white settlers made conditions intolerable for them on their reservation in Nebraska and Kansas.

On June 13, 1881, Price recommended to Secretary S. J. Kirkwood that the tract of land bounded on the east by the Pawnee reservation and the Arkansas River, on the north by the Ponca reservation, on the west by the Indian Meridian and on the south by the section line between sections twenty-one and twenty-two north, be designated and assigned for the use and occupation of the Otoes and Missouriias, under the provisions of the act of March 3 of that year. By an executive order of June 25 Kirkwood designated and assigned the lands accordingly.⁴⁶ The tract embraced 129,113.2 acres, or enough land to allow each member of the tribe nearly three hundred acres.

On October 5, 1881, the Otoes and Missouriias in Nebraska and Kansas set out for the new reservation and arrived there October 23. About three months later Price included the lands of the reservation among those "sold and occupied" in accordance with the provisions of the Cherokee treaty of 1866. These lands were conveyed by the Cherokees⁴⁷ to the United States in trust for the use and benefit of the Otoes and Missouriias, by a deed dated July 14, 1883.

The portion of the tribe west of the Sac and Fox reservation were greatly disappointed that the new reservation was not selected

⁴⁵ Price to Sec. Int., June 13, 1881, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 82 pp. 77-84.

⁴⁶ The executive order is dated June 25, 1881, and is in Kappler, i, 844.

⁴⁷ Under the same act of Congress, by the same authority, upon the same day, and with the same conditions the Cherokees conveyed lands in the reservations occupied by the Pawnees, Poncas, Nez Percés, Osages, and Kaws. The deeds are in the Indian Office, *Indian Deeds*, vi, 470-486. B. B. Chapman, "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet," Part Two, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xv (June, 1937), pp. 205-225.

in the vicinity where they were located. They persistently refused to remove to it, claiming that they could find better lands farther south. "They claim and I think not without some cause," said Agent Jacob V. Carter of the Sac and Fox agency, "that some undue means, or undercurrent was used in getting their agency located where it is."⁴⁸

According to Agent Lewellyn E. Woodin a very small proportion of the Otoe and Missouri reservation was suitable for agricultural purposes.⁴⁹ He stated that there was a sufficient quantity of agricultural lands within the reservation in detached patches along the creek bottoms "for the *actual present needs* of all the Otoe and Missouri Indians; but what agricultural land there is on the reservation, is so situated as not to be adapted in the future, to being divided into farms or claims for individual Indians, and allotted to them in severalty for permanent settlement."⁵⁰ Commissioner Price seems to have been influenced by reports of this nature when he prepared the executive order, signed by President Arthur on August 15, 1883, setting apart a reservation for the permanent use and occupation of "the Iowa and such other Indians" as the Secretary of the Interior might see fit to locate thereon.⁵¹

In accordance with the act of March 3, 1881, the Otoes and Missourias on November 19, 1884, reimbursed⁵² the United States for the lands of their reservation in the Indian Territory at the rate of 47.49 cents an acre, or a sum of \$61,315.85. Gradually the portion of the tribe west of the Sac and Fox reservation began to drift north to this reservation. In the summer of 1886 there were on the Iowa reservation about 125 of their number. This group believed that they would finally secure a reservation better suited to their wants than their own. By the summer of 1889 their number was reduced to about seventy-five, a part of whom were occasionally visiting Red Rock. The matter of their securing homes on the Iowa reservation or of securing a new reservation for their tribe, was part of the inheritance of the Cherokee Commission. The Otoe and Missouri reservation had been selected, occupied by the tribe and paid for by them.⁵³

⁴⁸ Carter to Price, April 18, 1883, OIA, L. 7555-1883.

⁴⁹ Woodin to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 20, 1882, *Indian Affairs*, 1882, p. 79.

⁵⁰ Same to same, April 30, 1883, OIA, L. 8141-1883.

⁵¹ Note the appeal of Medicine Horse, Little Pipe, and Pipe Stem to E. B. Townsend, May 28, 1883, OIA, L. 12917-1883. B. B. Chapman "Establishment of the Iowa Reservation", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xxi (December, 1943), pp. 366-377.

⁵² OIA, *Indian Appropriations*, Ledger 31, folios 48; 74. See also Act. Com. M. L. Joslyn to Com. Ind. Aff., March 20, 1884, OIA, *Rec. Letters Sent*, No. 35, pp. 29-31.

⁵³ Robert L. Williams, "Oklahoma and Indian Territory as Embraced within the Territory of Louisiana over which the Laws of the United States were Established," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xxi, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 250-259.

PART II

In Part I of this article it was explained that the Otoes and Missourias purchased a reservation in the Indian Territory in 1883, and that the Cherokees conveyed it to the United States in trust for the use and benefit of the Otoes and Missourias. Part II relates how lands were allotted among tribal members, and the reservation dissolved.

There was no special legislation applicable peculiarly to the lands of the Otoe and Missouri reservation. The lands were allotted under and subject to the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, and amendments thereto.⁵⁴ The General Allotment Act authorized the President, whenever in his opinion any Indian reservation or any part thereof was advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reservation, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon, in specified quantities. If a person entitled to an allotment had not received it within four years after the President had directed that allotments be taken on the reservation, the Secretary of the Interior was empowered to assign him an allotment.

Patents for lands should be issued "in the name of the allottees," which patents should declare that the United States would hold the land thus allotted for the period of twenty-five years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment should have been made. The President was empowered to extend the period of trust. At the end of the period of trust the United States should convey the land by patent to said Indian, or his heirs, in fee.

While tracing the history of the Otoe and Missouri reservation in the National Archives, one finds a score of letters by Helen Pioto-po-wa-ka Clarke, the only woman who served in Oklahoma Territory as a special allotting agent.⁵⁵ Her father, Malcolm Clarke, was one of the best known frontiersmen in the region of Montana.⁵⁶ He

⁵⁴ 24 *Statutes*, 388; 26 *Statutes*, 794.

⁵⁵ Miss Alice C. Fletcher of the District of Columbia served as a special allotting agent from 1887 to 1893, but rendered no service in Oklahoma Territory.—Act. Com. A. C. Tonner to Sec. Int., Feb. 10, 1904, OIA (Office of Indian Affairs), *L. Letter Book* 653, p. 95.

The schedules of allotments, and tract books cited in this article are not in the National Archives. Unless otherwise specified, manuscript materials cited are housed there.

⁵⁶ The following sketch of the life of Malcolm Clarke is given by Wyllys A. Hedges in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, vii (1910), p. 193: "Clark[e] had been a cadet at West Point, and an officer in the United States army; for fifty years on the frontier, and in the employment of the American Fur Company at Fort Benton and elsewhere; acquainted with the Indian sign language and character; had been present on many eventful occasions, such as making of treaty by Judge Munson and Acting Governor Meagher at Fort Benton in 1865. He was an old Indian fighter, a man of well-known personal bravery." Kappler, iv, pp. 1133-1137.



(Courtesy of Montana Historical Society)
HELEN PI-O-TO-PO-WA-KA CLARKE

had two wives. His first wife, Coth-co-co-mia, was the mother of Helen P. Clarke. Coth-co-co-mia was the daughter of a Blackfoot chief, a descendant of a line of warriors, and according to most statements, she was a full blood. Miss Clarke wrote: "The older children had been sent to the States for school privileges, and we scarcely knew our father." However, she loved and admired him, and was at home with him when he was killed and her brother wounded by the Blackfeet in an uprising on August 17, 1869.⁵⁷

Miss Clarke had served as superintendent of schools of Lewis and Clark County, Montana, 1882-88.⁵⁸ Her appointment as a special allotting agent concerned lands in Kansas.

On August 5, 1890, Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan wrote to the Secretary of the Interior concerning the making of allotments to the Prairie Band of Pottawatomies and to the Kickapoo Indians in Kansas. The entire tribes had been strongly opposed to taking allotments, but a recent report stated that a part of the Indians should be induced to take their allotments. Morgan said: "It has occurred to me that Miss Helen P. Clark[e], concerning whom we had a conversation yesterday, would be a proper person to make those allotments if the President should conclude to authorize the same. Being identified with the Indian race, it is probable that she would be able to exert a greater influence with them than one who is not so identified."⁵⁹

Agent D. J. M. Wood of the Ponca agency expressed the belief that the Otoes and Missourias would take allotments, and that offers might be made by the government which would induce them to take their lands.⁶⁰ President Harrison on September 6 granted authority, under the General Allotment Act, for making of allotments to Indians located on the Oakland (Tonkawa), Pawnee, Ponca, and Otoe and Missouri reservations. These reservations were under the supervision of the Ponca agency.

On October 3 Harrison appointed Miss Clarke to be a special agent to make allotments of lands in severalty to Indians under the provisions of the General Allotment Act. She was about forty-three years old.⁶¹ Her commission specified a compensation of eight dollars per day and actual and necessary traveling expenses, exclusive

⁵⁷ Helen P. Clarke, "Sketch of Malcolm Clarke," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Mont.*, ii (1896), pp. 255-268. This is a very readable article. The killing occurred twenty-five miles from Helena.

⁵⁸ *Montana Dept. of Public Instruction Reports*, *passim*.

⁵⁹ OIA, *L. Letter Book* 202, p. 323.

⁶⁰ Wood to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 1, 1890, *Indian Affairs*, 1890, p. 196.

⁶¹ Miss Clark was twenty-three in 1870. *Ninth Census, 1870, Montana*, vol. 1, p. 225. If her age as given in the census is correct, she omitted seven years when she mentioned her age to Commissioner W. A. Jones on April 15, 1899.—OIA, *Special Case* 147, no. 18247-1899.

of subsistence.⁶² Her appointment should continue during the pleasure of the President for the time being.

The Interior Department on March 17, 1891, instructed Miss Clarke to make allotments to Indians on the several reservations attached to the Ponca agency.⁶³ She began making allotments on the Oakland reservation on May 19, and completed the work of allotment there on June 30. The next day she began work as an allotting agent on the Otoe and Missouri reservation. She went there by the advice of Agent Wood, "notwithstanding the Otoes were much more pronounced in their opposition to allotments than the Pawnees or Poncas."⁶⁴

The Otoes soon told her to leave the reservation. She ignored their request, and proceeded to survey the lands. They threatened to kill the one who took his allotment first, and then commenced to remove the stones which had been set to establish the lines. Wood ended such resistance under threat of punishment.⁶⁵

By August 4, 1891, Miss Clarke thought she understood the lay of the land pretty thoroughly. She said: "There would be no trouble in allotting the lands to the Otoe tribe, if it were not for the pernicious influence of three men. These three men are Wm. Faw-Faw, their Messiah, James Whitewater who was sentenced to the penitentiary for 99 years in Nebraska and George Arkeketa a Chief and relative of James Whitewater."⁶⁶

Miss Clarke said it was important that no concession should be made to the Otoes in the manner and method of allotting lands on account of the evil effect it would have upon the Pawnees and Poncas. "If the work with the Otoes is stopped before their allotment is completed," she said, "my mission with these tribes is done. Finish the work with the Otoes and the allotment to the Pawnees and Poncas will be an easy matter."

The work of allotment progressed, though with considerable opposition. On September 7 Miss Clarke reported that she had made

⁶² The commission is in Int. Dept., Appointments Div., *Executive Commissions*, vol. 5, p. 306.

⁶³ The instructions are in OIA, *L. Letter Book 213*, pp. 61-65. They were approved by the Interior Department, March 21, 1891.—Int. Dept., *Letters, Indian Affairs*, vol. 81, pt. ii, p. 479.

⁶⁴ Clarke to Morgan, Sept. 7, 1891, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 33137-1891.

⁶⁵ Wood to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 20, 1891, *Indian Affairs*, 1891, p. 358.

⁶⁶ Clarke to Com. T. J. Morgan, Aug. 4, 1891, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 29134-1891. The Office of Indian Affairs gave Miss Clarke firm backing in a letter of August 10, 1891, in which the three men were mentioned by name. The office spoke of its power to remove from any tribal reservation any person whose presence within the limits of the reservation might in the judgment of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs be detrimental to the peace and welfare of the Indians.—Act. Com. R. V. Belt to Clarke, OIA, *L. Letter Book 221*, pp. 214-215. Photographs of the three men are in the Otoe file in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Cf. footnote 91 below.

108 allotments. She said it was a "very unsatisfactory and discouraging business"; that the Otoes had the reputation of being the most stubborn of the four tribes of the Ponca agency, and had always managed to have their own way with the Indian agents. She wrote:

The work once commenced with the Otoes, there is nothing to do but to keep at it. The Pawnees and Poncas were constantly enquiring what the Otoes were doing about the allotments, and the Otoes would say "Just watch us." After two or three weeks of work it looked as if the work would succeed, when along come officials pretty high in the Department to tell the Indians that a woman has no business at this work, which the Indians construe to mean that she has no legal right to do the work. Col. [Arthur W.] Tinker Indian Inspector also tells them, that they are not compelled to sell surplus land, and in *his* judgment that the Indians need not take allotments until surplus land is sold.

Most of the families have houses and more or less of cultivated land; each one says, "This is my claim." I allot that claim to him and his family, giving to each Indian all of his improvement. Some Indians that have no houses of their own will not select lands for themselves and these of course I cannot allot.

This is all that can be done with the Otoes now and if you were to wait 100 years you would have to do it in this way.

If the Department approve[s] these allotments it will be satisfactory to the Otoes, for as a matter of fact, the majority of them are in favor of allotments, as individuals, while as members of the tribe, they are not.

Tinker denied the statements made against him "in every particular." He also said:⁶⁷

"From all conversations I had with the Otoe Indians, either singly or in council, I became convinced that they were willing to take their allotments, but in every individual case they complained of the Great Father for sending a woman to make their allotments; they say they are men, and want a man to transact business with them, not a woman."

In the latter part of November 1891 Miss Clarke began the work of making allotments on the Ponca reservation. She realized that the work of allotting the Otoes must be finished in a less satisfactory shape than she had hoped. On November 23, about the time she left the Otoe reservation, she reviewed the situation as follows:⁶⁸

The least unfavorable circumstance may have a wide spread effect. The latest resulted from a visit of James Whitewater to Tahlequah. While there, someone, it may have been an hotel porter, which would answer all purposes, as well as any, told him that the Otoes did not have to take their allotments. Since then there has been a marked change among the Otoes, and I am closing up my work here in the manner that seems to me best under the circumstances.

Some have selected their lands and are satisfied with their allotments. This class numbers 122.

Others select their allotments, but refuse to accept them, unless given 160 acres each. To these I have given the amount of land that the law requires. This class numbers 25.

⁶⁷ Tinker to Sec. Int., Nov. 7, 1891, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 40239-1891.

⁶⁸ Clarke to Morgan, Nov. 23, 1891, OIA, *ibid.*, no. 42490-1891.

Still others claim portions of the Reservation. Some even more than their allotments for themselves and family entitle them to, but say they do not want it allotted. To these I have made allotments. This class numbers about 100 and is generally the most thrifty and lead the opposition to allotment. They are shrewd enough to know that they are well provided for, even if they take advantage of the full limit of the law and wait four years, as their lands cannot be given to anyone else.

Orphans of course have been allotted. They number 15.

This leaves another large class—to wit old men and women, many in their second childhood—children who are half orphans, and many of these, among Indians, are altogether orphans, not living with the surviving parent, nor looked after by him in any way. Men, mostly young men with families, of very different intellect and enterprise, generally with no homes and no fields, and those of them who do have homes seldom live there, but drift around from one camp to another. In short men who have to be provided for, or take what is left, as they have not intelligence enough to provide for themselves. This class I have thought best to assign claims, and they number about 50. There is still another class, numbering about 80 or more, bright, intelligent, who read English well, who have no lands, and who want none. Of course I can do nothing for them.

Scarcely any progress was made in 1892 in the work of allotment on the Otoe reservation. On November 22 Special Agent James G. Hatchitt was assigned to duty at the Ponca agency to assist in making allotments on reservations there. At the Otoe subagency he was informed that “those who have been allotted say they made no selections and do not know their land.”⁶⁹

The Otoe reservation was in the region where a struggle occurred between the cattlemen and prospective settlers.⁷⁰ The following “Notice to Cattlemen,” issued by men camped on the Kansas border, appeared in *The Indian Chieftain*, March 2, 1893:

Whereas, it is understood that the cattlemen have leased the Otoe and Ponca reservations for pasture and are now shipping cattle to these points,

We therefore give due notice to all concerned, that all such stock found running at large outside of said pastures, in the Cherokee strip, with or without herders, that the same will be taken possession of and dealt with according to law, and the same killed.

That we, the intending settlers of the Cherokee strip, will not allow one long horned intruder to occupy the Cherokee strip, and we will not depend any longer on the United States troops to remove them, nor will we allow boodle to be paid any more for this reprehensible business, while we protest against such treasonable and damnable practices. By order of the Cherokee Strip Settlers association.

On July 15, 1893, Agent Wood reported that Miss Clarke and Hatchitt were on the Otoe reservation doing all they could to have the Indians take their land in allotments.⁷¹ The two allotting agents

⁶⁹ Hatchitt to Com. T. J. Morgan, Dec. 5, 1892, *ibid.*, no. 43902-1892.

⁷⁰ *The Indian Chieftain*, March 26, 1891.

⁷¹ Wood to Com. Ind. Aff., *Indian Affairs*, 1893, p. 260.

advocated policies of allotment of quite different nature.⁷²

Miss Clarke was long-suffering, considered the Indians as "children," urged that they "be not crowded *too* fast," and she said that "the work of allotting must necessarily be slow." She was content to work "from early morn to dewy eve" in making a dozen or less allotments a week. She desired to keep all things ready so that whenever an Indian showed an inclination to take an allotment she could immediately "clinch the nail on the head." The fact that allotting agents received compensation only for time in the field probably gave support to her patience.

On the other hand, Hatchitt had about as little patience with the Poncas and Otoes as Chairman Lucius Fairchild had had with the Cherokees.⁷³ Hatchitt observed that long negotiations, either by the Cherokee Commission or allotting agents, tended to make the Indians arrogant and impudent and to show contempt for the United States.⁷⁴ He did not advocate the spending of a year or more inducing the Otoes to take allotments when, if it were proper, allotments could be assigned to them in a few weeks and the work thus promptly brought to a conclusion.

In a letter of July 10, 1893, Hatchitt wrote: "Nothing but an exhibition of power will do good. If these contracts for grazing were annulled and the cattle driven from the reservation and Chief White Horse and Chief Arteketa and James Whitewater imprisoned for obstructing allotments, they would come to their senses and make their selections." It was not long before he was on bad terms with the Indians, and after Agent James P. Woolsey on August 26 reported that Hatchitt "has done nothing since I have been here" and "will never do anything towards inducing them to accept their allotments," Hatchitt was recalled from the field on September 14.⁷⁵

⁷² The following letters in OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, give Miss Clarke's views: Clarke to Morgan Feb. 27, 1893, no. 7864-1893; Clarke to Com. D. M. Browning, Aug. 23, 1893, no. 31998-1893; Dec. 12, 1893, no. 46539-1893; April 11, 1894, no. 14413-1894; April 28, 1894, no. 16561-1894; no. 16602-1894; Aug. 8, 1894, no. 30638-1894. Hatchitt's views are set forth in a letter to the Com. Ind. Aff., June 11, 1893, *ibid.*, no. 22453-1893; and in a portion of his letter of July 10, 1893, presumably addressed to the Com. of Ind. Aff., *ibid.*, no. 25453-1893. In a telegram to the Com. Ind. Aff. on August 8, 1893, he said: "No prospect of inducing Otoes to take allotments"; *ibid.*, no. 29540-1893.

⁷³ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xv (Sept. 1937), pp. 291-321.

⁷⁴ In 1889 the Cherokee Commission was instructed to negotiate with the Otoes and Missourias for all the lands of their reservation. While the commissioners were negotiating with the Poncas, 1891-93, they met the Principal Chief of the Otoes who informed them that these Indians would not enter upon negotiations at all, being fortified in their notions by all the considerations that affected the Poncas; therefore the commission held no formal councils with his people.—Commissioners to the President, Aug. 21, 1893, Int. Dept., 7801 Ind. Div. 1893; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xix (Dec. 1941), pp. 356-367.

⁷⁵ J. P. Woolsey to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 26, 1893, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 32313-1893; Com. D. M. Browning to C. H. Mansur, May 1, 1894, OIA, *L Letter Book* 279, p. 491.

By August 4, 1894, Otoe allotments numbered 175.⁷⁶ Miss Clarke, by exhaustion of patience, grasp of reason, or pressure from her employer came to advocate sterner measures.⁷⁷ She wrote:

I am working among a people whose very soul abominates anything tending toward civilization, and they are bright enough to see that *allotments* mean civilization ultimately. And because of this fact they have shown a bitterness almost unparalleled. I have in a great degree overcome this feeling so that they now listen to me when I talk, and go among them. They have even said that if allotments were inevitable, they desired me to give to them, *theirs*, and until recently I have felt that success would crown my earnest and conscientious efforts.

Since the return of the delegation of Poncas and Otoes from Washington April last, I have found it more difficult to handle the neutrals. The delegation returned with no positive assurance that assignments would be made in September and in consequence thereof "White Horse" of the Otoes and "Standing Buffalo" of the faction of the opposition among the Poncas, have said to their people: "We will wait and see what they will do in Washington."

* * * *

I can make a few more allotments perhaps an average of ten a week for a few weeks longer, but it does seem to me that it would be economy of my time, and labor, and money to assign these recalcitrants at the expiration of the time for making selections, for if allotments are inevitable the sooner the Indian selects his land or has it assigned, the better for him and for his race.

Agent Woolsey considered that some of the Otoes would have to be assigned lands since there was little likelihood of their selecting them. Miss Clarke was "hard at work" but many of the Otoes remained firm, believing that if they took allotments they would be compelled to sell the surplus land, and they were anxious to keep it all.⁷⁸ Only twenty-three families were living upon and cultivating lands allotted to them.

On August 31 Miss Clarke was directed to notify the Otoes that unless they made selections within thirty days, assignments would be made to them, as provided in the General Allotment Act.⁷⁹ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs advised her on December 6 that upon completion of her work at the Ponca agency she should return to her home. Her work was completed December 31, by which time all the Otoes had received allotments. The Office of Indian Affairs on January 12, 1895, received the schedule embracing 375 allotments. On April 6 the schedule, "corrected" so that it embraced only 362 allot-

⁷⁶ Clarke to Browning, Aug. 8, 1894, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 30638-1894. Miss Clarke also reported 410 allotments on the Ponca reservation.

⁷⁷ On August, 3, 1894, Com. Browning informed Miss Clarke that the work of allotting lands to the Poncas and Otoes was making very little progress, and that he was unwilling that the work should continue indefinitely.—Browning to Clarke, OIA, *L. Letter Book 285*, p. 423.

⁷⁸ Woolsey to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 15, 1894, *Indian Affairs, 1894*, pp. 251; 592.

⁷⁹ Browning to Clarke, Aug. 31, 1894, OIA, *L. Letter Book 287*, p. 234; Browning to Sec. Int., Sept. 14, 1894, *Indian Affairs, 1894*, p. 22. The notice was similar to that given to the Poncas.



(Courtesy of Smithsonian Institute)

MITCHELL DEROIN

ments, was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior with the recommendation that it be approved.⁸⁰ There had been reserved for agency, school, mission and cemetery purposes 720 acres, leaving a surplus of 81,960.17 acres.

Regardless of allotments, the Otoes were not disposed to part with any of their lands. An insertion in the Indian appropriation act of March 2, 1895, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with them for the purchase of a sufficient quantity of surplus lands to allot to about forty-five Iowas in Kansas and Nebraska.⁸¹ On March 22 a protest, over the names of the principal chiefs of the Otoes, was addressed to the President requesting that no consideration be given to any petition for the allotment, or for an agreement for the sale of the reservation. It was explained that the lands in the reservation were not in excess of the needs of the tribe, that the Indians could not make a living if confined to a small area of land, that dishonest men by deceit could easily get signatures for the allotment and sale of the reservation, and that attempts had been made to procure names of members of the tribe to petitions asking for allotment.⁸² On October 5 Inspector Paul F. Faison held a council with the tribe, but they unanimously voted against the sale of any of their lands for the purpose of making allotments to the Iowas.

Soon after the Office of Indian Affairs recommended approval of the schedule of allotments, a delegation of Otoes came to Washington to explain that the tribe were "all in one line," "all in one row" in their opposition to taking allotments. The delegation consisted of Par-tha-inga, William Faw-faw, Clem Jones, White Mule, Albert Green, James Whitewater, James Cleghorn, and Mitchell Deroin.

Archival records show that several Indian tribes contended vigorously that communal ownership of land, long established in their history, should not be wiped out by force of the federal government, and a capitalistic plan of privately owned allotments substituted. The new plan indicated that in a few generations an Indian might have a fractional interest in several tracts of land, and yet be without land on which to live.

At a conference with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 25, 1895, Clem Jones introduced Mitchell Deroin in these words:⁸³ "The allotment is the most important thing to talk about,

⁸⁰ Act. Com. T. P. Smith to Sec. Int., April 6, 1895, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 302, pp. 384-385. Commissioner W. A. Jones on September 26, 1898, gave the number of allotments on this schedule as 395, which number evidently was incorrect.—*Indian Affairs*, 1898, p. 40.

⁸¹ 28 *Statutes*, 902.

⁸² The protest of March 22, 1895, is in OIA, *Spec. Case* 147, no. 13848-1895. Browning to Sec. Int., Sept. 19, 1896, *Indian Affairs*, 1896, p. 86.

⁸³ Deroin was 34 years old. See the petition in OIA, Flat File, 39313-11-310. When Deroin had finished, William Faw-faw said: "We appointed this man to talk for us and whatever he has said my tribe has said." A stenographic account of the conference is in OIA, *Spec. Case* 147, no. 18666-1895.

and we have chosen a man who will tell you about it." Derooin spoke as follows:

We are here in regard to our land. We ask you to ask the Secretary not to sign any papers issuing patents until the next Congress. That land we are living on was bought for the Otoe tribe with their own money. The land in Kansas and Nebraska was sold and before that time the Otoes had a great tract of land, but the chiefs made a treaty with the Government and kept a piece about as big as a hog-pen; they kept that piece for the tribe and their children. Outside of that land the rest went to the government, and so when the government sold this land for us they took some of the money and bought some of the land where we are living now, and we expect to live on that land as long as the earth is under the heavens, as long as there is an Otoe under the heaven.

Now if I take allotments in severalty and cut it up, letting each person have a piece of land, how would I find my home in twenty-five years? I cannot live up in the air, nor in the water; if I go into the water I sink, if I go into the air I fall. I beg you to hold this and put it into Congress at the next session.

When the allotment law was passed my Indians were bowed down, studying how they should live, and they said in the future time we will not have any home. I believe they were right when they said we would rather be naked and have our toes sticking out but let us have the land as it is, and have a home as long as there is an Otoe under heaven. We know what happened yesterday, but not what will happen in front of us. We say if we take allotments in 25 years we get our patent, and after we get our patent we have a right to do anything with the land. May be the Government will say we will not give the patent for 10 or 15 years again, but that will come to an end. They may put it for 25 years, and that will come to an end again. The Government might set that time or before that time, and then they will be citizens and have to pay taxes.

There are lots of white people hunting for a home and they cannot get one, and we don't like to see our people running after a home like calves running on the prairies. Let us turn the soil and build houses like you but let us hold our land as it is. We cannot look back and live in lodges as we used to live. We must hold the plow and turn the ground. We must sow corn and other grain so as to have something for our women and children to eat. We do not kick about that; we have got to work for our living. That is all right. But let us hold our land as it is now, I beg you. That is what we called on you for.

We have children so high, and so high, and so high, (indicating). There is a generation coming, and after them other children right along. These generations which are to come we want a home for, even down to the tenth generation. But if the Govt. gives us our land in severalty, it will be out of our hands before the fifth generation.

It is this way. When the Indians get a patent they must pay taxes, and lots of white people who have land when they cannot pay taxes must mortgage their land to pay taxes. If you cannot pay taxes on the first, you go and borrow again, and finally all the land goes, and then the man is out of a home. Then he runs about and tries to find a home but he has no money to get a home.

Suppose you had six or seven children and they get together and want something from you, perhaps candy or something else—they say go and ask Papa, and one comes and you refuse him, and then another comes,

and finally when you give them what they want, they are satisfied and pleased, and your heart is opened to your children. We look to the Government as our Father. You are above us, and therefore my people are the same as asking bread from you. I believe you could put this matter into the hands of Congress and they would take my word for my people. If I take my allotment I shall dispose of my land in the future time. Just let us hold our land so that we can hold our land as long as we are a tribe. I believe you and the Secretary could if you will turn your hearts toward my people.

If you had a property which you owned you would say that it is mine. It is so with us; it is *ours*. You will want to have something to say about that property and you would say I want this property to be so and so. This man would help you, and after that you would feel glad that that good man had helped you.

It is not right for my people to take allotments. We can live like white men without cutting up our land. Look at us; you see me with pants and coat on, but we are Indians all the same. Why cannot we work like a white man and hold our land as it is. We would rather be naked and go hungry than to take allotments and to have that land go out of our hand at some future time. While we hold the land as it is, we can go anywhere and know that we have a home to come back to; but if we take allotments we will not have a home. But if we hold the land in common and till the ground, we will have a home as long as the world is under the heaven.

Future generations will say: We had a home once and I wish my people had held that land. That is why I want to save this home for the generation that is to come. Let us send our children to school and let them learn to read and write. They are learning now and if they grow to be men they will want to hold that land worse than we do now. Then they can learn out of those law books, and they can say that they have a home as long as the land is under the heaven.

Acting Commissioner Thomas P. Smith said that if the Otoes had taken allotments several years ago, it would not have been so easy for the government to move them from place to place. He said that when "everything belongs to the tribe in common," there is no spirit of independence, no spirit to do anything, no feeling of manhood. He said that "we cannot turn back now," for it was too late.⁸⁴ The Interior Department was committed to the policy of allotting lands in severalty as the best solution of the problem of civilizing the Indians.⁸⁵ Secretary Hoke Smith said that to build houses, cultivate ground, and raise cattle and horses "you must divide your land up so that each one may have his own farm and live and work there."⁸⁶

Discussion of communal and private ownership of property, including land, did not end with allotments and homesteads. Most of

⁸⁴ T. P. Smith to Par-tha-inga et al., April 27, 1895, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 304, pp. 303-311.

⁸⁵ *Ann. Rept., Sec. Int., 1893*, p. 46.

⁸⁶ Hoke Smith to Otoe and Missouri Tribe, April 8, 1895, Int. Dept., *Letters, Indian Affairs*, vol. 95, pt. i, pp. 489-490.

the officials of the federal government and most of the American people had been trained in a philosophy proclaiming the virtues of freedom of enterprise, private property, and competition. One may well ask whether the peoples of the white race and Christian faith are now as unified in their convictions as the Smiths were, as to what are the most effective and noble motives of human endeavor.

During the summer of 1895 Agent Woolsey stated that it did not seem likely that the schedule of allotments would be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Some of the Otoes who had taken allotments were abandoning them. Woolsey observed that to keep an allotting agent among the tribe for over three years, make assignments, and then allow the Indians to live in camps "was a very bad way to do the thing."⁸⁷ He urged prompt action and stringent measures to compel the Otoes to reside on their allotments. During 1896-97 about seventy-one families lived upon and cultivated lands allotted to them. By 1898 the number of such families decreased to six.⁸⁸

In the meantime inquiries were frequently addressed to the Office of Indian Affairs regarding action likely to be taken on the schedule Miss Clarke had submitted. The Otoes renewed their protests against the confirmation of allotments. On March 3, 1896, a petition bearing the names of sixty-nine members of the tribe was addressed to the Secretary of the Interior submitting that the land was owned by the tribe who had paid for it, that it was their right to hold it in common, that they were law abiding, that their present condition was satisfactory while Indians who had taken allotments had tended in general to become homeless.⁸⁹

On November 4, 1897, Secretary C. N. Bliss returned the schedule of allotments to the Office of Indian Affairs. He directed that Miss Clarke be instructed to proceed to the Ponca agency, and in conjunction with the agent thereof, adjust the existing difficulties in the matter of allotments.⁹⁰ Where the allottees were satisfied with their allotments no changes should be made, but if not satisfied, they should be permitted to select other lands. Miss Clarke, after a lapse of more than two years, was anxious to resume work as an allotting agent.

⁸⁷ Letter of Aug. 15, 1895, *Indian Affairs*, 1895, p. 261.

⁸⁸ *Indian Affairs*, 1896, p. 546; *Indian Affairs*, 1897, p. 506; *Indian Affairs*, 1898, p. 624.

⁸⁹ The petition reads: "We pasture our horses and cattle, cut our wood and get our water from this land wherever most suitable and convenient, without friction and without discord." The petition is in OIA, *Spec. Case* 147, no. 9524-1896.

⁹⁰ Bliss to Com. Ind. Aff., Int. Dept., *Letters*, *Indian Affairs*, vol. 101, pt. ii, p. 156. The instructions to Miss Clarke, dated Nov. 12, 1897, are in OIA, *L. Letter Book* 367, p. 121. The *Times-Record* (Blackwell) on January 27, 1898, noted that Miss Clarke had begun the allotment of lands.

The Otoes, with seemingly undiminished fervor, continued their protest to the allotment of lands, stating that there was "not enough good land for near all of the Indians," that the small amount of timber on the reservation was so situated that it could not be divided, and that the tribe had believed that their title was such that they would not be molested without their consent.⁹¹

Miss Clarke said that she came to the Otoes "with a heavy heart," and that her work was without pleasure except for the knowledge of the performance of duty. Her "knowledge of their obstinacy and opposition to civilization" let her see the gigantic propositions of the undertaking.

Agent Asa C. Sharp reported that the bitter opposition of the Otoes toward allotments was "caused by the influence of the cattlemen, who are leasing their reservation for pasturage at the rate of 6 to 8 cents per acre, and in many instances subleasing it for 20 to 30 cents per acre, thereby making it profitable to them to induce the Indians to oppose allotments; and these same cattlemen apparently make it very warm for an agent who has nerve enough to administer the affairs of the agency in the interest of the Indians instead of the cattlemen."⁹²

On April 29, 1899, Miss Clarke submitted her final report with new schedules of the allotments made and received and of lands reserved for government, mission, and burial purposes.⁹³ The

⁹¹ A protest of Dec. 28, 1897, is in OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 914-1898. Protests were addressed to the Secretary of the Interior on July 7, 1898, *ibid.*, no. 32103-1898; and on October 3, 1898, *ibid.*, no. 46302-1898.

An article, "Otoes Oppose Allotments," appeared in *The Beaver Herald*, Oct. 27, 1898. It said that a delegation consisting of "Head Chief Albert Green, Second Chief William Faw Faw and James Whitewater, speaker of the Otoe council, accompanied by William Burgess, interpreter, called on Governor [Cassius M.] Barnes and with Indian eloquence prayed him to write the Great Father at Washington that they were unalterably opposed to the division of their lands, in spite of the representations of Helen P. Clark[el], or any other person to the contrary.

"James Whitewater, who was the principal spokesman of the delegation, speaks English fluently, although his formal address before the governor on the allotment question was delivered in the Indian tongue and was afterwards interpreted by the interpreter."

Some of Whitewater's letters are in the National Archives, claim for pension, Soldiers Certificate no. 329430. Whitewater served in Co. B., 13 Kansas Infantry, from August 27, 1862 to June 26, 1865. At Webbers Falls on September 15, 1863, he received an eye injury that permanently impaired his sight. He was a corporal. His carded record and personnel file kept by the War Department are in the National Archives. He died October 1, 1899, at the age of 62.

⁹² Sharp to Com. Ind. Aff., Sept. 1, 1898, *Indian Affairs*, 1898, pp. 245-246.

⁹³ Miss Clarke wrote that "every member of the tribe has selected his allotment except White Horse."—Clarke to Com. Ind. Aff., April 29, 1899, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 20720-1899.

schedules embraced 440 (later 441) allotments,⁹⁴ the quantity of land allotted was 64,935.05 acres, the quantity reserved for government and other purposes was 720 acres, and 63,418.05 acres were unallotted and unreserved. On December 7 the allotments were approved by Thomas Ryan, Acting Secretary of the Interior,⁹⁵ and by 1901 patents had been issued and delivered accordingly.⁹⁶

We should pause to note the departure of Miss Helen P. Clarke from Oklahoma Territory. In a personal letter to Com. W. A. Jones on April 15, 1899, she spoke of herself as a struggling woman without fortune who keenly felt the "necessity for making every possible provision for the rainy day which comes to all of us who survive the storms of life sufficiently long. I therefore beg you sincerely not to let me remain idle."

Ten days later she was ordered, upon completion of her work on the Otoe reservation and the forwarding of her schedules and final report, to proceed to her home in Montana. She should be allowed her per diem pay up to and including the day of her arrival, provided she proceeded without any unnecessary delay. Thus ended her work as an allotting agent.

Miss Clarke wanted to be an allotting agent on the Wichita reservation. Her political supporters included Senators Thomas H. Carter of Montana and Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio. Acting Commissioner A. C. Tonner on May 1, 1901, said that Miss Clarke had a good record in the Office of Indian Affairs as a faithful and efficient officer, but held out little hope for further employment. There was lack of allotting work to be done. Tonner referred to the "disadvantages under which even the most talented woman labors while engaging in allotment work. On some reservations the character of the country is such as to render it difficult, if not dangerous, for a woman to do the work expected of an allotting agent, and on other reservations the character or temper of the Indians is such as renders it inadvisable to commit such work to a woman."

To no avail Joseph H. Manley of Augusta, Maine, explained that Miss Clarke would face any situation, and that there was no need to fear for her personal safety. No further duty was assigned her, but

⁹⁴ The number given by Com. W. A. Jones in his report to the Secretary of the Interior on September 30, 1899, was 632 and seems to be a confusion of numbers.—*Indian Affairs*, 1899, pt. i, p. 43. Cf. Jones to Sec. Int., Dec. 5, 1899, Int. Dept., 8095 Indian Division 1899. The schedules are in OIA, *Schedules of Allotments*, no. 11, pp. 117-135. On Nov. 27, 1900, the General Land Office transmitted to the Office of Indian Affairs 440 patents issued to Indians living on the Otoe reservation.

The allotment of 160 acres to Alpharetta W. Chamberlain in 1902 increased the number of allotments to 441.—A. C. Tonner to Sec. Int., June 16, 1902, OIA, *L. Letter Book* 543, pp. 421-422.

⁹⁵ Ryan to Com. Ind. Aff., Dec. 7, 1899, OIA, *Spec. Case* 147, no. 58428-1899.

⁹⁶ *Ann. Rept. Sec. Int.*, 1901, *H. Documents*, 57 Cong. 1 sess., xx (4289), p. xxiv. Agt. John Jansen to Com. Ind. Aff., Jan. 28, 1901, OIA, *Spec. Case* 147, no. 6527-1901.

her name remained on the list of allotting agents until March 5, 1904.⁹⁷

The Otoes, although subjected to a system of privately owned allotments, were not immediately inspired with high motives of human endeavor. Agent John Jansen, a rather vigorous writer, reported that they had "practically nothing to do," but gambled and were given to vice and debauchery. He said: "Their land is leased, and the Government collects the rental and pays it out to them. All that is required of them is to come to the agency and sign receipts for it."⁹⁸

In conformity with suggestions made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Congressman Charles Curtis, the Poncas and Otoes held councils early in 1902 at which similar petitions regarding the disposal of their surplus lands were drawn up and addressed to the Commissioner.⁹⁹ The Otoe petition differed from that of the Poncas in that the Otoes requested that all children, dead as well as living, born since allotments were made, be allotted.¹⁰⁰ The petition requested that the tribal lands, except 480 acres designated, thereafter remaining undisposed of be divided equitably among all members of the tribe, and that the final allotment be made in such a manner as to give the members, as near as possible, an equal amount of land.

An act of April 21, 1904, authorized the Secretary of the Interior, in accordance with the General Allotment Act, to cause to be allotted to each child of the Otoe and Missouri tribe, born since the completion of allotment and prior to June 30, 1904, and alive and

⁹⁷ In the Appointments Division of the Interior Department are three envelopes containing material about Miss Clarke. See also, Int. Dept., Appointments Div., *Register of Indian Agents*, p. 191; OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, nos. 22923-1897; 18247-1898; 16904-1899. *Opinions of Asst. Attorney General, Dept. of Int.*, vol. 13 (Jan. 13, 1898), pp. 221-227. This is a manuscript volume in the Law Library of the Interior Department. Tonner to Clarke, April 25, 1899, OIA, *L. Letter Book 404*, p. 144. Tonner to Sec. Int., May 1, 1901, OIA, *L. Letter Book 479*, pp. 424-425. Same to same, Feb. 10, 1904, OIA, *L. Letter Book 653*, p. 95.

Miss Clarke's later years were spent at Glacier Park in northern Montana. She was a devout Catholic, never married, died March 7, 1923, and was buried at the foot of the Rockies near where she had lived.—Information, courtesy of Montana Historical Society. The Society has two photographs of Miss Clarke's home at the Otoe sub-agency.

⁹⁸ Jansen to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 29, 1902, *Indian Affairs, 1902*, p. 300. See also

⁹⁹ "These agreements were obtained after much labor and under your advice, personally given, to the delegations which I had at Washington last winter," wrote Jansen in a personal letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 3, 1902.—OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 73122-1902.

¹⁰⁰ The Otoe council was held March 6, 1902. The petitions of the Otoes and Poncas are in *ibid.*, no. 16081-1902. The Otoe petition was signed by sixty-four of the eighty-one adult males of the tribe. *Indian Affairs, 1903*, pp. 57; 276. *Indian Affairs, 1904*, p. 304.

in being on that date, 80 acres of agricultural or 160 acres of grazing land within the reservation.¹⁰¹ The Secretary might reserve 640 acres for government purposes or for the common use of the tribe. The remaining unallotted and unreserved lands were to be allotted in such a manner as to give all the members of the tribe living on June 30 as near as practicable an equal quantity of land in acres. The reservation lines were abolished. A strip of territory on the east side of the Otoe reservation, embracing less than two townships, was attached to Pawnee County, and the remainder of the reservation became a part of Noble County.

It is worthy of note that four reservations, the Kaw, Ponca, Otoe and Missouriia, and the Osage were dissolved largely on the same pattern, guided largely by the hand of Charles Curtis. Each member of the tribes received an original allotment or homestead. The remaining lands of each reservation were divided among the members of the tribe owning the reservation, giving to each member as near as practicable an equal quantity of land in acres. Archival evidence shows that Curtis drew up the agreement which the Kaws accepted on February 8, 1902.¹⁰² Less than a month thereafter the Poncas and Otoes requested a division of their lands on plans similar to that accepted by the Kaws. The Kaw agreement, without material change, was incorporated in an act of Congress on July 1, 1902. Then came the act of April 21, 1904, providing for the dissolution of the Ponca and Otoe reservations. In 1906 Curtis and others prepared a plan which on June 28 of that year became the Osage Allotment Act.¹⁰³

On July 1, 1904, Superintendent H. W. Newman forwarded to the Office of Indian Affairs lists of seventy-one unallotted Otoe and Missouriia children and 293 allottees.¹⁰⁴ The Secretary of the Interior on October 17, 1905, designated Agent George A. Keepers, who had just completed the making of allotments on the Ponca reservation, to make the allotments.¹⁰⁵ Keepers on March 14, 1906, trans-

¹⁰¹ 33 *Statutes*, 217. The act made identical provisions regarding allotments on the Ponca reservation.

¹⁰² B. B. Chapman, "Charles Curtis and the Kaw Reservation," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, xv (Nov. 1947), pp. 337-351. The reader is cautioned not to follow too far generalizations concerning the dissolution of the four reservations. For example, in Oklahoma Territory the Kaws and Osages were the only tribes whose lands were allotted by patent in fee with restrictions upon alienation.—Lawrence Mills, *Oklahoma Indian Land Laws*, p. 370.

¹⁰³ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, xx (Sept. 1942), pp. 252-253; *ibid.*, (Dec. 1942), pp. 376-377.

¹⁰⁴ *Indian Affairs, 1904*, pp. 58; 606; 624. The lists are in OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 44178-1904. On January 1, 1904, the Otoe sub-agency was segregated from the Ponca agency. Twenty-five Otoe families were living upon and cultivating their allotments.

¹⁰⁵ Hitchcock to Com. Ind. Aff., Oct. 17, 1905, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 83479-1905.

mitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a schedule of seventy-three allotments made to children,¹⁰⁶ which schedule was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior on May 26 and approved by him on June 1.¹⁰⁷ These allotments comprised 12,257.75 acres, and there remained 50,887.5 acres of land unallotted.¹⁰⁸

It was found that 303 allottees had received 160 acres each while sixty-three had received less than that amount. Keepers was authorized to give the sixty-three persons enough land to make their allotments equal to 160 acres and to allot the remainder of the land, or 47,647.51 acres, among the 366 Indians, or members of the tribe entitled to share in the division. Thus each Indian would receive slightly more than 130 acres which added to the 160 acres would total 290.¹⁰⁹

It frequently occurred in the allotment of lands that neither the number of acres nor the number of allottees was estimated with complete accuracy. In the case of the Otoes the final schedule as approved January 17, 1907, listed 371 allottees, but the work was carried out approximately as it had been planned.¹¹⁰ The 371 allotments added to the 441 original allotments and to the 73 allotments made to children totaled 885. Thus the reservation, except for 1,360 acres reserved, was divided among 514 persons.¹¹¹ By statehood the lands of the Otoe and Missouri reservation had been divided among the members of the tribe. The only unallotted land was 640 acres reserved for the use of the tribe in common and 720 acres reserved

¹⁰⁶ Keepers to Com. Ind. Aff., March 14, 1906. *ibid.*, no. 24380-1906.

¹⁰⁷ E. A. Hitchcock to Com. Ind. Aff., June 1, 1906, *ibid.*, no. 46686-1906. See also OIA, *Schedules of Allotments*, no. 11, pp. 140-143.

¹⁰⁸ C. F. Larrabee to Sec. Int., May 26, 1906, Int. Dept., 5047 Indian Division 1906.

¹⁰⁹ Agt. W. H. Newman to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 28, 1906, *Indian Affairs*, 1906, p. 319.

The allotment schedules in the Office of Indian Affairs show that in the first 441 allotments most of the Otoes received 160 acres each, but that a few received only 80 acres. Of course, where lots were involved, some of the allottees received only approximately the amounts to which they were entitled.

The schedules also show that most of the Otoes, under the provisions of the act of April 21, 1904, received approximately 130 additional acres, while some who had been allotted only 80 acres received as high as 210 acres, thus making the acreage of each individual range from 280 to 290 acres.

¹¹⁰ Hitchcock to Com. Ind. Aff., Jan. 17, 1907, OIA, *Spec. Case 147*, no. 5048-1907. See also OIA, *Schedules of Allotments*, no. 11, p. 171.

¹¹¹ Larrabee to Sec. Int., Jan. 12, 1907, OIA, *L. Letter Book 929*, pp. 326-328.

for administrative, church, school, and other public purposes.¹¹²

No surplus lands on the reservation were sold to the federal government, and no white settlers took homesteads on lands of the reservation. The government controlled the leasing and sale of lands to whites. By 1910 seventy-eight allotments, made to deceased members of the Otoe tribe, had been sold.¹¹³ In 1945 the tribe numbered 886 of whom 710 were residing at the jurisdiction where enrolled. The tribal area amounted to about 35% of the reservation, or 45,085 acres, of which 43,685 acres were trust allotted.¹¹⁴ Nearly all of the allotted lands, or 40,260 acres, were non-Indian operated. The trust period, extended from time to time, remains in force.¹¹⁵

¹¹² *Indian Affairs, 1907*, pp. 61; 155. *Oklahoma Tract Books*, vols. 43 and 44, are in the General Land Office. They give names of allottees, amount of land allotted to each person, location of land, act of Congress under which disposition was made, and if a trust patent or a patent in fee has been issued, the date and serial number are given.

The 640 acres reserved for the use of the tribe in common were south of Otoe, and comprised the east half of sections nineteen and twenty-four. The 720 acres included 130.3 acres at the agency, and other lands near by.

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs used forty acres at the agency for religious and educational purposes, secured title thereto under an act of June 25, 1910, and on July 14, 1934, conveyed the land to the United States in trust for the Otoe tribe. See *H. Documents*, 61 Cong. 2 sess., cxxxiii (5836), no. 737; 36 *Statutes*, 859; *Deed Record Book* (Noble County, Okla.), no. 47, p. 452.

¹¹³ A table of the seventy-eight allotments is in *S. Documents*, 61 Cong. 3 sess., lxxxv (5943), no. 722.

¹¹⁴ *Statistical Supplement to the Ann. Rept., Com. Indian Affairs, 1945*, pp. 10; 23.

Indispensable sources on the influx of whites into the Otoe and Missouri reservation, and other lands of Oklahoma Territory, are two censuses taken in 1890. They have not been published. A description of the censuses is in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXV, No. 2, (Summer, 1947), pp. 89-90.

Through assistance of the Oklahoma State Library, microfilm copies of these censuses are available in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Eventually an alphabetized list of the names of persons (and accompanying information) in the censuses will be available in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹¹⁵ Lawrence Mills, *Supplement to Oklahoma Indian Land Laws*, pp. 76; 104-105.



BOSS NEFF

BOSS NEFF

By Moita Dorsey Davis*

Boss Neff, pioneer extraordinary, came to the Panhandle country in 1883, in the time of the thirty-day round-up, when not a plowed furrow could be found in one hundred miles, and when men rode after cattle from Tascosa to Beaver, from Texas to Montana. Few are left who rode the hills and prairies sixty-four years ago, and when these are gone—these comrades of Boss Neff—, a way of life will have died, a way of which we, their spiritual heirs, can only read.¹

As Stanley Vestal has said, men on the Short Grass “experienced every phase of human civilization in a single lifetime. . . . It is for this reason that the old-timers on the Short Grass are so well worth study, and so well repay understanding.”² Boss Neff was a man of vision, capable of waiting, secure in the knowledge that the future would bring its share of fulfillment. His breadth of vision, his penetrating foresight were apparent from his earliest years. His was the hope of the Plainsman, the belief that a new season would be fruitful, the ability to hold disappointment in its proper perspective. He lived his life fully, and doing so, influenced many around him. Many lived similar lives, a few achieved as much—his importance is in his character.

His historic value is in the strength of character of this man who spent sixty-four years in the Panhandle, and his impact on the life and the country about him. As the years passed, rather than drawing into the small compass of family and intimate friends, Mr. Neff explored in his latter years an ever-widening circle of interests and activities. His life embraced all phases of the history of the Plains which Stanley Vestal says may be summed up in five words, the arrow, the branding iron, the plow, the oil derrick, and the adding machine.³ He was buffalo hunter, mustanger, trail hand, cattleman, farmer, grain dealer, owner of oil leases, and banker.

* Miss Moita Dorsey Davis received her B.A. and B.S. degrees from Oklahoma schools, and holds an M.A. from Columbia University, New York. She has served as a teacher in Texas and Oklahoma, and is now residing at her mother's home in Forgan, Oklahoma. Her contribution to *The Chronicles* on Boss Neff represents extensive research and access to much original material concerning the life of this one of Oklahoma's distinguished pioneer citizens.—Ed.

¹ The writer is indebted to Mrs. Lona Neff Graham and Mrs. Maud Neff Gilmore, daughters of the late Boss Neff, for the use of personal letters, documents, scrap-books, unpublished diaries and other memorabilia of their father. Conversations with many long time friends of Mr. Neff have added materially to the picture of him presented here.

² Stanley Vestal, *Short Grass Country* (New York, 1941), p. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

A brief formal education did not limit his horizons; his keen intelligence and well-trained memory together with reading and study made him a learned man. One who studies his life is struck by this fact: despite his meager formal training, over and over his efforts toward progress would do credit to a scientist, or a naturalist. He was a student of history, and of the contemporary life about him.

His wide experience made him so sure of himself that in a sense he was almost arrogant. He was six feet, two inches in height, typically western, distinguished, his bearing so proud even at eighty that any stranger would stop to give him a second look. He was strong and vigorous at seventy-five, and active to within a few months of his death at eighty-one. He loved to talk and talked well; what he said had the ring of authenticity. He counted among his friends college presidents, authors, statesmen, as well as the humblest settlers, all of whom valued his salty wisdom and never-flagging love of life.

Boss Sebastian Neff was born on March 5, 1866, on a farm near Lewisburg, in Preble County, Ohio. His parents, Jacob and Margaret Wampler Neff, were married September 25, 1860, and had four children, Ira. J., Emma Grace, Boss S., and Maude.

Mr. Neff was born of sturdy pioneer stock. His father, Jacob, was born in Franklin County, Virginia, August 19, 1805, died March 25, 1874, and was buried at Lewisburg. His wife, Margaret Wampler, born November 26, 1827, survived her husband by many years, dying at Lewisburg August 15, 1906. In his early life, Jacob Neff was a surveyor, surveying land in Indiana for the Federal government during the administration of President Van Buren. In 1835 or 1836 he received about 1500 acres of land in payment for laying out the town of North Manchester, Indiana, the county seat of Wabash County.⁴ He later moved to Lewisburg, Ohio, entering into partnership with a cousin, John Sayler, in the mercantile business in 1837 and 1838, and buying a farm which was his family's home at his death. Jacob Neff was an ardent Whig, while his cousin John was a leading and active Democrat, at one time making a spirited and able defense of Martin Van Buren on the street in Lewisburg when he was the object of a political attack by Reverend Arthur Elliott during the heated campaign of 1840.

Mr. Neff's grandfather, Abraham Neff, was born in Maryland, February 22, 1768, and was buried near Winchester, Preble County, Ohio, in 1839. He married Catherine Sayler and immigrated with his family and the Saylers to Ohio about the year 1813, records showing that he purchased land there in that year.

⁴ Charles F. Barrett, *Oklahoma After Fifty Years* (Hopkinsville, Kentucky, 1941), Vol. IV, p. 1132.

A feeling of responsibility for public affairs runs through both lines of Boss Neff's ancestry. His grandmother Catherine was born a Sayler of Virginia. The Saylers were of the Dunkard (or Dunker) faith, and spoke Pennsylvania Dutch. Her brother, Daniel Sayler, was one of the early settlers in Harrison township, Preble County, and at one time represented Preble in the Ohio legislature. His son, partner of Jacob Neff, was a senatorial member of the Ohio legislature in 1840, representing the district of which Preble County was a part.

John Sayler had four sons, three of whom distinguished themselves. Nelson, the second, became one of the ablest lawyers in Cincinnati, and the youngest, John Ryner Sayler, was judge of a Superior Court in Cincinnati. Milton Sayler, John Sayler's eldest son, born in 1831, was the first boy to be sent away from Lewisburg to attend college, probably in 1848, as he graduated from Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in 1852, afterward studying law at Eaton, Ohio.⁵ He studied law at the Cincinnati Law School, was a member of the State house of representatives in 1862 and 1863, a member of the City Council of Cincinnati in 1863 and 1865, and was elected as a Democrat to the Forty-third, Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses, serving from March 4, 1873 to March 3, 1879. He served as Speaker pro tempore of the House of Representatives on June 4, 1876. In later years, he practised law in New York City, and died there in 1892.⁶

Mr. Neff's maternal grandparents, Casper and Rebecca Gusler Wampler, came from Adams County, Pennsylvania, to Ohio about 1833. Rebecca also spoke Pennsylvania Dutch fluently, as did Margaret Neff, Mr. Neff's mother. Hearing a second language spoken in the home probably accentuated Mr. Neff's interest in Spanish when he arrived in the West.

Boss Sebastian Neff married Ida Eubank February 17, 1893, and to them were born eight children. The eldest, Jacob Milton, born May 2, 1894, married Mary Wagner; they and their child, Boss Ira, live on part of the old home ranch in Texas County. Lona, the eldest of five daughters, was born January 31, 1896. She and her husband, Sterling Graham, have a home on their ranch north of Boise City, in Cimarron County of which she was deputy county clerk for ten years. Esther, born February 25, 1898, married Rex Powelson, and lives with him and their daughter, Zella Zane, on their extensive ranch northwest of Boise City. Orel, born May 14, 1900, wedded Bill Dettle, and bore him two sons, Jack Neff Dettle and Douglas Dee Dettle. Two boys,

⁵From a letter written in October, 1912, by Isaac Kay, M.D., of Springfield, Ohio, to Mr. G. M. Kumlér of Lewisburg, Ohio, for publication in the *Lewisburg Leader* in answer to the inquiries by Mr. Neff about his family.

⁶From a letter from Ross Rizley, M.C., Congressional representative from the 3th District, Oklahoma, to Mr. Neff, April 21, 1945.

Gary and Bruce, children of Jack Neff, and Philip, son of Douglas, were Mr. Neff's only great-grandchildren. Orel is now the wife of Clyde Martin, and lives in Stratford, Texas. Maud, born February 10, 1902, was married to C. I. Gilmore, wheat farmer near Adams, Texas County, Oklahoma. Their eldest child, Charles E., died December 9, 1918. The two younger children are Larry Gene and Rosalie. Margaret, the wife of Hollis Harrington of Des Moines, Iowa, was born November 30, 1905, and has one child, Lance. Charles Edward, the youngest of Mr. Neff's children, was born April 8, 1913, and with his wife, Birdette Usrey, now lives in Arizona. Their first two children, Charles Edward, Jr. and Esther Lee, were victims of a fatal automobile accident August 14, 1945. Their third child, Pat Nills, was born July 12, 1947.

When young Boss was eight years old, his father died. His mother took her family of four into Lewisburg for the benefit of a better school. When financial necessity dictated their moving back to the farm, Boss, now fourteen, dissatisfied with the prospect of a country school, unwilling to become a farmer, and critical of the trades open to the young men of Lewisburg, found the inspiration he was seeking in a book which pictured the cattle business in the Indian Territory and Texas in glowing terms. Convinced that his opportunities would be greater in that new country, he persuaded his mother of this, sold a white steer, and in January, 1883, bought a ticket to Dodge City, Kansas, and thence to Trinidad, Colorado. Here, while cutting timbers for the mines, he listened to stories of the ranch and cattle business in No-Man's-Land and the Panhandle of Texas which increased his desire to begin a career as a cowhand.

With a comrade in the timber camp, Boss set out for Old Tascosa, passing through New Mexico where the settlers were alarmed over Apache depredations. The two boys missed a mule-team train with which they were to travel, taking the wrong fork east of Springer, New Mexico. Without baggage, blankets or overcoats, they trudged on foot eighty miles to Garcia's Plaza, the nearest habitation on the trail. The third day, having had only grains of corn that had fallen from passing wagons to eat, they were able to kill a cow on Ute Creek with a rock and a one-bladed knife, and roast steaks over a fire of dry pinion. At Garcia's Plaza, they were welcomed and cared for by Senor Garcia. After a short rest, they left the Plaza with a party of Mexicans on their way to the Texas Panhandle and No Man's Land to hunt buffalo.

Mr. Neff's interest in Spanish, which began in this period, continued throughout his life. He studied Spanish as best he could, alone, and took every opportunity to renew his knowledge and practice of the language, delighting especially in trips to Old Mexico. His writing, in particular that dealing with his early experiences, is liberally sprinkled with Spanish phrases.

In the early 1880's, antelope, deer, buffalo, lobo wolves, range cattle and mustangs were numerous on the prairie. On this trip to Buffalo Springs, and on up through what is now Texas County, Oklahoma, the young apprentices saw buffalo killed Mexican fashion, with the lance, a steel blade twelve to fourteen inches long, attached to a staff seven feet in length. They learned to skin the buffalo, stretch the hides, and cut the fleshy parts into strips to be hung over ropes to dry.

From the talk of the hunters, Boss learned that the ranchmen owned no land, paid no taxes, grazed their cattle the year round, and had only to brand calves during the summer and ship beef in the fall. He says in his diary: "I vowed then that I'd learn the business, save my wages, and be a ranchman in No Man's Land."⁷

Anxious to begin learning the cattle business, the seventeen-year-old Boss went to Tascosa. He arrived in Old Tascosa in the days when a man asked first for a place to keep his horse, and only then about shelter for himself. His vivid accounts of his experiences there, written when he was past seventy, show keen observation and a truly remarkable memory. In Tascosa he found another of the jobs which, though not the coveted one of cowboy, added to his growing stature and wisdom. In five short months he had cut mine timbers and hunted buffalo; he now learned to drive an eight-mule team. In May came the opportunity he so eagerly awaited. In an article written in 1936 he says: "In 1883 I began cowpunching by hiring out as a trail hand on a luxurious two-months cruise on the hurricane deck of a broncho with 2500 three and four-year-old steers. . . ."⁸

This "cruise" led through Dodge City, Kansas, to Ogallala, Nebraska. A stop-over in Dodge City allowed the men to visit the saloons and to try their luck at faro and monte. With two companions, young Neff rode in to see the sights. The other two quickly found their objective, a gambling house, and promptly lost the monthly pay check they had just received. Boss knew they expected him to lend them his check, and although his first impulse was to do so, he thought of his saddle, bought from Jim McMasters at Tascosa. He owed McMasters for the saddle, and had promised to pay him for it. Reluctantly, he told his friends he was "duty bound to protect his creditor."

⁷ Sebastian Neff, *Some Experiences of Boss Neff in the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandle*, Amarillo, Texas, 1941, Article II, p. 2. This booklet comprises a series of articles, published first in the *Globe-News* of Amarillo, edited by Vance Johnson, and illustrated by Harold Bugbee. The material was drawn from a diary written in 1939 by Mr. Neff for his grandson, Boss Ira Neff.

⁸ From an article written by Mr. Neff for *The Panhandle Collegian* (Goodwell, Oklahoma) probably in October, 1936. Clipping found in scrapbook belonging to Mrs. Lona Neff Graham.

This determination at the age of seventeen to pay his obligations is as indicative of the youthful Boss' strength of character as any incident we are told of his early life. It demonstrates a strong sense of responsibility and an already crystallized purpose; it is not surprising that he accumulated increasing property from year to year as a result of his labors and his saving.

Mr. Neff worked as a cowboy for five years, from 1883 to 1888, "hiring out" to various outfits, among them the LE ranch, the Lee-Scott Cattle Company, Lee and Reynolds, and the T-Anchor ranch. In the intervals between jobs as a cowhand, he picked up bits of useful experience: running a mowing machine near Laramie, Wyoming; digging a well and hauling wood in Tascosa where he witnessed Tascosa's last big gun-fight; and trailing cattle to Wyoming, where he was astonished to see ice on many August mornings, to Montana, Colorado, Kansas and Nebraska. He was "learning the cattle business," and he was willing and eager to learn from anyone who knew more than he.

Most of the winter of 1884 he worked for the LE ranch, hunting and trapping lobo, or gray wolves, which he found a "great experience" and more remunerative than ranch work. Only once did he find it expedient to refuse a job. Marion Armstrong of the XIT wanted men to cut cedar posts. Telling of this incident he writes: "Now the facts were, I had learned to swing an ax down in Ohio but could not hit twice in the same place."⁹ He welcomed instead the chance to hunt and snare the wild, fleet mustangs still numerous on the prairie. This work was demanding and intricate, requiring, as he said, a thorough understanding of "mustang psychology." But it was rewarding, too. During the ten days of driving the mustangs before it was possible to begin snaring and hobbling them, the men were "often entertained from afar by the stallions in battle for supremacy of the range."¹⁰

Mr. Neff considered his adventures on the trail to Montana in the summer of 1885 and spring of 1887 a valuable asset in later life. In 1886, trailing a herd of about 2,500 steers to Colorado, he passed through what is now Cimarron County. Here he carved his name shoulder-high on Inscription Rock, a sandstone rock some thirty feet high, and possibly a hundred yards long, on which are recorded the names of travelers from as early as 1832, when emigrants and traders on the Santa Fe Trail paused in its shelter on Cold Springs Arroyo. The last wild buffalo he remembered seeing were sighted on this trip. The trail led past old Fort Nichols, established in what is now Cimarron County by Kit Carson, its main building with its portholes

⁹ *Some Experiences of Boss Neff in the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandle, op. cit., Article IV, p. 1.*

¹⁰ *Ibid., Article IV, p. 2.*

then still standing; and on near Robber's Roost, at the foot of the brooding, sinister Black Mesa.

In 1887, Mr. Neff's brother, Ira, settled on the Palo Duro in Hansford County, Texas. Together the two young men cut and hauled about 1200 yellow cedar posts to their dugout. What seems now a staggering task was to them routine, and that was but the beginning. Every gain, every improvement was won with heart-breaking work, frequent disasters and disappointments.

Hearing of a sale of second-hand barbed wire for five cents per pound at the Turkey Track Ranch, forty miles distant, they decided to purchase some. One of their four mules had been bitten in the thigh by a lobo, and had "a great hunk of meat about the size of a buffalo heart hanging down near the hock."¹¹ So, with their only horse hitched with the three mules, they started out with full camp equipment and the dog Shep. Along thirty-five miles of the trail, there was no living water. They had traveled only a short distance when they discovered the water keg had leaked dry. All day they traveled in the heat and dust, finding no water until the next morning, when they came to the Si Gordon Lake, a small surface lake about ten miles from their destination.

Arriving at the Turkey Track Ranch, they purchased 10,000 pounds of wire, traveled another fifty miles to Mobeetie for a 100 pound keg of fence staples. On the return trip, they stopped at the Carter ranch for two bushels of onions, a fortunate purchase as it happened. Making camp at the Si Gordon Lake, they hobbled the mules for the night, and staked the horse. Misfortunes followed in quick succession: Boss rode 125 miles looking for the mules, and borrowed a fresh horse, old Gray Eagle, which escaped when he staked it back at the lake. Ira followed Gray Eagle for fifteen miles on foot, got back to the camp at midnight, and started at daybreak to look for the mules. Five days later he returned, having found two of the mules forty miles away on Wolf Creek. After two weeks of mule trouble, the onions about gone, they were quite ready to start for home, hauling the load with the two mules. A mile from the dugout, a rear wheel came off the wagon. By fastening a hackberry pole under the axle, Boss was able to make the fifty-mile trip to Beaver City, the nearest blacksmith shop. On the trip he heard of the third mule, so eventually returned triumphantly with the repaired wagon and the missing mule, ready at last to build that fence.

The following year, Mr. Neff and his brother fenced two sections on the Palo Duro. Having followed a plan of thrift, Mr. Neff had by this time saved enough to invest in some cattle. He bought eighty-three head for approximately \$900, and in the spring

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Article VII, p. 1.

of 1888 realized his dream of putting his own NF brand on his own herd.¹²

For two years, young Boss, now a mature cattleman of twenty-two years, lived with Ira on the Palo Duro, and part of the time at his dug-out on Hackberry Creek. The dugout was 12 feet by 14 feet, had a wagon sheet hung over the opening for a door, and only a fireplace for cooking. On a short cut through the hills to see Ira one day, he crossed Cottonwood Creek, and riding leisurely, came by chance within two hundred feet of a herd of about thirty mustangs which had come off their usual range on the high plains for water. Although they were immediately alarmed, he rode in quickly among them with rope and loop in position to catch a young one, as he knew a full grown mustang to be too difficult to handle alone. His eye caught a beautiful yearling strawberry roan, and quick as a thought he flung his rope. Tying him to a cottonwood, he went for his old burro, Socrates, and soon had them necked together and in the pasture. Naturally, his name became Red.¹³

Gradually, the young Boss became a man of substance. In October, 1889, he bought a two room sod house, a sod stable for six horses and forty tons of hay for \$100. To this home, later enlarged, he brought his bride, Ida Eubank. Here, one and one-half miles north of Old Hardesty on the Beaver River, Mr. Neff and his family lived for nine years. During this time, which he mentions in his diary as having been a very happy time, his first three children were born. On the original Neff ranch can be found the remains of the Old Hardesty burying ground, and a mound of earth where the old sod house stood. Just north of the burying ground are faint ruts of the Texas-Montana cattle trail, and though no trace remains now, the Liberal, Hardesty and Hansford wagon trail ran close to the house.

After the passage of the Organic Act, making No Man's Land a part of Oklahoma Territory, in 1890, Mr. Neff filed on 160 acres as a homestead, but following the custom of the range, claimed a much larger area as his pasture. He bought 100 cattle from Tom Moore, his old employer, paid him \$800 in currency, and had \$1.50 left when the deal was closed. The cattle lived on grass the year round, and in these, the most prosperous years of his ranching experience, Mr. Neff stated his loss never exceeded two percent.

Even in those busy days, working often from before dawn until

¹² The NF brand was used from 1888 to 1923 by Mr. Neff. It was later used by his grandson, Charles E. Gilmore, after whose death it was transferred by his father, Charles Gilmore, Sr., to Charles E. Neff, youngest son of Boss Neff. The NF brand has had fifty-nine years of use in one family.

¹³ Red lived to the age of 24, and died as a result of injury in barbed wire in 1912. Mr. Neff loved this horse more than any other he ever owned. He memorized the poem, "Red," written about him by Maude Ashcraft Hanlin of Liberal, Kansas, and often recited it.

after dark, Mr. Neff found time to enter into the activities of his friends and neighbors. He tells of helping to set up what was first named the *Hardesty Star*, at least to the extent that he inked the type with an Armstrong roller.¹⁴ He also wrote copy for the paper, which, with his usual modesty, he does not mention in his diary.

The time when the big ranches held full sway was passing, towns were being established, and the settlers, who for a time stopped short of No Man's Land in the belief that it was Cherokee country, were coming in increasing numbers.

Mr. Neff shared the traditional resentment of the cattleman for the "nester," coupled with the belief that the nesters were not quite eligible to the aristocracy of the range, but there was much of his kindly tolerance and humor in that feeling. He deplores their encroachment on the ranks of the cowboys: "Imaginary thirst was responsible, after the coming of the nesters, for many a good hand's downfall and transition to their ranks. Even though he had watered copiously at the big spring or windmill at the ranch a few miles back, he would call at the nester's house in quest of a drink, from barrels hauled from afar, but tendered him by a nester girl. Then came a few dances, a horseback ride, and it wasn't long until he was looking at the north end of a span of mules going south, breaking sod on her pa's quarter and drinking from a cloth covered jug when he came to the end of the row."¹⁵

Typical of the social events of that era were the picnics held on Frisco Creek at McDermott's grove. Many people drove covered wagons or came on horseback fifty and sixty miles for the two or three days of dancing, music, fireworks, horse-racing, roping contests, and the visiting with old friends. On these occasions Mr. Neff, as the others, was happy only if he left having spent all the money he had with him.

The spring round-up meant long hard work for the cattlemen, especially when most of the country was open range, and there was no drift fence north of the Canadian River. After the round-up of 1892, Mr. Neff had around four hundred cattle, but began losing them to the wolves. Someone suggested that he put bells on some of the cows. These bells not only "sounded like the clatter wheels of perdition," but did not frighten the wolves. Finding the bells in-

¹⁴ This was the *Hardesty Herald* published by R. B. Quinn at Old Hardesty in 1890. It was the first newspaper published in No Man's Land west of Beaver City, printed on the Meeker Press in use in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania from 1817 to 1838. Now in the Panhandle Museum at the A. and M. College at Goodwell, Oklahoma, this press is undoubtedly the oldest printing press, though not the first used, in Oklahoma. George Rainey, *No Man's Land* (Enid, 1937), pp. 220, 222.

¹⁵ *Some Experiences of Boss Neff in the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandle*, op. cit., Article XI, p. 1.

effective, he searched for and found their den and killed the mother wolf and ten pups.

The years brought a gradual expansion, and need for more room. In 1898 he built a commodious ranch house, leased three sections and fenced thirty-eight sections for summer pasture and seven sections for winter pasture, all watered by the Beaver River and two windmills. At this time Mr. Neff owned around 1,500 cattle, and his ingenious mind constantly sought ways of increasing his efficiency. The native cattle wintered in splendid shape on the pasture grass, but he found it necessary to feed a herd of 500 Arizona cows sorghum hay and two quarts of corn chop and bran daily per cow. In his diary he describes the method used: "I had a unique way of feeding the 500 cows their corn chop and bran. I have never heard of a like technique. I had two ten wire corrals and a board corral between them. I had enough troughs to feed fifty cows at a time. We'd simply open the gate, let in 50 cows, let them eat five minutes, then open the gate to the other corral. Tom Miller and I would each have a good bull whip, swing it around and away they'd go to the other corral. With that technique we were able to feed the 500 cows in fifty minutes feeding time. We found that a cow would eat two to two and a half quarts of chop and bran in four and one-half to five minutes."¹⁶

Prosperity and happiness were not unmixed for the Neff's; in June, 1900, a tornado struck their home, destroying the house, corrals, out-buildings and windmill, demolishing three wagons and a new buggy, and scattering their personal things for miles. A home-made bed in the dug-out, a few provisions and a frying pan found in the debris were their only comforts until Mr. Neff could take the family to Liberal to wait for a new home to be built. As he had lost 300 cattle that spring in a storm, he began to be a bit discouraged. A couple of seasons later loco weed caused the loss of several hundred cattle. Although the consolation offered him by his friends did not cheer him materially then, he remarked in later life that financial reverses are necessary to the making of a cautious, successful business man.

The middle 1890's brought a great influx of settlers to what is now Texas County, and their coming meant the division into small farms of all the better level land. The taking up of the pasture lands claimed by Mr. Neff and his neighbor ranchers meant a change in methods, and curtailed operations. The Neff ranch, however, still kept several hundred cattle in the hills and on the river. The increasing population brought still further changes. The Neff school-house and postoffice were built not far distant from the restored homestead, a mile and a half east of the present site of the home of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Article XI, p. 2.

Maud Neff Gilmore. The first postmaster, James M. Hicks, was appointed August 8, 1904.¹⁷

In order to place the children in the Hooker schools, Mr. Neff took his family to live in Hooker in 1909. He vigorously set about finding some means of making a living for a family of ten. He bought a feed store, which, he said, was a good buy as it made money and gave him a good business education. His trade area was large, farmers and ranchmen coming from Hugoton to the Palo Duro, bringing him many kinds of grains, and buying his coal, salt and cottonseed cake. During the next few years he had experience in the chattel loan business, clerked many public sales, and bought and sold hundreds of mules and horses.

Purchasing the lots adjoining his store on the main street of Hooker, Mr. Neff built a nice home for his maturing family. One of his myriad interests was in playing the violin, and with his daughter Esther at the piano, and Lona and Orel seconding his enthusiastic fiddle, the quartette enlivened many a family gathering with the "hoe-down" pieces which were his favorites, and the sentimental ballads of that and an earlier day.

In 1918, Mr. Neff's growing interest in business prompted his entrance for a brief time into the field of banking. He acquired a half interest in the Farmer's State Bank of Texhoma whose assets were at that time in an unsatisfactory state. Mr. Neff was elected president of the bank. He managed its affairs with the same acumen and purpose which characterized all his business ventures. In June, 1919, he sold his interest at a substantial profit.

In 1916 he wrote a farewell to ranch life in his poem, "My Ranch on the River," which seems to indicate that he had cherished a hope of returning to the land and the ranching life of the 'eighties. He decided the range war was about over, and guessed it was "closed season on sheep men." When homesick for the old days, he visited the home ranch, to reminisce and feel the land again.

Mr. Neff divided his property some years before his death, giving his farm and ranching lands to his children, retaining some of the income from oil and gas leases. At his death, he disposed of his remaining property in a holographic will, one page in longhand.

Throughout Mr. Neff's diaries, correspondence both private and public, and the many articles he wrote for publication, one finds a constant and alert interest in different phases of life. He enjoyed much, and added to the pleasure of his friends and family. He loved to travel, and often wrote enthusiastic accounts of his trips, particularly in Mexico, to local papers, describing in accurate detail the

¹⁷ "Early Postoffices in Oklahoma," by Grant Foreman, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (December, 1928), p. 410.

kinds of roads encountered, unusual plants and their uses, temperatures, the size and atmosphere of towns visited, types of houses, and the customs of the people. His perception sharpened by a life close to the soil, he noticed comparative distances, the varying formations of the land, the positions of rivers and their sizes more closely than the average observer. He enjoyed fishing, being particularly proud of a fifty pound sea bass caught in the Gulf of California. He often remarked in his diaries that the best part of a trip was getting home, seeing family and old friends, and being called by his first name. He would make an early visit to the office of a friend, where he would announce to anyone interested, "I just came in to see the pretty secretaries." When at his home in Hooker, a day seldom passed that he did not see from one to a half dozen friends of many years standing, and he was host to numerous out-of-town visitors.

Many hours of his later life were spent in reading, and in this too his interests were wide. He subscribed to three daily papers, four weeklies, four monthly magazines, and a historical quarterly. He read extensively of the life of the old West, one of his favorite authors being J. Frank Dobie. History occupied much of his time, and he refers repeatedly to his pleasure in *Wonders of the Past*, when writing in his diary for his grandson, Charles Gilmore.¹⁸

His remarkable interest in every aspect of the country in which he lived was equalled by his modesty. When asked to supply a brief auto-biography to be included in *Indian-Pioneer History*, he dealt largely with forms of life which were passing, conditions of the West when he came to it, mores of the people among whom he had spent more than half a century, and gave very small space to his own achievements.¹⁹

His natural curiosity and his practical concern often combined to make Mr. Neff take action in matters that others were content to deplore. When market hunting was outlawed in an effort to slow the decrease of wild fowl on the prairies, and they yet continued to grow more scarce, he attributed their thinning numbers to clean farming and closely cropped grazing land which deprived the birds of their cover and nesting grounds. A number of years before his death, he set aside ten acres of his extensive ranch on the Beaver River near Hardesty, above the high water line of the river, as a nesting and breeding place for birds. This tract, in addition to its natural plum thickets, was to be planted in varieties of trees and vines. Believing the protection thus afforded would greatly increase the number of game birds in the vicinity, Mr. Neff felt the shelter

¹⁸ J. A. Hammerton, *Wonders of the Past* (New York, 1933).

¹⁹ *Indian-Pioneer History* (WPA Project S-149) by Grant Foreman in Oklahoma Historical Society Collections, Vol. 76, pp. 240-241.

would also afford in time a supply of posts, and fruit for his household.²⁰

No passive member of organizations, Mr. Neff worked consistently for their growth and betterment. He belonged to the Pioneers of No Man's Land, and the Cimarron County Old Settlers' Association; he helped to organize the Texas County Old Timers Association, and served as its president eight years. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge and of India Temple of Oklahoma City. He was one of the organizers of the Hooker Lions Club, serving as its first president. He was for many years a member of the Orva Mathes Memorial Methodist Church at Hooker.

His leadership in many of the organizations of which he was a member was partly attributable to his skill on the platform. An able and entertaining speaker, he was often asked to address old settlers' groups, political meetings, and, because of his intimate knowledge of the history of this locale, high school history classes. When he spoke at a political Democratic rally in Hooker November 1, 1932, the house was in a roar of applause throughout his address.

Always a liberal contributor to civic improvements, in 1935 Mr. Neff donated a portion of his old home property on the main street of Hooker to the City to be used for a park; in appreciation, the people of Hooker named it "Boss Neff Park." He gave as generously of his services wherever they were needed, and he was led into widely varied activities. He was a council member of the Texas-Oklahoma Council of the Boy Scouts of America in 1930. District Judge F. Hiner Dale appointed him, in 1938, to the Jury Commission. He served on the committee which planned the historical pageant and celebration called "Old Southwest Days" marking the completion of the Will Rogers Route, held in Amarillo, Texas, August 15-17, 1938. He taught himself to type in 1913, and however busy was always able to find time to write; for many years, numerous newspaper editors of the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandles, New Mexico and Kansas invited his contributions to their publications.

People of the Panhandle section affectionately remember the man who gave so much of himself. The Pioneer Day Parade at Guymon, May 2, 1947, in celebration of the Organic Act of 1890, was dedicated to Boss Neff, and led by his grandson and namesake, Boss Ira Neff, with his father, Jacob Neff.

Mr. Neff believed, as did many old timers of the Oklahoma Panhandle, that there should be some means of preserving the romantic, courageous Panhandle history, especially as the number of those who helped conquer the frontier was becoming yearly fewer.

²⁰ From an article by F. Hiner Dale in the *Panhandle News-Herald*, Guymon, Oklahoma, April 22, 1940.—Scrapbook of Mrs. Lona Neff Graham.

His was an important part in securing the organization, October 3, 1934, of the No Man's Land Historical Society. Elected its president the following year, he held that office until his death March 15, 1947, and constantly devoted a great part of his time and effort toward its growth. The museum at the Panhandle A. and M. College at Goodwell was designated as the Society's official repository, where were to be gathered all appropriate museum materials with special regard to portraying the history of No Man's Land and adjacent regions. Records of proceedings of the society show the members to have had a high degree of sincerity and enthusiasm, and a marked loyalty toward Mr. Neff, who, as its president, wanted all to have a voice in policy.

In 1938, the Society had a membership of over three hundred, and the number of its exhibits had grown from about three hundred to over twenty thousand. Among the many interesting exhibits given by Mr. Neff was a collection of four hundred arrow heads which he had collected over half a dozen states and Mexico. Valuable to students of the college and to residents of this section of the state, the museum has received not only local recognition, but state and national as well.

Mr. Neff, with all others who had resided in the Oklahoma Panhandle prior to 1889, was granted free life membership in the Society. He spent much time driving over the Panhandle, explaining the Society and its aims to friends old and new, and securing new members. He was one of those who early saw the need for a building to house the museum, and who helped to secure substantial subscriptions toward a building fund, which at his death was in excess of \$15,000. Though he did not live to see it, his efforts are being rewarded, and this building will soon be a reality. During his lifetime, he was the largest single contributor, and in his will bequeathed to the museum a child's part of his undivided property.

He was faithful to the extreme in attendance at meetings. At the time of one of the last meetings of the Board of Directors which Mr. Neff attended, there had been a severe storm. One of the members called him, suggesting that he not try to make the thirty mile drive to Goodwell, and that possibly there would not even be a meeting. "Well," Mr. Neff replied, "I've never missed a meeting yet, and I don't propose to start now." He was the only member of the Board who had not been absent from a single meeting during the thirteen years of the Board's existence.²¹ After Mr. Neff's death his long time friend, Mr. William E. Baker of Boise City, often called the "Sage of Cimarron County," remarked: "Our dynamo is gone. We must gird ourselves, and work very hard."

²¹ This incident told to the writer by Mr. Nolan McWhirter, charter member of the No Man's Land Historical Society, and at present teacher of geology at the Panhandle Agricultural and Mechanical College and curator of the museum.

Museums, of course, come into being and grow through the combined efforts of many people, but as Harold F. Johnson writing in the *Daily Oklahoman* remarked, "The Panhandle Museum is more a monument to Boss Neff than to any other one person." It came to be more important to him than any other phase of his life's work, and gave significance and coherence to his many endeavors.

A wider recognition of his notable public services brought Mr. Neff's election to Oklahoma's "Hall of Fame" by the Oklahoma Memorial Association, on the tenth anniversary of the Association, November 16, 1937. He is the only Panhandle resident to have received this honor. Although he was at this time past seventy years of age, and lived nearly three hundred miles from the capital, he drove to several subsequent annual meetings of this Association.

A commanding figure, Mr. Neff lived a life which epitomizes what James Truslow Adams calls the *American dream*. His hands and his mind occupied with conquering the land, with building for the security of his children and his neighbors, he yet held fast a larger vision, a dream in which a new freedom gave to each man opportunity to develop according to his ability, unhindered by the barriers of an older civilization. He lived on the premise that all men are capable of a better, richer life, and, more unselfishly than most, he gave of his best to enrich the spiritual soil which nourished them. His spirit was not tied to the past, but vigorously reached forward to the tomorrows, seeing beyond his own span, beyond the shifting values of a stricken world, the promise of an ultimate peace and good will.

ELLEN HOWARD MILLER

By Lillian Delly*

Ellen Howard Miller, "Bird Woman of Oklahoma," was born January 2, 1862, at Enterprise, McDonald County, Missouri, the daughter of James Chastene Blythe and Sarah Jemima Rogers Blythe. She died November 13, 1944, at her home, 1201 Keeler Avenue, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Ellen Howard Blythe was educated in the public schools of Indian Territory and at The Cherokee Female Seminary, Tahlequah, Indian Territory. She taught school two years before her marriage to William Wallace Miller on July 21, 1880, at Vinita, Indian Territory, where Mr. Miller was engaged in the Hardware business. They had three children: William Roy Miller, 1216 Hurley Avenue, Ft. Worth, Texas; Howard Kenneth Miller, 214 North Harding Street, Ft. Worth; and a daughter, Mrs. Ray M. Buck, 1201 Keeler, Bartlesville, all of whom survive.¹ Mrs. Miller was preceded in death by her husband, who died March 31, 1909.

In addition to rearing a family, Ellen Howard Miller had throughout her life, an absorbing interest in the civic and cultural development, as well as in the conservation of the natural resources, of her State. At the age of sixteen, while a student at the Cherokee Female Seminary, she organized and served as the first president of a study club for girls. After moving to Vinita she was the leader of a woman's organization which undertook as one of its projects, the surveying, fencing, and landscaping of the cemetery; also, this group aided in the development of the schools of the community. Mrs. Miller was a delegate from Indian Territory to the World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893.

A member of long standing of the Tuesday Club of Bartlesville, Mrs. Miller held various offices in that organization. She was one of the first to see the possibilities in the development of what is now known as Johnstone Park, and the project was sponsored by that club. For her years of service, the Tuesday Club awarded Mrs. Miller an honorary life membership, and at the golden jubilee celebration tea held by the members on April 3, 1940, she was chosen the outstanding pioneer member.

* Member of Oklahoma State Writers, Inc., and the Oklahoma Poetry Society, Lillian Delly is one of the State's most promising writers, having won first place for her poetry and other writings in a number of statewide contests. Her articles and poetry have appeared in state and national publications, including *Red Earth Poetry Magazine* and the *Christian Science Monitor*.—Ed.

¹ This tribute to Ellen Howard Miller is based on original notes, press notices, and other material submitted to the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society by her daughter, Mrs. Ray M. Buck, of Bartlesville, Oklahoma.—Ed.



ELLEN HOWARD MILLER

During World War I, Mrs. Miller was Chairman of Women's Social Service Work, in Bartlesville, and her work in that capacity brought a personal letter from Secretary McAdoo, commending her for outstanding service to her Country.

At the close of World War I, when the citizens of Washington County were considering a memorial to their men who had served in the armed forces, it was Mrs. Miller who suggested that the bridge to be built across the Caney River, on the Tulsa-Bartlesville highway then under construction, be designated Memorial Bridge. This idea was heartily approved by the citizens of Washington County, and by the county commissioners, but there was no money that could be allotted by the County, for the pylons, and for the bronze tablets where the names of the men would be inscribed. Mrs. Miller was undaunted; she took the proposition to Frank Phillips, wealthy oil man of Bartlesville, who agreed to donate the money for the pylons and for the bronze tablets, if Mrs. Miller would undertake the task of securing the names of Washington County Service Men. Fifteen hundred and fifty names appear on the bronze tablets, and along the highway on the approach to Memorial Bridge, a Victory Row of trees was planted at the instigation of Mrs. Miller.

She served several years as a member of the Park Board of Bartlesville. Because of her outstanding work in civic enterprises, she was invited to become a member of the American Civic Association, a national organization.

Mrs. Miller was a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society; a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She led in the organization of the Washington County Indian Association, The Indian Women's Club of Bartlesville, and the Au-wa-nar-sa and Wah-ha-oak Clubs of Washington County. She was ever alert to promote the welfare of the Indian.

Farm Women's organization were not forgotten in the wide range of Ellen Howard Miller's interests: In 1914, she was a delegate from Washington County to the World's International Dry Farming Congress, which was held in Tulsa. At this meeting, her farm took the first prize for the best lawn and farm surroundings. She was First Vice-President of the International Congress for Farm Women, and a delegate to the first Oklahoma Conservation Congress, held in the State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, December 10, 1924.

The young people of the State were not forgotten: Various groups had the use of her farm for their meetings; the Washington County 4-H Club girls held their training school on the farm, with Mrs. Miller assisting in the nature study. In conjunction with her nature and bird work with the Boy Scouts of America, she was made a life member of the National Advisory Board of Boy Scouts.

It would seem that to limit Ellen Howard Miller to the title, "Bird Woman of Oklahoma," was lacking because of her many interests, however, it was the work that seemed closest to her heart.

She began her nature study, and her work in the conservation of the bird, flower and wildlife of Oklahoma, on the two hundred acre farm, lying along the Caney River, about twenty miles south of Bartlesville, which Mr. Miller acquired when he disposed of his business interests in Vinita. This farm soon became known as the Ellen Howard Miller Farm, and in January, 1926, the state fish and game commission made it the nucleus of the Ellen Howard Miller Game Preserve No. 18, and extended the preserve to include approximately 2000 acres.

Ellen Howard Miller served seven years in the State Federation of Women's Clubs, as Chairman of the Committee on Birds, Flowers and Wildlife. It was during this period that she spent two years at the University of Oklahoma, studying the subject of ornithology. She gave up the duties as State Chairman, to assume the duties of National Chairman of the same committee in the General Federation.

As a result of the splendid work done by Ellen Howard Miller in performing the duties of National Chairman, she won wide fame. She was invited to lecture throughout the country; from the owner of the Chateau de Saint Hillaire, two hours drive from Paris, France, came a request to her for advice in the building of a bird sanctuary. Her many published articles about her work, brought an invitation to membership in the National League of American Penwomen. She was a life member of the Izaak Walton League, and a member of the Audubon Society, and was instrumental in having a course in nature study established in the public schools.

One point that Ellen Howard Miller stressed is that no lawn is too small, or grounds too large, for a bird sanctuary. The Ellen Howard Miller farm had a natural rock beach, about a mile long and fifty feet wide, extending along the Caney River, which formed an ideal spot for a bird sanctuary. Within the acreage surrounding the beach, bird houses designed to meet the need of different species, were hung in the trees; bags of suet, pieces of cheese, corn, kaffir corn, and other foods for birds, were hung from tree limbs; feeding platforms and troughs were placed throughout the area. As many as forty-eight different species of birds have been seen feeding in the sanctuary at one time. Yet, Mrs. Miller's back yard at 1201 Keeler Avenue, Bartlesville, was a haven for birds, too, and if the yard was covered with snow and ice, her back porch became their refuge.

Mrs. Miller's desire to protect the bird life of Oklahoma was not founded on sentimentality; she maintained that most species should be protected, if only for their usefulness to farmers. A dove,

she said, could do as much work as a farm hand in destroying weed seeds, and one quail might eat as many as 1000 harmful insects in a single day (facts borne out by government research). She recognized the English sparrow as a nuisance, and led in a campaign to help rid the city of Bartlesville of the pests.

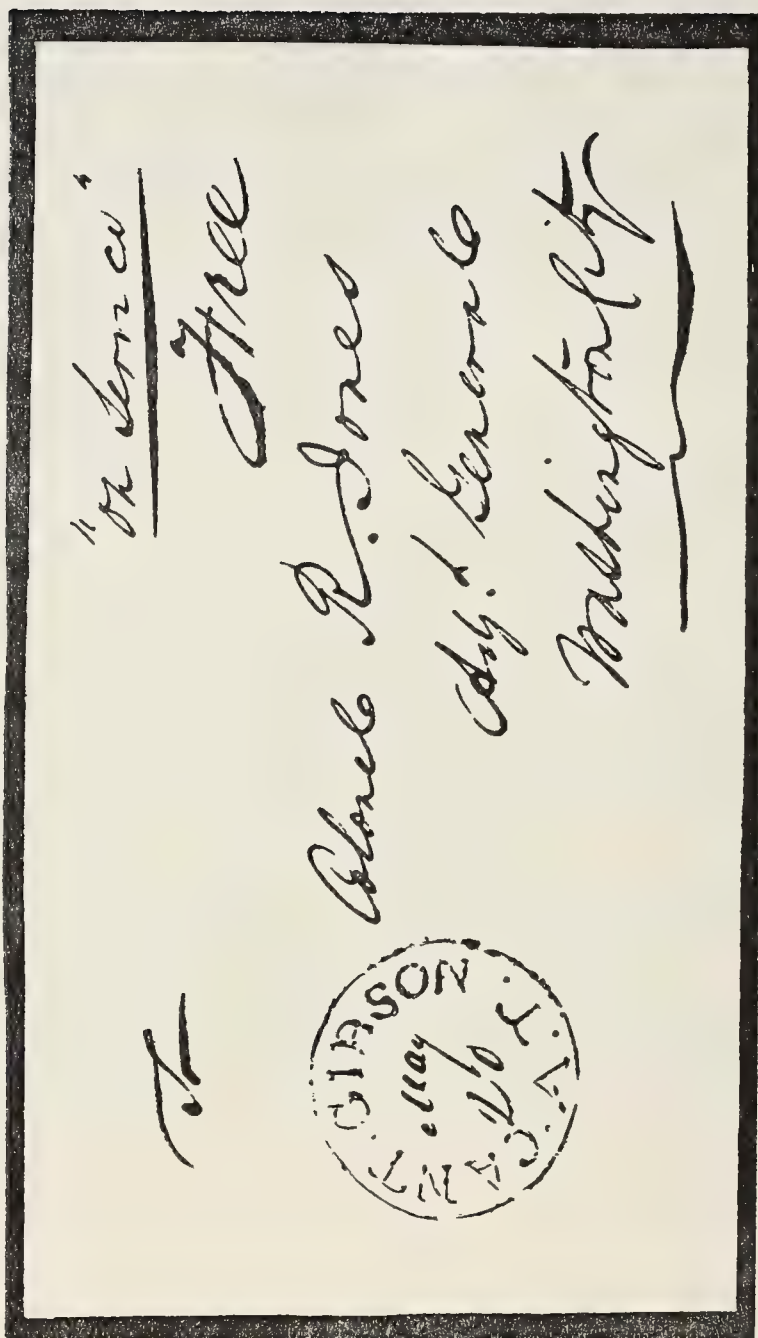
Ellen Howard Miller was a descendant of the famous John Rogers, member of the staff of General Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812, and instrumental in building one of the first churches in Georgia. Her paternal grandfather was William Blythe, substantial land and slave owner in Tennessee, and the location of his old home, is now the thriving town called Blythe's Ferry. William Blythe married Nancy Fields, one-fourth Cherokee, daughter of Chief Richard Fields, who held land grants from the government, to valuable Texas lands.

Her maternal grandfather was Joseph Rogers, of Milton, formerly Forsythe County, Georgia, who came west in 1837, and settled near Baxter Springs, Kansas, where he built a handsome farm home, and aided in the early development of that part of Kansas. The maternal grandmother was Hannah Foster, daughter of Elijah Foster, also a member of a distinguished Georgia family.

In addition to her children, Mrs. Miller is survived by one granddaughter, Mrs. Ross Cunningham (nee Ellen Frances Buck), 312 South Carmelina Avenue, Brentwood Heights, Los Angeles 24, California; by a grand-son, William Blythe Buck, 1207 McLish, Ardmore, Oklahoma; and by three great-grand-children: Ann Marie Buck, 1207 McLish, Ardmore; Lee Ross and John Blythe Cunningham, also of 312 South Carmelina, Los Angeles.

In commenting on the passing of Ellen Howard Miller, the *Bartlesville Daily Enterprise* of November 14, 1944, read:

To the youngsters and to the newcomers to Bartlesville, the name Ellen Howard Miller may not have meant much. But to old timers and to folks who have lived in this section for any reasonable number of years, that name was synonymous with character and service to mankind and to the wildlife and feathered folk. We lost a grand character and a citizen when that Indian Territory pioneer died here Monday. The world was a little better because she passed this way and her going leaves a niche of emptiness in many places.



(From the collection of Dr. Carroll Chase)

Postmarked 20 May 1828. The oldest known letter bearing a postmark from what is now Oklahoma.

FIRST POST OFFICES WITHIN THE
BOUNDARIES OF OKLAHOMA

*By George H. Shirk**

INTRODUCTION

In 1928 Dr. Grant Foreman pioneered in an extremely interesting field of Oklahoma history when he published for the first time a list of the postoffices in what is now Oklahoma.¹ Since that time the National Archives has been established; and now that the original source material has been collected in that agency and is available for study, considerable additional material is now at hand that was at that time inaccessible to Dr. Foreman.

The list given here is that of the post offices of Indian Territory as they appeared "on paper" in the records of the Postmaster General, and is not, strictly speaking, a list of the offices or even their exact names or spellings as they may have existed on the ground here in Oklahoma.

Likewise, this is not presented as a list of postmarks. Undoubtedly some offices were never supplied with any form of cancelling device, and hence only manuscript markings are in existence. That the cancels were often prepared with the local postmaster's ideas in mind rather than in conformity with the records of the Postmaster General is quite apparent in view of the number of misspellings and other variations that may be found in the actual postmarks. For example, postmarks with the spelling "Prior Creek" (Pryor Creek) are quite common, and postmarks may be found containing the name of an office not yet officially adopted or long since discontinued in official records.

The Postmaster General made distinction in his records between the various Indian "Nations" and a separate listing was employed

* George H. Shirk, a native of Oklahoma City and graduate of the Law Department in the University of Oklahoma, is a practicing attorney with offices in the Colcord Building, Oklahoma City. As Colonel, General Staff Corps, on the Staff of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, in the European Theater of Operations, he was awarded the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, Chevalier Legion d'Honneur, and Croix de Guerre avec Palme, in World War II. In compiling the list of early post offices in Oklahoma, Mr. Shirk has personally given his own time and effort in the search and the checking of the original records and documents of the Postmaster General, in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., as well as in the preparation and typing of the manuscript contributed for publication in this number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.—Ed.

¹ Grant Foreman, "Early Post Offices in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-4 (1928), and Vol. VII, No. 1 (1929).

Wm. H. Garrison et al. vs. The
 Nov 5 1828 (1700)

Wm. H. Garrison et al. vs. The

Quarter Master General

Book 8. U.S.A.

Washington City

(From the collection of Dr. Carroll Chase)

Postmarked 5 Nov 1828. A fine example of early manuscript style postmark. (See reference to the "Lost Captain," Notes and Documents, this issue *The Chronicles*, p. 248.)

by him for each. Furthermore, the very early offices were listed under Arkansas Territory or Arkansas. Then as a catch-all an additional list "Nation Unknown" was established. Further complications were added by the fact that through the years the boundaries themselves changed and new nations were created out of areas formerly within the boundaries of some other Indian Nation.²

For convenience all post offices within that area known on 16 November 1907—the date of Statehood—as Indian Territory have been grouped into one alphabetic list. The location by "Nation" of each office is indicated, utilizing the boundaries as the nations existed in area on that same final date. Thus the offices are shown from the date of their original establishment as having been all along in their final nation.

The date indicated for the official establishment of an office does not of course correspond with the date it actually commenced operation. A post office was formally established by the appointment of the postmaster, and a usual lag of six weeks or more should be expected between the date the office was formally established and the date the postmaster was actually set up and ready for operation.

In some instances the office never did go into operation, and such fact is noted when it can be established from Post Office Department records. Even though the office was never in operation the formal rescinding order may follow by many months the original order establishing the office.

With the death or inability of the postmaster to further serve often a period of time intervened before some suitable person could be designated as the new postmaster. Hence, the office was in effect "discontinued" and then "reestablished" with the appointment of the new postmaster, creating a hiatus in the continued operation of the office. Each of these intervals when the post office was officially not operating has been noted.

It must be assumed that there were many times when the operation of the office was suspended or delayed locally without the knowledge of Washington, and that for many reasons offices listed by the Post Office Department as being in operation on any certain date were not actually at the moment active.

In the 1890's the Postmaster General adopted a policy disfavoring post office names of more than one word, and postmasters were circularized several times that a change to a single word was desired. Formal orders were made making these modifications and they are shown wherever possible.

² See *Appendix* for list of post offices in the Indian Territory, in operation during the War between the States.—Ed.

M.P.A.

(No. 1010.)

Post Office Department,

OFFICE OF THE FIRST ASSISTANT P. M. GENERAL,

Washington, D. C., *March 21*, 188*2*.

Sir:

The Postmaster General has ordered the establishment
 of a Post Office at *Eldridge*
 in the County of *Cherokee Nation* and
 State of *Indian Territory*, and the
 appointment of *Enos W. Parsons* as
 Postmaster thereof.

Very respectfully,

James M. McLean

Acting First Assistant Postmaster General.

Hon. *Stephen Wheeler*,
Fort Smith
Arkansas.

ELECTROTYPE.

(From the collection of M. G. Wicker)

Typical order of Postmaster General establishing
 a new postoffice.

Being a list of Indian Territory post offices the list of necessity closes with Statehood, 16 November 1907. Changes subsequent to that date as are shown are included only as a matter of special interest or because the information was by chance immediately available. Closing on that date, the list reflects in operation many offices that have been long since discontinued and which would not be found on a present day list of Oklahoma post offices. In other words, as to the Indian Territory portion of Oklahoma the list includes every post office and change in status up to the day of Statehood.

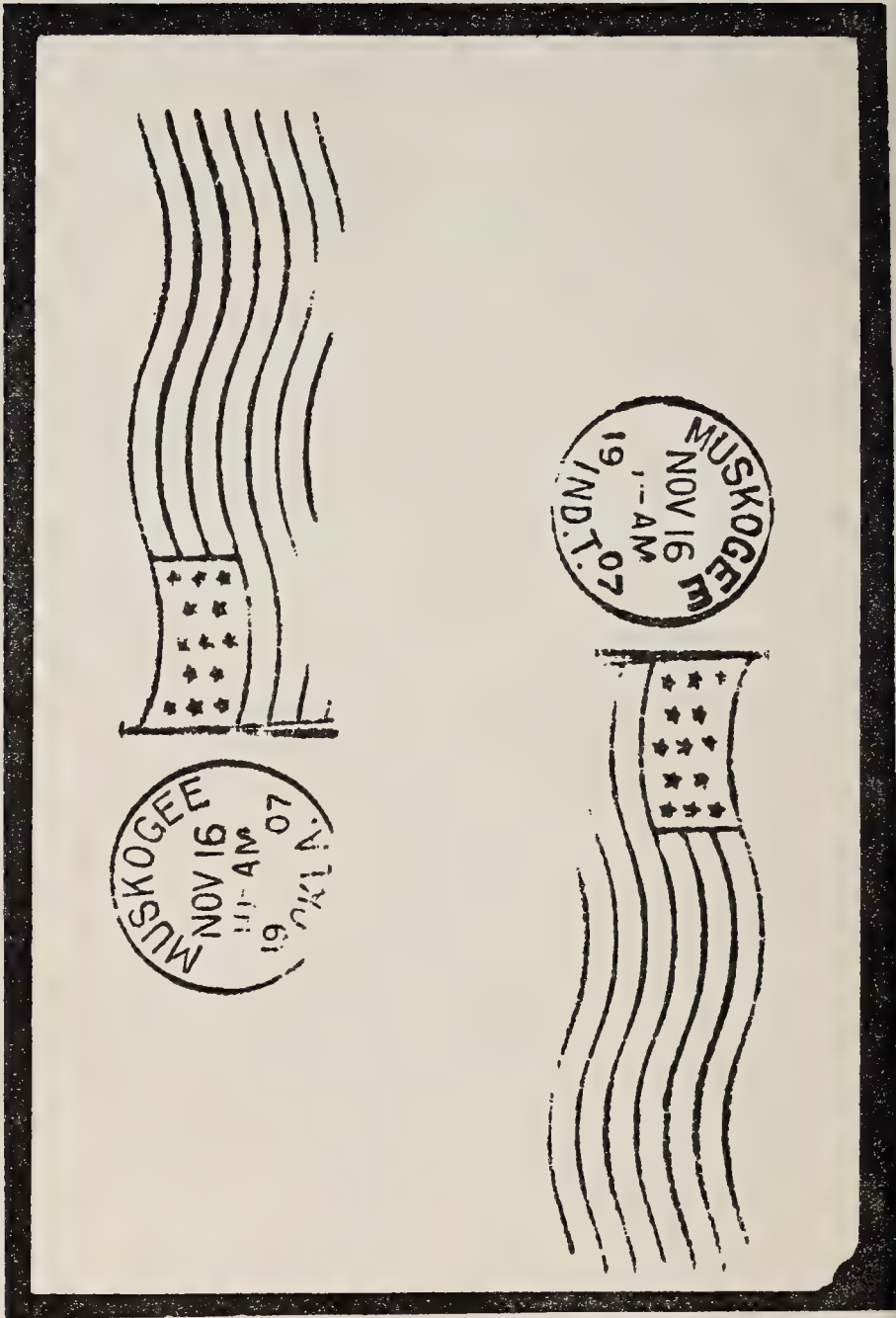
Great care has been exercised to preserve the exact spelling and all other data as the same appear in the original records; in any instance where a discrepancy with any previously published list appears it is because original source material now available has provided the additional information.

The post offices located in that area known as the "West Side"—Oklahoma Territory as it existed at Statehood—have been here listed separately. They are shown as a reference and to correlate the Indian Territory list and not as a complete list of the post offices of Oklahoma Territory. Prior to the summer of 1890 the Postoffice Department considered the entire area of what is now Oklahoma as "Indian Territory"; and up to that time no distinction was made in the offices established in the area eventually organized into Oklahoma Territory. Accordingly, only those offices located in the area of Oklahoma Territory that were established sufficiently early so as to cause confusion with the Indian Territory list are with certainty included in the Oklahoma Territory check list. In other words, this Oklahoma Territory list is not designed to be complete except as to offices established earlier than 1892.

Any nomenclature as to the location of the office in some geographic subdivision of Oklahoma Territory presents more difficulty than is the case of Indian Territory.

Greer County adjudged a part of Oklahoma Territory by United States Supreme Court on 16 March 1896, and Beaver County, the so-called neutral strip, ceded to the United States by Texas in 1850, are well recognized geographical entities and cause no problem. As used here Oklahoma has been limited to the relatively small central area open to settlement in 1889, and the term "Leased District" has been assigned to the entire western area south of the Cherokee Strip, excluding Greer County, that comprised the Cheyenne-Arapahoe, Kiowa, Comanche, Apache and Wichita Reservations.

While perhaps arbitrary, this division of Oklahoma Territory appears the one best suited to the manner in which the early-day postoffices and the postal service came to Oklahoma.—G.H.S.



(From the collection of M. G. Wicker)

Card bearing last impression of Indian Territory cancel and first impression of the Oklahoma marking. Two of these are extant.

THE POST OFFICES OF INDIAN TERRITORY

POSTOFFICE	LOCATION	DATE ESTABLISHED	FIRST POSTMASTER
Abbott.....	Choctaw.....	3 March 1897.....	James B. Bowmer
Discontinued effective 11 July 1899, mail to Kosoma.			
Abelincoln.....	Creek.....	20 February 1904.....	John Grayson
Formerly Clearview. The order changing the name of this office to Abelincoln was rescinded 15 March 1904, and it is doubtful if it was ever in operation under that name.			
Abner.....	Chickasaw.....	25 February 1903.....	John D. Robertson
Discontinued by order dated 8 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail to Oswalt.			
Academy.....	Choctaw.....	22 April 1898.....	Thomas W. Hunter
On 30 October 1883 a postoffice named Armstrong had been discontinued at this same proximate location.			
Ada.....	Chickasaw.....	10 July 1891.....	William J. Reed
Adair.....	Cherokee.....	15 March 1883.....	Georgia C. Fay
Adams.....	Chickasaw.....	2 August 1901.....	Harrison P. Tunstall
Adamson.....	Choctaw.....	1 March 1906.....	Alvin F. Rudd
Addington.....	Chickasaw.....	8 January 1886.....	James P. Addington
Did not operate during the period 3 February 1888 to 4 November 1893, mail to Tucker.			
Adel.....	Choctaw.....	3 June 1907.....	Mattie Beck
Adelia.....	Choctaw.....	18 February 1902.....	Rheuben E. Headley
Afton.....	Cherokee.....	5 June 1886.....	Francis M. Cromwell
Agatha.....	Choctaw.....	1 June 1903.....	Litha Bowers
Discontinued by order dated 15 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to Wilburton.			
Ahlora.....	Chickasaw.....	11 May 1904.....	James A. McCord
Name changed to Ahloso 7 November 1904.			
Ahloso.....	Chickasaw.....	7 November 1904.....	James A. McCord
Formerly Ahlora.			
Ahniwake.....	Cherokee.....	16 June 1904.....	William H. Winder
The popular name for this town was Hastings.			
Akins.....	Cherokee.....	16 February 1894.....	Samuel Martin
Albany.....	Choctaw.....	10 July 1894.....	Joseph N. Thompson
Albia.....	Cherokee.....	15 July 1899.....	Charles F. Melton
Albion.....	Choctaw.....	6 December 1887.....	Charles F. Igo
Alderson.....	Choctaw.....	5 March 1890.....	John R. Frazer
Alex.....	Chickasaw.....	2 December 1885.....	William V. Alexander
Alexander.....	Choctaw.....	27 February 1897.....	William A. Alexander
Discontinued effective 14 April 1897.			
Alhambra.....	Chickasaw.....	5 May 1896.....	William W. Canady
Discontinued by order dated 7 May 1904, effective 31 May 1904, mail to Millcreek.			
Aligan.....	Cherokee.....	18 February 1902.....	Alfred A. Scott
Discontinued by order dated 29 April 1904, effective 14 May 1904, mail to McLain.			
Alikchi.....	Choctaw.....	13 July 1888.....	John Wooley
Allen.....	Choctaw.....	9 April 1892.....	John T. Gilmore
Alleppo.....	Choctaw.....	6 February 1902.....	William T. Coyle
Discontinued by order dated 14 September 1903, effective 30 September 1903, mail to Durant.			

- Allison.....Choctaw..... 6 March 1901.....John V. Meadows
 Al-lu-we.....Cherokee.....27 June 1883.....Myron U. Sampson
 Formerly Lightning Creek. The exact date the spelling of this office was changed to Alluwe is not available.
- Alma.....Cherokee.....16 August 1890.....John D. Smith
 Discontinued effective 7 May 1892, mail to Oaks.
- Alma.....Chickasaw..... 4 December 1895.....Andrew Moore
 Alsuma.....Creek.....12 February 1906.....Elmer E. Jenks
 Formerly Welcome.
- Amabala.....Creek.....13 December 1900.....Elmer K. Hayward
 Did not operate during the period 30 September 1902 to 3 August 1903.
 Discontinued by order dated 12 February 1907, effective 28 February 1907, mail to Weleetka.
- Amber.....Chickasaw..... 5 November 1903.....Robert W. T. Browning
 America.....Choctaw.....24 July 1903.....Thomas A. Stewart
- Amos.....Quapaw..... 1 June 1898.....David B. Peake
 Peake declined the appointment and this postoffice was never actually in operation. The office was formally discontinued by order dated 20 August 1898.
- Amos.....Chickasaw.....31 May 1901.....John F. Laird
 Discontinued by order dated 14 August 1907, effective 14 September 1907, mail to Isom Springs.
- Amy.....Choctaw.....20 June 1902.....Edward B. Ratliff
 Did not operate during the period 31 October 1905 to 29 June 1906.
 Discontinued by order dated 4 June 1907, effective 29 June 1907, mail to Stuart.
- Annette.....Choctaw.....26 April 1882.....Walter D. Parks
 Did not operate during the periods 30 October 1883 to 20 December 1886, 18 June 1891 to 28 January 1892, and 24 December 1892 to 14 June 1899. Discontinued by order dated 18 October 1899, effective 31 October 1899, mail to Byrne.
- Annie.....Choctaw.....25 September 1897.....A. J. Wilson
 Discontinued effective 6 January 1898. It is doubtful if this office was ever in operation.
- Antioch.....Chickasaw..... 6 September 1895.....John T. Purdy
 Antlers.....Choctaw.....26 August 1887.....Ella Colbert
 Aquone.....Chickasaw.....15 July 1904.....John M. Tuck
 Ara.....Chickasaw.....24 March 1894.....Walter C. Holeman
- Arbeka.....Creek.....10 September 1883.....George R. Davis
 Discontinued by order dated 20 November 1907, effective 14 December 1907. Until 29 March 1900 this postoffice was shown on the records of the Postmaster General as being in the Seminole Nation.
- Arbuckle.....Chickasaw.....20 August 1884.....Thomas Grant
 Discontinued by order dated 19 December 1905, effective 15 January 1906, mail to Davis. On 7 October 1875 a postoffice named Fort Arbuckle had been discontinued at this same proximate location.
- Archibald.....Choctaw.....10 May 1901.....Thomas Archibald
 On 17 August 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this office to be effective 15 September 1906, but was rescinded 6 September 1906.
- Ardmore.....Chickasaw.....27 October 1887.....Hillard J. Yarbrough
 Ark.....Chickasaw.....12 December 1895.....Samuel M. Ransom
- Armstrong.....Choctaw.....26 April 1882.....William W. Richards
 On 27 August 1869 a postoffice named Armstrong Academy had been discontinued at this same proximate location. Discontinued effective 30 October 1883. On 22 April 1898 a postoffice named Academy was established at this same proximate location.

- Armstrong**.....Choctaw.....15 February 1896.....William B. Maupin
This is the present Armstrong located a few miles north of Durant.
- Armstrong Academy**..Choctaw.....19 November 1850....Phillip P. Brown
Did not operate during the periods 22 June 1866 to 25 January 1867 and 10 September 1867 to 9 December 1867. Discontinued effective 27 August 1869. On 26 April 1882 a postoffice named Armstrong was established at this same proximate location. One of the most important educational projects in the Choctaw Nation, Armstrong Academy was founded in 1844 with the help of a Baptist mission society in Louisville, Ky. Upon the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention, that body assumed responsibility for the work, which progressed without interruption until the Civil War. During the Civil War the Academy buildings were used by the Confederate forces for a hospital. After the War, a number of peace conferences between the Northern and Southern factions of the various tribes were held at Armstrong Academy, and the Choctaw National Council met there for a number of years. Afterwards, the institution was operated under the auspices of the Southern Presbyterian Church. The buildings were destroyed by fire in 1921.
- Arnoldville**.....Chickasaw.....12 February 1885.....Cyrus S. Jacobs
Discontinued effective 2 April 1889, mail to Marietta.
- Arpelar**.....Choctaw.....25 February 1903.....Andrew J. Jordan
- Arthur**.....Chickasaw.....14 May 1890.....William H. Mershon
- Ashland**.....Choctaw.....1 October 1902.....Charles W. Wilson
- Asphaltum**.....Chickasaw.....26 April 1905.....Ephraim O. Sloan
- Atlas**.....Choctaw.....12 December 1902.....George Y. Harris
- Atlee**.....Chickasaw.....10 July 1891.....John C. Wright
- Atoka**.....Choctaw.....23 January 1868.....Carrol S. Davis
- Austin**.....Cherokee.....25 March 1895.....George W. Tyner
Discontinued by order dated 17 October 1900, effective 31 October 1900, mail to Ochelata.
- Aylesworth**.....Chickasaw.....6 June 1903.....Guy M. Granbury
- Bache**.....Choctaw.....26 February 1903.....Henry Swartz
- Bacone**.....Creek.....7 March 1888.....Almon C. Bacone
- Bailey**.....Chickasaw.....25 June 1892.....Thomas Graham
- Baird**.....Choctaw.....28 January 1892.....Wilson D. Baird
Discontinued effective 25 August 1898, mail to Heavenier.
- Baldhill**.....Creek.....29 August 1896.....Joseph J. Yates
- Baldwin**.....Chickasaw.....7 June 1881.....Truman Baldwin
Name changed to Sugg 14 March 1888. Name changed back to Baldwin 23 January 1890. Name changed to Ryan 7 June 1892.
- Bales**.....Choctaw.....7 December 1904.....B. F. Freeman
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 22 April 1905, and it is doubtful if this office was ever in operation.
- Ballard**.....Cherokee.....13 May 1896.....John B. Morris
Did not operate during the period 6 August 1897 to 8 November 1900.
- Banty**.....Choctaw.....31 July 1901.....John A. Stacy
- Baptist**.....Cherokee.....9 March 1831.....William R. Quarles
- Baptist Mission**.....Cherokee.....5 July 1850.....Evan Jones
Did not operate during the period 29 January 1861 to 11 May 1861. Discontinued effective 22 June 1866.
- Barnard**.....Creek.....17 May 1902.....David A. Barnett
Discontinued by order dated 16 May 1907, effective 31 May 1907, mail to Wetumka.
- Baron**.....Cherokee.....16 November 1895.....Frank Howard
The popular named for this town was Barron Fork.

- Bartlesville.....Cherokee..... 6 May 1879.....Jacob H. Bartles
- Bartley.....Chickasaw.....26 September 1902.....Robert E. Roller
Discontinued by order dated 26 May 1903, effective 15 June 1903, mail to Kiser.
- Barwick.....Chickasaw..... 23 May 1904.....William R. Jeffries
- Baum.....Chickasaw.....21 September 1894.....James S. Alverson
Formerly Boland.
- Beach.....Choctaw.....30 April 1903.....James M. Lewis
Did not operate during the period 30 April 1907 to 20 June 1907.
- Bearden.....Creek..... 6 July 1896.....Rose E. Bearden
- Bebee.....Chickasaw.....15 September 1896.....William H. Goodrich
- Becks Creek.....Cherokee.....16 March 1881.....John F. M. Cristie
Discontinued effective 8 August 1882, mail to Tahlequah.
- Beckwith.....Cherokee.....24 May 1895.....Richard Beck
Discontinued effective 2 November 1898, mail to Kansas. On 7 November 1900 a postoffice named Flint was established at this same proximate location. On 25 June 1889 a postoffice named Hilderbrand had been discontinued at this same proximate location.
- Bee.....Chickasaw..... 5 April 1899.....William R. Tobey
- Beef Creek.....Chickasaw.....17 June 1878.....Thomas J. Williams
Did not operate during the periods 25 March 1879 to 21 December 1881 and 18 September 1884 to 4 December 1885. Name changed to Maysville 19 September 1902.
- Beggs.....Creek.....15 September 1900.....Ira A. Dodds
- Bell.....Choctaw.....13 April 1891.....James N. D. Campbell
Discontinued effective 23 September 1897, mail to Houston.
- Bellevue.....Cherokee..... 7 February 1868.....James Price
Did not operate during the period 26 March 1868 to 3 August 1868. Discontinued effective 20 September 1869.
- Belton.....Chickasaw..... 3 October 1895.....John W. Davenport
- Belzoni.....Choctaw.....20 October 1905.....LeFlore Dillard
- Bengal.....Choctaw.....24 January 1890.....Asa B. Griffin
- Benge.....Cherokee..... 1 October 1897.....Allen D. Chandler
- Bennett.....Cherokee..... 4 June 1895.....Jasper C. Wilson
Discontinued effective 30 July 1904, mail to Hereford.
- Bennington.....Choctaw..... 7 August 1873.....William J. B. Lloyd
Did not operate during the period 10 October 1878 to 14 August 1884
- Bentley.....Choctaw..... 1 June 1903.....Mart J. Pirtle
- Berwyn.....Chickasaw..... 1 September 1887.....James P. Taylor
Formerly Dresden. This is the present town of Gene Autry in Carter County.
- Bethel.....Choctaw.....24 January 1900.....John A. Kirksey
This postoffice was located a few miles west of the site of the present town of Bethel.
- Big Cabin.....Cherokee.....21 August 1871.....S. T. Rogers
Did not operate during the period 23 October 1871 to 3 December 1890
- Bigcedar.....Choctaw..... 3 April 1903.....Isaac Workman
- Big Tusk.....Choctaw.....27 October 1873.....George W. Riddle
Discontinued effective 29 March 1875.
- Birta.....Choctaw.....18 February 1902.....Thomas F. Bower
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 26 July 1902, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Bixby.....Creek..... 6 July 1899.....James Conway
- Blackgum.....Cherokee.....17 June 1895.....Linus F. Elton
Did not operate during the period 28 February 1901 to 28 March 1902.

- Blackrock.....Chickasaw.....27 June 1901.....William H. Duncan
 Blaine.....Choctaw..... 1 October 1884.....Charles W. Banks
 Formerly Panola.
- Blalock.....Creek..... 20 July 1903.....James R. Blalock
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 13 January 1904,
 and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Blanchard.....Chickasaw.....27 November 1906.....Robert E. L. McLain
 Blanco.....Choctaw..... 31 August 1901.....George W. Beams
 Blocker.....Choctaw..... 26 April 1905.....William J. Stepp
 Blue.....Choctaw..... 1 July 1874.....James B. Atkinson
 Did not operate during the period 22 March 1878 to 15 October 1891.
- Bluejacket.....Cherokee..... 3 March 1882.....Charles Bluejacket
 Bluff.....Choctaw..... 23 April 1901.....Mattie Wilson
 Blunt.....Cherokee..... 24 May 1905.....James D. Duncan
 Bob.....Chickasaw..... 23 January 1894.....Benjamin F. Michael
 Name changed to Bomar 30 December 1907.
- Boggy Depot.....Choctaw..... 5 November 1849.....William R. Guy
 Did not operate during the period 21 January 1852 to 13 December
 1853. On 22 March 1872 the site of this office was moved 1¼ miles
 south and name changed to New Boggy Depot. Located on Boggy
 Creek in what is not Atoka County, Boggy Depot was one of the most
 important of the early settlements. The first buildings were built in
 1837, and within a few years Boggy Depot included churches, shops,
 a number of commercial buildings, and some very pretentious resi-
 dences. The Choctaw National Council met there in 1859. During
 the Civil War the town was garrisoned continuously by Confederate
 troops. The brick church was used by them as a hospital, and for
 four years the Confederate flag flew from the flagpole of the town
 main street. A mile east of the town was located Capt. Charles
 LeFlore's toll bridge over Boggy River, and the main street of the
 town was the main Ft. Smith to Red River road. In 1871 the stage
 road took a new route, crossing Boggy River about three miles south
 of Captain LeFlore's bridge; and the town gradually moved south to
 the point where the new route joined the old road to Ft. Washita.
 The town has entirely disappeared, only the pre-war residence of Allen
 Wright, Principal Chief Choctaw Nation (1866-70), left standing.
- Boggy Depot.....Choctaw..... 26 December 1883.....George B. Hester
 Formerly New Boggy Depot. This postoffice was at the new location
 of Boggy Depot, and is the present village of that name in Atoka
 County.
- Bokchito.....Choctaw..... 11 August 1894.....William R. Senter
 Bokhoma.....Choctaw..... 15 December 1902.....Daniel Strawn
 Name changed to Idabel 3 February 1904.
- Bokhoma.....Choctaw..... 16 June 1904.....Lewis Moore
 This town of Bokhoma is east of Idabel and is the present town of
 that name in McCurtain County.
- Bokoshe.....Choctaw..... 29 September 1886.....William A. Sanner
 Boland.....Chickasaw..... 19 April 1894.....James S. Alverson
 Name changed to Baum 21 September 1894.
- Boley.....Creek..... 7 July 1903.....LaBorn Mims
 Bolin.....Cherokee..... 27 January 1890.....Thomas Bluejacket
 Discontinued effective 22 August 1893, mail to Vinita.
- Bomar.....Chickasaw..... 30 December 1907.....William P. Thompson
 Formerly Bob. It will be noted that this change occurred after
 statehood.

- Bonton.....Cherokee..... 8 September 1899...William T. Demoss
Name changed to Ramona 9 December 1899.
- Boswell.....Choctaw..... 30 September 1902...Gavin D. Duncan
Formerly Mayhew.
- Boss.....Choctaw..... 1 June 1905.....John H. Willis
- Boudinot.....Cherokee..... 8 February 1869.....Joseph C. Henderson
Discontinued effective 20 September 1869.
- Bourland.....Choctaw..... 29 March 1892.....D. D. Mullins
Discontinued effective 7 September 1895, mail to Allen.
- Bower.....Choctaw..... 6 September 1895...Daniel C. Beattie
- Bowles.....Chickasaw..... 25 February 1903...John F. Bowles
- Bowman.....Creek..... 29 July 1801.....H. H. Bowman
Discontinued effective 15 September 1891.
- Box.....Cherokee..... 1 July 1894.....Readus Moore
The order establishing this office was rescinded 9 October 1894, and
it is doubtful if it was ever actually in operation.
- Boynston.....Creek..... 10 September 1902...William S. Whaley
- Braden.....Choctaw..... 1 September 1890...John W. Stallcup
An order was issued 6 August 1896 discontinuing this office but was
rescinded 18 August 1896.
- Bradley.....Chickasaw..... 10 July 1891.....James E. Burrell
- Brady.....Chickasaw..... 30 June 1892.....Monassa Brady
- Braggs.....Cherokee..... 10 September 1888...John J. Patrick
Formerly Patrick.
- Braidwood.....Choctaw..... 11 July 1891.....James T. Sutton
Name changed to Pocohontas 11 May 1895. The postoffice at Poca-
hontas was actually a mile or so west of its former location at
Braidwood. Both Braidwood and Pocohontas were coal mines; and
as the latter grew in importance the postoffice moved accordingly.
- Brazil Station.....Choctaw..... 11 April 1879.....Mrs. Phebe Welch
Name changed to Brazil 15 May 1895.
- Brazil.....Choctaw..... 15 May 1895.....Mrs. Phebe Reagan
Formerly Brazil Station. Discontinued effective 31 May 1913.
- Breedlove.....Cherokee..... 7 March 1891.....Robert B. Patton
Discontinued effective 27 April 1892, mail to Paw Paw.
- Brent.....Cherokee..... 6 May 1896.....Henry C. Agent
- Briartown.....Cherokee..... 15 May 1882.....Isaac Mooney
The railroad name for this town was McMurray.
- Bristow.....Creek..... 25 April 1898.....Charles C. Crane
- Brock.....Chickasaw..... 15 September 1896...George W. Burrows
- Broken Arrow.....Creek..... 9 June 1881.....Charles H. Thomas
Did not operate during the period 21 August 1882 to 19 November 1902.
- Bromide.....Chickasaw..... 8 June 1907.....David Cummings
Formerly Zenobia.
- Brooken.....Choctaw..... 15 December 1879...Joseph M. Edwards
- Brownsville.....Chickasaw..... 28 March 1890.....George W. Crump
Discontinued by order dated 26 May 1902, effective 14 June 1902, mail
to Isom Springs.
- Brushey.....Choctaw..... 23 July 1869.....F. Schmallfield
Did not operate during the period 6 February 1871 to 25 March 1872.
An order was issued 23 October 1872 discontinuing this office, but was
rescinded 16 December 1872. Discontinued effective 13 December
1875.
- Brushhill.....Creek..... 6 February 1894.....William H. Price

- Brushy**.....Cherokee.....11 May 1900.....Charles Harris
Harris declined the appointment, and the office did not actually commence operation until James H. Roark was appointed postmaster on 4 September 1900.
- Bryan**.....Choctaw.....12 December 1889.....Luke W. Bryan
Discontinued effective 7 October 1893, mail to Braidwood.
- Bryant**.....Creek.....10 January 1905.....George H. Burroughs
- Buck**.....Choctaw.....18 January 1900.....Aaron B. Donaldson
Discontinued by order dated 29 August 1907, effective 31 September 1907, mail to Carbon.
- Buckhorn**.....Chickasaw.....3 June 1890.....Charles W. Reid
- Buckluxy**.....Choctaw.....1 March 1870.....Susan Bumgarner
Formerly Scalesville. Did not operate during the period 20 July 1871 to 13 November 1871. Discontinued effective 20 May 1872.
- Buckner**.....Cherokee.....19 October 1877.....Joseph W. Sall
Discontinued effective 31 December 1878.
- Bullcreek**.....Creek.....4 February 1896.....Robert S. Davis
Discontinued effective 18 September 1897, mail to Inola.
- Bunch**.....Cherokee.....26 May 1886.....Richard B. Choate
- Bundola**.....Creek.....13 June 1901.....Henry A. Marsh, Jr.
Discontinued by order dated 5 June 1902, effective 30 June 1902, mail to Brushhill.
- Burgevin**.....Choctaw.....21 January 1890.....John T. Burgevin
Discontinued effective 3 November 1898, mail to Tucker.
- Burney**.....Creek.....29 July 1896.....Thomas P. Ingle
Discontinued by order dated 26 July 1907, to be effective 15 August 1907. This order was rescinded, however, on 9 August 1907, and the office continued operation until 30 November 1907, when it was discontinued by order dated 1 November 1907. Mail to Pierce.
- Burney Academy**.....Chickasaw.....3 July 1860.....Robert S. Bell
Discontinued effective 22 June 1866. In 1857 the Chickasaw National Council appropriated \$5500 for the establishment of the Burney Female Academy. In 1858 an additional \$25,000 was appropriated for the project, and commissioners were appointed to confer with the Presbyterian Church, the body intended as the agency to operate the institution. Located a few miles from the present town of Lebanon, the buildings were completed and the school was ready to open in 1859, but the Presbyterian Church failed to furnish the agreed superintendent. The Chickasaw Nation then announced it was ready to enter into a contract with anyone who would suitably conduct the school. That the institution ever opened its doors prior to the Civil War is very improbable.
- Burneyville**.....Chickasaw.....5 May 1879.....James C. Nall
Did not operate during the period 12 January 1880 to 30 October 1883.
- Burse**.....Choctaw.....15 December 1902.....Richard Lowery
- Burson**.....Choctaw.....23 November 1899.....William I. Burson
Discontinued by order dated 19 January 1901, effective 31 January 1901, mail to Ironbridge.
- Burt**.....Chickasaw.....1 March 1890.....Lynch B. Cochran
Discontinued by order dated 12 April 1900, effective 30 April 1900, mail to Bailey.
- Burwell**.....Choctaw.....31 October 1906.....William P. Burwell
- Bush**.....Choctaw.....24 June 1898.....J. B. Edwards
The order establishing this office was rescinded 26 August 1898, and it is doubtful if it was ever in operation.

- Bushyhead.....Cherokee.....18 April 1898.....William Hall
Did not operate during the period 17 December 1898 to 2 September 1902.
- Butler.....Choctaw..... 8 November 1889.....Charles L. Nevins
Did not operate during the periods 19 March 1891 to 15 April 1891 and 23 March 1895 to 23 April 1895. Discontinued effective 24 October 1896, mail to Standley.
- Butner.....Creek..... 1 June 1903.....H. A. Higgs
Discontinued by order dated 24 October 1906, effective 30 November 1906, mail to Wewoka.
- Byars.....Chickasaw..... 9 April 1903.....Edwin E. Robinson
- Byrd.....Choctaw..... 3 March 1892.....Nathaniel A. Lee
Name changed to Owl 10 July 1894.
- Byrne.....Choctaw.....15 September 1899.....William H. Summitt
Discontinued by order dated 27 December 1905, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Olney.
- Cabaniss.....Choctaw.....18 April 1903.....James M. Alexander
- Cabin Creek.....Cherokee..... 6 July 1868.....Lewis Rodgers
Discontinued effective 27 August 1869.
- Cache.....Choctaw.....10 March 1881.....Henry M. Russell
Discontinued effective 27 October 1898, mail to Cartersville.
- Caddo.....Choctaw.....19 December 1872.....W. S. Burks
- Cade.....Choctaw..... 1 April 1903.....Henry S. Garner
Did not operate during the period 31 August 1904 to 5 August 1905.
- Cairo.....Choctaw.....28 March 1902.....John D. Brock
- Cale.....Choctaw.....30 November 1889.....John C. Womack
Name changed to Sterrett 20 June 1899.
- Calloway.....Choctaw..... 6 March 1901.....John Gunter
- Calvin.....Choctaw.....24 June 1895.....John M. Walburn
Formerly Riverview.
- Cameron.....Choctaw.....31 January 1888.....William E. Green
- Caminet.....Choctaw..... 1 April 1903.....M. B. Carney
Named changed to Higgins 28 May 1903. This office was never actually in operation under the name Caminet.
- Camp Creek.....Cherokee.....17 February 1879.....John H. Bowers
Discontinued effective 29 July 1889.
- Campbell.....Cherokee.....10 August 1888.....David M. Barrick
Name changed to Gore 9 June 1904.
- Canadaville.....Cherokee.....28 May 1886.....Green L. Canada
Discontinued effective 13 June 1889, mail to Oo-wa-la.
- Canadian.....Choctaw.....11 December 1899.....James F. Mitchell
Formerly South Canadian.
- Caney.....Choctaw.....20 June 1888.....William F. Kelly
Did not operate during the periods 24 December 1889 to 27 March 1891 and 20 February 1893 to 19 October 1895.
- Caney Switch.....Choctaw.....11 July 1879.....H. H. Cockerill
Discontinued effective 23 July 1879. On 20 June 1888 this office was reestablished at a new site about one mile to the south and under the name Caney.
- Cannon.....Cherokee.....19 July 1906.....William H. Bray
Discontinued by order dated 20 December 1907, effective 15 January 1908, mail to Warner, Oklahoma.
- Cantonment Gibson...Cherokee.....28 February 1827.....John Nicks
The postmaster at this office was General John Nicks, commander

of the Arkansas Militia, who was serving as suttler at Cantonment Gibson. He was a member of the commission named to locate the county seat of Lovely County, Ark., which town was named Nicks-ville. This postoffice was discontinued 10 July 1839, but was re-established almost at once with the appointment of W. L. Wharton as postmaster on 17 July 1839. Name changed to Fort Gibson 14 September 1842.

- Carbon.....Choctaw.....20 February 1899.....Ira J. Cantrell, Jr.
 Carriage Point.....Chickasaw.....23 March 1869.....Manerva McPearson
 Discontinued effective 6 February 1871.
- Carson.....Cherokee.....19 May 1896.....Anne R. Krigbaum
 The order establishing this office was rescinded 18 November 1896, and it was never actually in operation.
- Carson.....Creek.....26 June 1901.....James P. Johnson
 Cartersville.....Choctaw.....28 January 1891.....Townes E. Daniels
- Cary's Ferry.....Cherokee.....5 November 1873.....Anna Ballard
 Did not operate during the period 19 January 1875 to 25 February 1875. Discontinued effective 9 March 1888, mail to Echo.
- Castle.....Creek.....25 February 1903.....Manford B. Castle
- Caston.....Choctaw.....5 November 1887.....William A. Welch
 Formerly Maxey. This postoffice, as well as its predecessor Maxey, was located on the Frisco Railway southwest of the town of Wister. A few miles to the northwest a switch built on the Rock Island Railway eventually became known locally as Caston or Caston Switch, but it should not be confused with this postoffice of that name located on the Frisco. Discontinued effective 8 October 1891, mail to Braidwood.
- Caston.....Choctaw.....18 April 1898.....James H. Welch
 Formerly Pocohontas. On 8 October 1891 a postoffice of this same name, located a few miles to the east, had been discontinued. Discontinued effective 26 August 1898, mail to Wister.
- Catale.....Cherokee.....6 October 1894.....Jerry Henry
- Cathay.....Creek.....18 April 1903.....George W. Ingram
- Catoosa.....Cherokee.....27 March 1883.....John Schrimsher
- Cavanal.....Choctaw.....10 October 1887.....Samuel P. Glenn
 Did not operate during the periods 23 May 1888 to 29 October 1888 and 8 August 1889 to 5 May 1890. Discontinued by order dated 6 July 1901, effective 15 July 1901, mail to Wister.
- Cayuga.....Seneca.....11 June 1884.....Joseph Splitlog
 Did not operate during the period 19 November 1884 to 23 June 1890.
- Cedar.....Choctaw.....22 October 1884.....John S. Rushing
 Discontinued effective 29 October 1885, mail to Doaksville.
- Cedar.....Cherokee.....4 April 1902.....John Hyman
- Celestine.....Choctaw.....12 November 1896.....James T. Ross
- Center.....Chickasaw.....9 June 1890.....John A. Stark
- Centrahoma.....Choctaw.....11 June 1907.....Samuel G. Payte
 Formerly Owl. The former postoffice of Owl was located a few miles south of its new site at Centrahoma.
- Centralia.....Cherokee.....11 April 1899.....George W. Jamison
 Formerly Lucas.
- Chaffee.....Cherokee.....26 June 1897.....Ezra A. Chaffee
- Chagris.....Chickasaw.....25 April 1896.....A. J. Hurt
- Chambers.....Choctaw.....26 January 1904.....Hugh C. Rice
 This postoffice was located on the site of the old town of Perryville, an important settlement in the Choctaw Nation during the period 1845-65.

- Chance.....Cherokee..... 5 August 1897.....Tilmon C. Chance
Did not operate during the period 18 January 1899 to 20 August 1900.
- Chant.....Choctaw..... 22 July 1903.....Lizzie J. Cox
- Chapel.....Cherokee..... 20 July 1903.....Mark B. McKinney
- Chase.....Creek..... 9 April 1903.....Robert N. Eggleston
- Checotah.....Creek..... 17 June 1886.....Julia E. Crum
Did not operate during the period 11 November 1886 to 9 March 1887.
- Cheek.....Chickasaw..... 19 November 1888.....Charles W. Thomas
- Chelsea.....Cherokee..... 21 November 1882.....James L. Bumgarner
- Cherokee Agency.....Cherokee..... 23 January 1840.....Hercules T. Martin
Did not operate during the period 10 December 1841 to 14 July 1845.
Discontinued effective 23 May 1849.
- Cherokee Orphan
Asylum.....Cherokee..... 10 January 1876.....Walter A. Duncan
Name changed to Salina 10 March 1884.
- Cherokee Town.....Chickasaw..... 17 August 1874.....John Shirley
Discontinued effective 10 May 1877.
- Chickasha.....Chickasaw..... 20 June 1892.....Jacob Descombs
Formerly Pensee.
- Chickiechockie.....Choctaw..... 17 June 1891.....Alpheus Wright
This postoffice did not actually commence operation and was discontinued effective 29 March 1892. Reestablished 27 March 1900.
Did not operate during the period 15 August 1901 to 17 August 1901.
Name changed to Chockie 8 February 1904.
- Chigley.....Chickasaw..... 24 January 1900.....Joseph W. Fry
- Childers.....Cherokee..... 10 May 1901.....William H. Daniel
- Childer's Station.....Cherokee..... 26 June 1878.....William A. Solomon
Name changed to Sallisaw 8 December 1888.
- Chism.....Chickasaw..... 29 June 1900.....James W. Hailey
- Chloeta.....Chickasaw..... 2 May 1896.....George L. Bowlin
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 28 May 1896, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Chloeta.....Cherokee..... 18 April 1898.....Dick Walker
Did not operate during the period 27 October 1898 to 19 January 1901.
- Choate.....Choctaw..... 6 November 1894.....Mary E. Choate
Discontinued by order dated 10 May 1904, effective 31 May 1904, mail to Indianola.
- Chockie.....Choctaw..... 8 February 1904.....Sarah Barnes
Formerly Chickiechockie. Discontinued by order dated 13 February 1905, effective 15 March 1905, mail to Limestone Gap. Reestablished 23 July 1906, but such order was rescinded 4 December 1906, and it is doubtful if the office actually resumed operation.
- Choctaw Agency.....Choctaw..... 26 June 1833.....F. W. Armstrong
Name changed to Scullyville 16 August 1860. Name changed back to Choctaw Agency 14 December 1860. Discontinued effective 10 October 1871. On 22 December 1871 a postoffice named Oak Lodge was established at this same location.
- Choska.....Creek..... 27 January 1890.....Jones T. Lipscomb
Did not operate during the period 31 December 1905 to 21 January 1907.
- Choteau.....Cherokee..... 18 October 1871.....Edwin Archer
Formerly Pryors Creek. Although from the beginning the name of this office appeared in the records of the Postmaster General as Choteau, many postmarks have been noted wherein the name was spelled Chouteau.

Christie.....	Cherokee.....	28 February 1903.....	Robert P. Baker
Chula.....	Choctaw.....	17 May 1902.....	Edgar B. Herndon
Discontinued by order dated 26 April 1904, effective 14 May 1904, mail to Parsons.			
Citra.....	Choctaw.....	10 April 1894.....	Thomas J. Brown
Civet.....	Chickasaw.....	25 February 1903.....	Mary E. Parsons
Claremore.....	Cherokee.....	25 June 1874.....	Frank Howard
Clarksville.....	Creek.....	1 March 1894.....	Gus C. Clark
Clay.....	Cherokee.....	30 September 1902.....	Benjamin Adair
Discontinued effective 15 November 1906.			
Claypool.....	Chickasaw.....	28 July 1903.....	John M. Claypool
Clayton.....	Choctaw.....	5 April 1907.....	John C. Wood
Formerly Dexter.			
Clearcreek.....	Choctaw.....	4 August 1896.....	William T. Graham
Discontinued by order dated 28 July 1902, effective 15 August 1902, mail to Valliant.			
Clearview.....	Creek.....	30 September 1902.....	Gilbert W. Mason
An order was issued 20 February 1904 changing the name of this postoffice to Abelincoln, but the order was rescinded 15 March 1904 and it is doubtful if the office ever actually operated under that name.			
Cleora.....	Cherokee.....	28 November 1900.....	Edward Lunday
Formerly Klaus. This postoffice was located a few miles north of the present site of the town of Cleora.			
Cliff.....	Chickasaw.....	2 March 1891.....	John W. Schrimshire
Did not operate during the period 17 September 1891 to 17 December 1891.			
Clover.....	Creek.....	20 August 1904.....	John W. Sparks
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 5 January 1905, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.			
Coalgate.....	Choctaw.....	23 January 1890.....	Francis M. Madden
Formerly Liddle.			
Coatsworth.....	Chickasaw.....	1 April 1903.....	Cordia S. Walden
Discontinued by order dated 14 December 1906, effective 2 January 1907, mail to Springbrook.			
Cobb.....	Creek.....	3 July 1905.....	Eli Cobb
Cobb Hill.....	Cherokee.....	16 March 1881.....	Lord M. Sherby
Discontinued effective 8 August 1882, mail to Tahlequah. In the records of the Postmaster General this office was first shown as Cob Hill.			
Cochran.....	Cherokee.....	20 October 1896.....	Rufus Cochran
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 23 January 1897, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.			
Coffee.....	Chickasaw.....	2 August 1888.....	Henry N. Delaney
Discontinued effective 28 December 1888.			
Colbert.....	Chickasaw.....	17 November 1853.....	Walter D. Collins
Did not operate during the period 20 December 1854 to 20 July 1881.			
Colbert's Station.....	Chickasaw.....	5 August 1873.....	Charles R. Kingsbury
Discontinued effective 29 June 1881.			
Coleman.....	Choctaw.....	2 April 1903.....	Henry L. Coleman
Name changed to Craig 7 December 1905.			
Collins.....	Chickasaw.....	10 June 1895.....	George B. Collins
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 4 October 1895, and the office was never actually in operation.			
Collins.....	Cherokee.....	26 May 1897.....	Henry P. Cook
Name changed to Collinsville 16 June 1898.			

- Collinsville.....Cherokee.....16 June 1898.....James G. Clawson
Formerly Collins.
- Comanche.....Chickasaw.....26 January 1893.....Christian D. Link
Formerly Tucker.
- Conahany.....Cherokee.....25 April 1884.....John Shannon
Discontinued effective 3 August 1885, mail to Redland.
- Concharty.....Creek.....6 November 1894.....Joshua H. Cudjo
Discontinued effective 9 September 1897, mail to Wealaka.
- Concharty.....Choctaw.....16 June 1904.....Jefferson Quincy
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 13 December 1904, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Connerville.....Chickasaw.....6 August 1897.....George B. Conner
- Conser.....Choctaw.....7 July 1894.....Jane Conser
Discontinued effective 15 July 1919.
- Conway.....Chickasaw.....22 August 1896.....Wade H. Allison
- Coody's Bluff.....Cherokee.....5 May 1860.....Richard Coody
Did not operate during the periods 2 July 1866 to 7 January 1869, 20 October 1871 to 20 January 1874, and 10 January 1876 to 5 May 1879.
- Cookson.....Cherokee.....11 April 1895.....John H. Cookson
- Coon.....Cherokee.....26 July 1895.....Jonathan Graham
Name changed to Wann 13 October 1899.
- Coosa.....Choctaw.....14 April 1894.....Robert P. Harris
Discontinued effective 4 June 1896, mail to Leflore.
- Coo-y-yah.....Cherokee.....31 January 1882.....Jonathan T. Davis
Name changed to Pryor Creek 23 April 1887.
- Copan.....Cherokee.....27 February 1904.....James W. Gibson
Formerly Weldon.
- Cope.....Chickasaw.....4 February 1902.....Henry T. Cope
Formerly Darthie.
- Copeland.....Choctaw.....13 February 1904.....William T. Copeland
- Corinne.....Choctaw.....24 August 1904.....Pearl Wynn
- Cornish.....Chickasaw.....10 July 1891.....John R. Dulany
- Corretta.....Cherokee.....7 February 1891.....Robert C. Adams
Discontinued effective 21 March 1891. On 16 November 1900 a post-office named Rex was established at this same proximate location.
- Correta.....Cherokee.....2 April 1892.....William H. Clifton
Discontinued effective 9 January 1893, mail to Fort Gibson.
- Cottonwood.....Cherokee.....3 March 1882.....William J. Watts
- Couch.....Cherokee.....23 June 1900.....Marrion W. Couch
Discontinued by order dated 16 February 1901, effective 28 February 1901, mail to Chelsea. On 23 June 1905 an order was issued re-establishing this office, but was rescinded 5 September 1905, and the office did not actually resume operation.
- Coulson.....Chickasaw.....30 September 1902.....Charles P. Coulson
- Coulter.....Choctaw.....23 March 1896.....George W. Henderson
Discontinued effective 10 October 1896, mail to Stringtown.
- Council Hill.....Creek.....3 July 1905.....Emanuel B. Case
- Council House.....Choctaw.....6 February 1872.....Martha E. Davis
Did not operate during the period 31 January 1879 to 16 May 1879
Discontinued effective 30 June 1880.
- Courtney.....Chickasaw.....17 August 1886.....John A. Fowler
Formerly Watkins.
- Cove.....Cherokee.....17 April 1903.....John G. Petty
- Coweta.....Creek.....24 May 1897.....John W. Simmons

- Cowlington.....Choctaw.....27 August 1884.....Sterling P. Jobe
 Cowper.....Choctaw.....2 April 1903.....Daniel Edwards
 Due to the death of the postmaster, this office was never actually in operation under the name Cowper. Name changed to Edwards 3 September 1903.
- Craig.....Choctaw.....7 December 1905.....David A. Bailey
 Formerly Coleman.
- Crane.....Cherokee.....29 June 1906.....Phares Bolo
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 21 September 1906, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Cravens.....Choctaw.....3 November 1903.....Lou O. Brown
 Creek.....Creek.....16 April 1896.....William B. Smith
 Name changed to Welty 12 October 1905.
- Creek Agency.....Creek.....7 June 1843.....William A. Elliott
 Discontinued effective 16 October 1872. Did not operate during the periods 31 October 1851 to 21 January 1852 and 8 February 1867 to 13 May 1867. When reestablished on 21 January 1852 this office was at a new site across the Arkansas River and about five miles southwest of its former location.
- Crekola.....Creek.....18 July 1907.....Laura Nox
 Formerly Grandview.
- Crinerville.....Chickasaw.....10 November 1885.....Walter L. Gibson
 Discontinued effective 31 October 1887, mail to Lone Grove.
- Crittenden.....Cherokee.....8 October 1896.....William W. Young
 Discontinued by order dated 13 November 1900, effective 30 November 1900, mail to Melvin.
- Crowder.....Choctaw.....18 January 1898.....Fred Bomman
 Name changed to Curley effective 25 March 1902, but the change order was rescinded 21 May 1902. Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1903, effective 15 January 1904. This postoffice was an entirely different town than the one following. This office was located in the extreme southern part of the Choctaw Nation near the present town of Boswell in Choctaw County.
- Crowder.....Choctaw.....4 June 1904.....Charles M. Smith
 Formerly Juanita. This is an entirely different postoffice than the Crowder preceding. This office was located immediately south of the South Canadian River in what is now Pittsburg County.
- Crowson.....Creek.....4 February 1905.....Jessie P. Crowson
- Crusher.....Chickasaw.....11 May 1904.....George D. Lantis
- Cuba.....Chickasaw.....12 April 1900.....M. E. Haney
 Discontinued effective 5 September 1900. This postoffice was never actually in operation.
- Cumberland.....Chickasaw.....31 March 1894.....David F. Blasingame
- Curley.....Choctaw.....25 March 1902.....Sylvannus L. Bonham
 Formerly Crowder. The order changing the name from Crowder to Curley was rescinded 21 May 1902, and this office never actually operated under the name Curley.
- Curtice.....Cherokee.....19 September 1902.....John H. Reeder
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 14 March 1903, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Curtis.....Cherokee.....27 August 1868.....Lucy Hawkins
 Discontinued effective 27 August 1869. Although this office was reestablished by order dated 5 June 1890, it did not reopen for operation, and the order was rescinded 20 March 1891.
- Curty.....Chickasaw.....5 April 1906.....Birdie G. Wilkerson

- Daisy.....Choctaw..... 5 February 1906.....Elijah S. Oliver
 Damon.....Choctaw..... 6 August 1894.....Benjamin F. Johnson
 Daniels's Springs.....Cherokee.....15 June 1871.....Dudley H. Tucker
 Discontinued effective 23 October 1871.
- Danielsville.....Cherokee..... 1 February 1861.....Robert B. Daniel
 Discontinued effective 2 July 1866.
- Darcia.....Choctaw..... 5 February 1907.....Hiram A. Self
 Darthie.....Chickasaw.....12 April 1900.....Henry T. Cope
 Name changed to Cope 4 February 1902.
- Darwin.....Choctaw.....31 July 1905.....Green M. Smith
 Davis.....Chickasaw..... 1 March 1890.....Charles H. Miller
 Dawes.....Cherokee.....29 May 1901.....Samuel B. McGhee
 Dawson.....Cherokee.....28 February 1895.....Willburn A. Dawson
 Deese.....Chickasaw.....21 January 1904.....Robert N. Deese
 Delaware.....Cherokee.....19 March 1898.....James M. Dallas
 Delia.....Chickasaw.....13 January 1906.....Mollie E. Miller
 Discontinued by order dated 16 August 1906, effective 15 September 1906, mail to Ada.
- Delight.....Seminole..... 5 June 1906.....Paul Armstrong
 Discontinued by order dated 10 October 1907, effective 31 October 1907, mail to Konawa.
- Depew.....Creek.....12 April 1901.....Walter F. Malley
 The railroad name for this town was Halls.
- Dewey.....Cherokee.....19 April 1899.....Andrew H. Norwood
 Dexter.....Choctaw.....31 March 1894.....Ambrose E. Elliott
 On 27 December 1906 an order was issued changing the name of this postoffice to Clayton, but was rescinded 4 April 1907. Name changed to Clayton 5 April 1907.
- Dibble.....Chickasaw.....22 May 1894.....Horatio Green
 Dixie.....Chickasaw.....19 August 1886.....Jonathan A. Butler
 Did not operate during the period 13 May 1887 to 14 July 1888.
- Dizmang.....Creek..... 2 October 1903.....Joseph F. Jackson
 Discontinued by order dated 20 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Broken Arrow.
- Doaksville.....Choctaw.....11 November 1847.....Joseph R. Bertholet
 Formerly Fort Towson. Did not operate during the periods 2 July 1866 to 28 May 1867 and 15 September 1867 to 29 June 1869. First established by the two Doak brothers, Doaksville soon became a main trading center among the Choctaws. As Fort Towson, located about one mile away, was still garrisoned by the army on the date this change in name was made, apparently the postoffice itself was moved from Fort Towson to Doaksville. At Doaksville the Choctaws and the Chickasaws signed in 1837 their treaty giving the latter homes among the Choctaws, and here was located the capitol of the Choctaw Nation from 1850 to 1860. In 1860 a convention met here and framed the Doaksville Constitution of the Choctaw Nation. The name of the postoffice was changed back to Fort Towson 12 June 1903. By that time old Ft. Towson was in ruins, and thus the location of this new office was not identical to the site of the original postoffice of that name. The site of the fort is about a mile east of the present town.
- Dodge.....Cherokee.....20 November 1901.....Oliver W. Killiam
 Formerly Hill.
- Dolberg.....Chickasaw.....18 November 1895.....Elbert W. Westhoff
 Dora.....Seminole.....17 July 1906.....Debrough Scott
 Dot.....Chickasaw..... 8 October 1904.....James R. Jones
 Discontinued by order dated 22 March 1905, effective 15 April 1905, mail to Dolberg.

- Dotson.....Cherokee.....22 October 1901.....Robert Dotson
Discontinued by order dated 18 September 1903, effective 30 September 1903, mail to Cedar.
- Dougherty.....Chickasaw.....3 September 1887.....Stevens F. Majors
- Dow.....Choctaw.....7 December 1898.....Foster A. Hill
- Downing.....Cherokee.....15 September 1894.....William E. Downing
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 26 November 1894, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Doyle.....Chickasaw.....29 June 1897.....John H. Davis
- Drake.....Chickasaw.....22 April 1901.....William A. Lynn
- Dragger.....Cherokee.....25 May 1905.....Lewis Dragger
- Dresden.....Chickasaw.....22 November 1883.....Benjamin F. Frensley
Formerly Lou. Name changed to Berwyn 1 September 1887.
- Duncan.....Chickasaw.....7 April 1884.....William Duncan
- Durant Station.....Choctaw.....20 February 1879.....A. E. Folsom
Did not operate during the period 8 September 1879 to 23 September 1879. Discontinued effective 11 July 1881. On 8 March 1882 this office was reestablished under the name Durant.
- Durant.....Choctaw.....8 March 1882.....Orville C. Butler
On 11 July 1881 an office named Durant Station had been discontinued at this same location.
- Durwood.....Chickasaw.....11 September 1891.....Reuben L. Price
Formerly Yellow Hills.
- Dustin.....Creek.....9 May 1904.....George W. Beard
Formerly Spokogee. The Spokogee postoffice was originally located about two miles north of the present site of Dustin.
- Dwight.....Choctaw.....4 October 1895.....John S. Adams
- Eagle.....Cherokee.....30 June 1890.....Joseph F. Kenworthy
Discontinued by order dated 9 July 1906, effective 14 August 1906, mail to Welch.
- Eaglepoint.....Choctaw.....23 April 1901.....William E. Scruggs
Name changed to Lequire 12 December 1906.
- Eagle Town.....Choctaw.....1 July 1834.....Loring S. Williams
Did not operate during the period 2 July 1866 to 4 June 1877. Name changed to Eagletown 16 December 1892. This is usually considered to be the first permanent town established by the Choctaws upon their removal to the West.
- Eagletown.....Choctaw.....16 December 1892.....Jefferson Gardner
Formerly Eagle Town.
- Earl.....Chickasaw.....3 November 1893.....Thomas B. Jones
- Eastman.....Chickasaw.....2 March 1891.....Randle R. Hendon
- Eaton.....Cherokee.....23 October 1892.....Jasper N. Mitchell
Did not operate during the periods 4 November 1893 to 3 October 1895 and 15 July 1896 to 1 April 1903.
- Echo.....Cherokee.....10 July 1882.....Theodore Kelly
- Econtuchka.....Seminole.....15 September 1881.....Elisha J. Brown
Discontinued by order dated 21 July 1899, effective 31 July 1899, mail to Keokuk Falls, Okla. T. This postoffice was located very near the Seminole Nation-Pottawatomie Nation line. On 19 October 1899 the office was reestablished at a site slightly west of its former location and was then located in Pottawatomie Nation, Okla. T.
- Edgewood.....Chickasaw.....15 March 1875.....Emmett McCaughey
Name changed to Erin Springs 3 November 1875.
- Edna.....Creek.....25 February 1903.....George A. Martin
- Edwards.....Choctaw.....3 September 1903.....Richard E. Albright
Formerly Cowper.

- Edwin.....Cherokee..... 1 June 1905.....Edwin Noyes
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1907, effective 30 November 1907, mail to Oologah, Okla.
- Ego.....Choctaw..... 7 June 1895.....William A. Glenn
Did not operate during the period 18 November 1895 to 15 July 1898.
- Egypt.....Chickasaw.....17 September 1904.....Newton C. Waggoner
- Eh-yoh-hee.....Cherokee.....27 March 1860.....Isaac B. Hitchcock
Discontinued effective 24 August 1866.
- Elam.....Creek.....25 September 1901.....William N. Williams
Discontinued by order dated 28 September 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Broken Arrow.
- Elder.....Creek..... 11 July 1905.....Josiah Durossett
- Eldridge.....Cherokee.....20 March 1882.....Enos W. Parsons
Discontinued effective 4 February 1884, mail to Bartlesville.
- Eli.....Cherokee..... 7 March 1895.....Elias B. Dunaway
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1900, effective 18 February 1900, mail to Collinsville.
- Elk.....Chickasaw.....15 January 1890.....Walter H. Holmes
Name changed to Pooleville 20 July 1907.
- Elkins.....Choctaw.....16 June 1904.....Anderson R. Elkins
- Ellen.....Chickasaw.....18 January 1900.....William H. Nichols
Name changed to Milburn 17 August 1901.
- Elliott.....Cherokee..... 4 January 1892.....George W. Lane
This is the present town of Howden in Nowata County.
- Elmcreek.....Cherokee.....10 February 1898.....Press Ballard
Name changed to Owasso 24 January 1900.
- Elmore.....Chickasaw.....11 June 1890.....Mary Williamson
- Elzey.....Choctaw.....30 April 1892.....J. B. Adkinson
Discontinued effective 5 August 1896, mail to Dexter.
- Ema.....Choctaw.....20 October 1896.....C. H. Murray
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 25 February 1897, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Emahaka.....Seminole.....23 January 1895.....William P. Blake
Discontinued by order dated 16 June 1906, effective 16 July 1906, mail to Holdenville.
- Embree.....Cherokee.....10 November 1891.....George C. Saunders
Discontinued effective 5 March 1892.
- Emet.....Chickasaw.....18 February 1884.....William H. Ball
- Enterprise.....Choctaw.....30 June 1890.....William C. V. McCarty
- Enville.....Chickasaw.....16 June 1904.....John A. L. Hughes
- Eolian.....Chickasaw.....23 March 1904.....Emsley W. Denning
- Erin Springs.....Chickasaw..... 3 November 1875.....Thomas S. Grant
Formerly Edgewood.
- Ervin.....Choctaw..... 8 March 1904.....Edwin E. Ervin
Discontinued by order dated 2 November 1905, to be effective 30 November 1905. However, this order was rescinded 24 November 1905, and the postoffice continued in operation.
- Estella.....Cherokee.....28 December 1900.....John Franklin
- Ethel.....Choctaw.....22 April 1901.....William H. Anderson
Discontinued effective 11 September 1901.
- Etna.....Choctaw..... 7 August 1884.....William H. Isherwood
Did not operate during the periods 3 June 1885 to 2 December 1891 and 24 August 1892 to 24 March 1896. Discontinued effective 9 August 1897, mail to Stringtown.

an unfortunate one. Much sickness prevailed and a new post was soon erected on higher ground. Ft. Gibson was abandoned as a military post on 23 June 1857, and was turned to the Cherokee Nation. The site was surveyed into town lots by the Cherokees, and a number of lots sold to private parties. The post was reoccupied during the Civil War; and was again abandoned as a military establishment on 30 September 1871. Again reoccupied, it was finally abandoned by the army in 1890.

Fort Spunky.....Cherokee..... 8 January 1880.....James Cruthfield
Discontinued effective 5 February 1883, mail to Tulsa. Although named "Fort" Spunky, this was not a military post, but was a stop on the Vinita-Tulsa stage line, and was located east of Spunky Creek near the present town of Catoosa.

Fort Towson.....Choctaw..... 7 September 1832...George C. Gooding
Name changed to Doaksville 11 November 1847. Intended as the center of government influence among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, construction of this post was begun in May 1824. The site was near the mouth of the Kiamichi River about seven miles from Red River. It was named in honor of Gen. Nathan Towson, Paymaster General of the Army. The post was abandoned in 1829. With the Indian removals in immediate prospect, orders were given for the building of a permanent establishment in the Choctaw Country. The site was reoccupied in 1831 and permanent buildings erected. For a short time it was known as Camp Phoenix. The post was continuously garrisoned until 8 June 1854, and thereafter the buildings were used for a few years by the Indian Agent. During the Civil War the post was used by the Confederate forces, and it was there that Gen. Stand Watie surrendered in June 1865. The buildings have not been used for any purpose since that time, and today only ruins remain. Doaksville was a prominent trading center about a mile south and west of the fort, and as Ft. Towson was still occupied by troops on the date the name of the postoffice was changed to Doaksville, apparently the office itself was moved from Ft. Towson to Doaksville. On 12 June 1903 the name of the postoffice was changed back to Fort Towson. It will be noted that the location of this new office was thus not identical to the site of the original Fort Towson.

Fort Washita.....Chickasaw..... 4 November 1844...Samuel C. Humes
Did not operate during the period 19 August 1846 to 8 May 1849. Discontinued effective 24 May 1880. The site for this new post was selected by Gen. Zachary Taylor in 1842; and the post itself was established 23 April 1843. Except for a brief period in 1859, it was continuously garrisoned until the outbreak of the Civil War. On 1 May 1861 Colonel W. H. Emory, the post commander, removed the garrison to Ft. Leavenworth, Kans. and the post was occupied by Confederate forces throughout the War. It was never again occupied by United States troops.

Foster.....Chickasaw..... 12 August 1891.....Noah Foster

Fourmile.....Peoria..... 23 August 1882.....John Markey

Did not operate during the period 29 December 1884 to 10 February 1885. Discontinued effective 15 October 1892, mail to Melrose, Kans.

Fowlerville.....Choctaw..... 7 July 1894.....Nathaniel M. Fowler
Name changed to Valliant 23 June 1902.

Fox.....Chickasaw..... 25 January 1894.....Thomas E. Jackson

Foyil.....Cherokee..... 5 June 1890.....Alfred Foyil

Francis.....Chickasaw..... 5 June 1902.....William T. Meadors
Formerly Newton.

Franks.....Chickasaw..... 1 February 1894.....Benjamin F. Byrd

- Fred**.....Chickasaw..... 2 January 1884..... Walter S. Cook
Discontinued by order dated 7 August 1894, effective 15 August 1894, mail to Chickasha. Fred was located at the cross roads of the cattle trails coming up from Texas, since known as the Chisholm Trail, and the wagon road from Ft. Smith to Ft. Sill. The town has since entirely disappeared.
- Frisco**.....Chickasaw.....13 June 1906..... Benjamin F. Abernathy
This postoffice was established at the original site of the town of Stonewall.
- Frogville**.....Choctaw.....29 October 1897..... Samuel L. Oakes
- Fry**.....Creek.....20 May 1896..... Rudolph Stosberg
- Furrs**.....Creek.....12 May 1899..... Henry T. Jones
Name changed to Henryetta 28 August 1900.
- Gaines Creek**.....Choctaw..... 7 January 1850..... Henry Harder
Discontinued effective 26 December 1850.
- Gann**.....Cherokee.....21 March 1896..... Lee F. Leach
Name changed to Gans 8 September 1899.
- Gans**.....Cherokee..... 8 September 1899..... Andrew Russell
Formerly Gann.
- Gap**.....Chickasaw.....10 July 1891..... James A. Cromwell
This is an entirely different postoffice than the office in what is now Atoka County named Limestone Gap, and known locally as Gap. This town of Gap was located immediately east of the Washita River a few miles southeast of Berwyn in what is now Carter County. Discontinued effective 1 June 1894. On 21 July 1894 an order was issued reestablishing this office, but it was rescinded 9 February 1895, and the office did not actually resume operation.
- Garfield**.....Cherokee.....16 December 1881..... Thomas R. Madden
Discontinued effective 13 February 1889.
- Garland**.....Choctaw.....10 May 1892..... Joseph Garland
Did not operate during the period 1 April 1893 to 19 December 1894.
- Garner**.....Choctaw..... 1 July 1902..... Edward L. Garner
Formerly Thurman. Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906 effective 30 November 1906, mail to Hanna.
- Garrison**.....Cherokee..... 7 February 1902..... John S. Johnson
Name changed to Roland 18 May 1904.
- Garvin**.....Choctaw.....19 February 1894..... James W. Kirk
- Gaswell**.....Creek.....26 December 1906..... John R. Vicars
- Gatesville**.....Creek..... 2 August 1901..... Alfred Gates
- Gattis**.....Chickasaw.....20 July 1891..... James C. McGinnis
Discontinued effective 5 November 1891, mail to Washita.
- Gem**.....Choctaw.....24 June 1904..... Charles M. James
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 16 December 1904, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Gerard**.....Cherokee.....23 June 1892..... William A. Parsons
Discontinued effective 14 July 1892. This postoffice was never actually in operation.
- Gertrude**.....Choctaw.....11 January 1886..... Gertrude L. Westbrook
Discontinued effective 1 February 1887, mail to Stringtown.
- Gibson Station**.....Creek.....29 March 1872..... John W. Keys
- Gideon**.....Cherokee.....13 July 1895..... Elijah T. Wilson
- Gilbert**.....Cherokee.....13 January 1899..... Nathan F. Adams
Discontinued effective 25 May 1899, mail to Nowata.
- Gilmore**.....Choctaw.....30 June 1890..... John R. Williams
Did not operate during the period 11 April 1899 to 5 July 1899.

Hilsonite	Chickasaw	31 March 1900	James S. Davis
Glaze	Chickasaw	21 April 1891	A. H. Glaze
Discontinued effective 8 September 1892, mail to Tucker.			
Hlenn	Chickasaw	20 April 1894	William B. Alexander
Hlenoak	Cherokee	2 April 1903	Henry S. Chaney
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 10 July 1903 as Chaney declined the appointment as postmaster. The office was re-established 13 February 1906 with the appointment of Silas Upchurch as postmaster.			
Hlobe	Choctaw	25 November 1896	Alexander L. Pile
Discontinued by order dated 10 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail to Owl. On 26 October 1906 the office was reestablished with the appointment of D. W. Wellington as postmaster. This order was rescinded 7 March 1907, and the office did not actually resume operation.			
Hlover	Choctaw	26 June 1901	Joshua L. Merry
Hoing Snake	Cherokee	5 May 1890	Benjamin F. Chandler
Name changed to Goingsnake 28 April 1894.			
Hoingsnake	Cherokee	28 April 1894	Charlie M. Cox
Formerly Going Snake. Discontinued effective 27 October 1898, mail to Westville.			
Holconda	Choctaw	25 April 1891	John M. Leutz
Holden	Chickasaw	9 April 1896	Robert Hamill
Discontinued effective 21 April 1897, mail to Johnson.			
Hoode	Creek	18 February 1902	Charles H. Goode
Discontinued by order dated 22 May 1903, effective 15 June 1903, mail to Paden.			
Hoodland	Choctaw	21 August 1871	Frances A. Black
Discontinued by order dated 4 February 1902, effective 28 February 1902, mail to Hugo.			
Hoodspring	Choctaw	15 December 1902	John W. Pugh
Discontinued by order dated 13 July 1904, effective 15 August 1904, mail to Ludlow.			
Hoodwater	Choctaw	19 December 1894	William J. Whiteman
Hordon	Choctaw	5 March 1894	Marcus K. McElhannon
Discontinued by order dated 26 November 1901, effective 14 December 1901, mail to Bengal.			
Hore	Cherokee	9 June 1904	J. W. Parker
Formerly Campbell.			
Howen	Choctaw	13 January 1894	Nathaniel P. Conway
Hrady	Chickasaw	16 June 1890	William C. Sappington
Hragger	Cherokee	25 May 1905	Lewis Gragger
Hraham	Chickasaw	16 July 1891	James F. Bennett
Hrand River	Wyandotte	1 December 1876	Charles Berger
Formerly Prairie City. Name changed to Wyandotte 3 October 1894.			
Hrand Saline	Cherokee	23 February 1849	Theodore B. Emmerson
Discontinued effective 24 August 1866.			
Hrandview	Creek	5 May 1906	Laura Nox
Name changed to Crekola 18 July 1907.			
Hrant	Choctaw	31 January 1889	Basil L. Gooding
Hrantham	Chickasaw	19 August 1896	Robert L. Grantham
Discontinued by order dated 12 November 1903, effective 30 November 1903, mail to Madill.			
Hrayson	Creek	20 February 1902	Birl Grayson
Formerly Wildcat.			

- Greenbrier.....Cherokee..... 1 September 1900.....W. A. Martin
 Green Hill.....Choctaw.....15 February 1881.....James C. Kennedy
 Name changed to Grover 12 February 1886.
- Greenville.....Chickasaw..... 4 December 1902.....Irvine P. Green
 Formerly Orinne.
- Greenwood.....Chickasaw.....17 April 1896.....Samuel C. Youngblood
 Discontinued effective 8 July 1898, mail to Baum.
- Griffin.....Choctaw..... 26 January 1907.....Wade H. Griffin
 Gritts.....Cherokee..... 21 March 1896.....John Felker
 Grove.....Cherokee..... 27 December 1888.....Tredwell F. Rensen
 Grover.....Choctaw..... 12 February 1886.....Theodore D. Smith
 Formerly Green Hill. Discontinued effective 25 February 1888, mail
 to Cameron.
- Guertie.....Choctaw..... 15 June 1894.....James S. Raydon
 Name changed to Raydon, Okla. 16 December 1907.
- Gum.....Choctaw..... 17 June 1905.....Arthur C. Nessick
 Discontinued by order dated 24 November 1905, effective 15 December
 1905, mail to Kosoma.
- Gunter.....Cherokee..... 29 March 1882.....Decatur H. Burk
 Discontinued effective 8 August 1882, mail to Webbers Falls.
- Guntton.....Chickasaw.....16 November 1903.....Hugh B. Brown
 Name changed to Simpson 23 March 1904.
- Gwenddale.....Cherokee.....10 May 1892.....James E. Wolfe
 Discontinued by order dated 3 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904,
 mail to Vinita.
- Hadley.....Cherokee..... 20 July 1903.....Nettie F. Standard
 Haileyville.....Choctaw..... 29 April 1901.....James Elliott
 Halfway.....Cherokee..... 17 July 1895.....Lillie D. McDaniel
 Discontinued effective 14 November 1896, mail to Afton.
- Halleman.....Choctaw..... 13 July 1898.....William G. Ramsey
 Discontinued by order dated 10 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904,
 mail to Savanna.
- Hamden.....Choctaw..... 31 March 1894.....William W. Gardner
 Hampton.....Creek..... 10 December 1906.....Isaiah B. Hampton
 Discontinued by order dated 5 August 1908, effective 31 August 1908,
 mail to Boley, Okla.
- Handy.....Creek..... 16 September 1893.....Frank Honley
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 9 September 1899,
 and the office did not actually go into operation until Jackson A.
 Dunzy was appointed postmaster 28 July 1903. Discontinued by
 order dated 29 March 1904, effective 14 April 1904, mail to Bearden.
- Hanna.....Creek..... 24 August 1904.....John A. Depue
 Formerly Hasson.
- Hanson.....Cherokee.....13 July 1888.....Robert E. Sutton
 Did not operate during the period 13 December 1888 to 14 May 1890.
- Harland.....Cherokee.....10 December 1888.....Albert W. Harland
 Discontinued effective 4 May 1893, mail to Prairie City.
- Harney.....Chickasaw..... 8 November 1881.....James H. Darland
 Name changed to Woodville 9 July 1888.
- Harris.....Cherokee..... 28 July 1884.....James Watson
 Name changed to Fawling 19 March 1890.
- Harris.....Choctaw..... 22 May 1894.....Clarence B. Aydelette
 Harris' Mill.....Choctaw..... 5 April 1859.....Henry C. Harris
 Formerly Mineral Hill. Discontinued effective 2 July 1866.

Harrisburg.....	Chickasaw.....	2 April 1900.....	John E. Horton
Harrison.....	Choctaw.....	17 September 1891.....	James B. Jones
Name changed to Shadypoint 11 December 1894.			
Hart.....	Chickasaw.....	28 June 1894.....	John A. Hart
Hartshorne.....	Choctaw.....	5 March 1890.....	Henry Martyn
Haskell.....	Creek.....	20 June 1904.....	Thomas J. May
Formerly Sawokla.			
Hasson.....	Creek.....	22 September 1902.....	John A. Depue
Name changed to Hanna 24 August 1904.			
Hatobi.....	Choctaw.....	13 September 1886.....	Franklin L. Moore
Name changed to Smithville 1 May 1890.			
Haworth.....	Choctaw.....	17 November 1906.....	Vesta M. Glass
Formerly Norwood.			
Hayden.....	Cherokee.....	29 October 1890.....	Henry C. Hayden
Haynes.....	Creek.....	5 January 1904.....	Jeremiah L. Martin
Haywood.....	Choctaw.....	20 September 1904.....	James M. Elliott
The railroad name for this postoffice was Barnett.			
Hazel.....	Seminole.....	31 July 1905.....	James M. Thomas
Healdton.....	Chickasaw.....	26 February 1883.....	Elisha S. Mason
Heavener.....	Choctaw.....	12 May 1896.....	Simon H. Woods
Heliswa.....	Seminole.....	10 January 1891.....	George W. Bruner
Discontinued effective 27 November 1895, mail to Mekuskey.			
Hennepin.....	Chickasaw.....	16 February 1885.....	Henry C. Dent
Henryetta.....	Creek.....	28 August 1900.....	Olin W. Meacham
Formerly Furrs.			
Herbert.....	Choctaw.....	6 February 1902.....	Henry P. Ward
Name changed to Wardville 18 July 1907.			
Hereford.....	Cherokee.....	1 April 1903.....	Arthur L. Beckett
Name changed to Warner 22 April 1905.			
Hewitt.....	Chickasaw.....	29 November 1889.....	Joseph B. Fulton
Heywood.....	Creek.....	30 January 1882.....	Daniel M. Heywood
Discontinued effective 14 April 1884, mail to Gibson Station.			
Hickman.....	Choctaw.....	3 October 1894.....	Bradford Maupin
Discontinued effective 6 July 1898, mail to Cowlington.			
Hickory.....	Cherokee.....	19 November 1884.....	Eliza B. McKinney
Discontinued effective 13 July 1885, mail to Coffeyville, Kans.			
Hickory.....	Chickasaw.....	15 November 1893.....	Charles W. Reid
Higgins.....	Choctaw.....	28 May 1903.....	M. B. Carney
Formerly Caminet.			
Hilderbrand.....	Cherokee.....	3 August 1886.....	Martin W. Dial
Discontinued effective 25 June 1889, mail to Oaks. On 24 May 1895 a postoffice named Beckwith was established at this proximate location.			
Hill.....	Cherokee.....	27 April 1896.....	Adah Harlan
On 4 June 1895 a postoffice named Olympus had been discontinued at this same proximate location. Name changed to Dodge 20 November 1901.			
Hillabee.....	Creek.....	9 October 1882.....	Luke G. McIntosh
Discontinued effective 21 October 1884, mail to Eufaula.			
Hillboro.....	Chickasaw.....	28 July 1892.....	Jessie F. Swagger
Discontinued effective 28 September 1892. This postoffice was never actually in operation.			
Hillside.....	Cherokee.....	12 August 1898.....	John H. Long
Himmonah.....	Chickasaw.....	13 November 1871.....	Thomas F. Wait
Discontinued effective 6 February 1872.			

- Hird.....Chickasaw..... 4 January 1894.....Lewelen C. Lane
Discontinued by order dated 10 September 1902, effective 30 September 1902, mail to Ada. On 21 January 1904 an order was issued establishing this office but was rescinded 8 July 1904, and the office did not actually resume operation.
- Hisaw.....Choctaw.....16 August 1905.....John T. Kinsey
Hitchita.....Creek.....23 April 1901.....Joseph C. Morton
Hochatown.....Choctaw..... 5 September 1894.....Ebenezer N. Lee
Did not operate during the period 21 March 1895 to 20 July 1903.
- Hochubbee.....Choctaw.....12 January 1858.....Samuel M. Willard
Discontinued effective 6 January 1860.
- Hoffman.....Creek.....18 December 1905.....Edwin L. Shults
Hogan.....Chickasaw.....23 August 1901.....Isaac W. Dunning
Discontinued by order dated 23 January 1903, effective 31 January 1903, mail to Jesse.
- Holdenville.....Creek.....15 November 1895.....Charles M. Allen
Formerly Fentress.
- Holder.....Chickasaw.....15 June 1891.....Richard Blackburn
Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail to Enville.
- Hollow.....Cherokee.....20 June 1904.....Robert C. Mount
Homer.....Chickasaw.....29 November 1893.....Daniel J. Carpenter
Hope.....Chickasaw.....25 November 1890.....Joel B. Patterson
Horse Creek.....Cherokee.....12 February 1879.....Charles E. Johnson
Formerly Fly Creek. Discontinued effective 4 September 1879.
- Hosey.....Creek.....16 September 1898.....Patience Vanderslice
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1902, effective 15 February 1902, mail to Sac and Fox Agency, Okla. T.
- Houston.....Choctaw.....14 August 1896.....William T. Armstrong
Did not operate during the period 31 January 1903 to 11 May 1904.
The location of this postoffice was at the site of the present town of Hodgen, north of the present location of Houston.
- Howe.....Choctaw..... 5 May 1898.....Edward Hooker
Hoxbar.....Chickasaw..... 4 October 1895.....Jasper A. Underwood
Hoyt.....Choctaw.....19 August 1890.....Campbell Russell
Hoyt City.....Choctaw..... 3 November 1879.....James T. McFarland
Discontinued effective 2 September 1880.
- Hoyuby.....Choctaw.....23 June 1892.....Joseph H. Elliott
Did not operate during the period 16 January 1894 to 26 January 1895. Name changed to Stuart 14 April 1896.
- Huddleston.....Choctaw.....30 April 1891.....James L. Fisher
Discontinued effective 15 September 1891. This postoffice was never in operation.
- Hudson.....Cherokee.....13 November 1886.....David Martin
On 23 April 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this office to be effective 14 May 1906, but was rescinded 2 May 1906 and the office continued in operation.
- Hugh.....Choctaw..... 5 September 1895.....Wade Keith
Discontinued effective 15 January 1896.
- Hughart.....Choctaw.....26 June 1906.....Mrs. Barbara Chambliss
Discontinued by order dated 3 January 1907, effective 31 January 1907, mail to Kinta.
- Hughes.....Choctaw.....17 May 1900.....John R. Pigman
Hugo.....Choctaw..... 1 November 1901.....S. B. Spring
Hulbert.....Cherokee..... 4 May 1903.....Esther L. Wilkerson

- Hulsey.....Choctaw.....25 February 1903.....John W. Clark
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 21 May 1903, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Hundy.....Chickasaw.....2 March 1895.....Willie Mary Lee
Discontinued effective 12 December 1895, mail to Ardmore.
- Hunton.....Chickasaw.....19 October 1896.....James H. Ward
- Huttonville.....Creek.....20 July 1903.....Oliver T. Willis
Discontinued by order dated 7 March 1908, effective 31 March 1908, mail to Stidham, Okla.
- Iabel.....Choctaw.....3 February 1904.....Daniel Strawn
Formerly Bokhoma.
- Indianola.....Choctaw.....16 January 1891.....James H. Bynum
- Ingram.....Chickasaw.....9 December 1899.....Theodocia L. Ingram
Discontinued by order dated 22 November 1900, effective 30 November 1900, mail to Hart.
- Inola.....Creek.....1 March 1890.....George E. Black
Did not operate during the period 4 September 1890 to 30 April 1891.
- Iona.....Chickasaw.....17 April 1894.....John McGill
- Irby.....Creek.....4 January 1907.....J. A. Canon
- Irene.....Creek.....31 October 1903.....Alice D. Wiley
Discontinued by order dated 25 November 1907, effective 28 November 1907, mail to Price, Okla.
- Ireton.....Chickasaw.....1 June 1898.....James H. Brown
- Ironbridge.....Choctaw.....25 June 1891.....Martin W. Newman
Name changed to Kanima, Okla. 24 August 1910.
- Ison Springs.....Chickasaw.....6 February 1902.....Joseph A. Adams
- Ittitalah.....Chickasaw.....1 August 1881.....Jefferson C. Johnson
Discontinued effective 29 May 1883, mail to Tishomingo.
- Jackson.....Chickasaw.....21 May 1886.....David W. Jackson
Discontinued effective 29 December 1886, mail to Velma.
- Jackson.....Choctaw.....17 March 1894.....George F. McGahey
- Janis.....Choctaw.....29 December 1894.....David H. Dickerson
Did not operate during the period 15 September 1899 to 20 November 1899.
- Jarndyce.....Shawnee.....16 June 1904.....Ettie Mitchell
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 8 August 1904, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Jaunita.....Chickasaw.....20 October 1905.....Daniel Cummings
Name changed to Zenobia 27 April 1906.
- Jeffs.....Chickasaw.....28 June 1894.....Jefferson D. Perry
Discontinued by order dated 6 October 1899, effective 14 October 1899, mail to Stonewall. This postoffice was located a few miles northwest of the following office of the same name.
- Jeffs.....Choctaw.....25 October 1900.....James H. Clark
The new site of this postoffice was a few miles southeast of its previous site. This move changed its location from the Chickasaw to the Choctaw Nations. Name changed to Tupelo 13 January 1904.
- Jenks.....Creek.....31 January 1905.....Franklin N. Rogers
- Jesse.....Chickasaw.....13 July 1898.....Charles T. Aston
- Jimtown.....Chickasaw.....19 May 1884.....Henry A. Hall
Did not operate during the period 30 November 1900 to 30 September 1905.
- Joel.....Chickasaw.....22 June 1892.....Julian A. Moss
Discontinued effective 1 October 1896, mail to Kemp.

- Johnson.....Chickasaw..... 5 October 1876.....William W. Walker
Did not operate during the period 10 July 1878 to 20 September 1878.
- Juanita.....Choctaw.....21 March 1902.....Charles M. Smith
Name changed to Crowder 4 June 1904.
- Julletta.....Choctaw..... 8 June 1895.....Robert D. Phillips
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 16 July 1895,
and the office was never actually in operation.
- Jumbo.....Choctaw..... 8 November 1906.....Liston G. Townsend
- Kansas.....Cherokee..... 5 January 1895.....George C. Jackson
- Katie.....Chickasaw.....13 March 1895.....G. T. Griffiths
The site of this postoffice was about a mile south of the present
town of Katie in Garvin County.
- Kavanaugh.....Choctaw.....11 November 1885.....James F. Kennady
Name changed to Kennady 16 May 1889.
- Kedron.....Cherokee.....26 May 1886.....Nicholas Neerken
Name changed to Marble 16 January 1895. On 22 January 1869 a
postoffice named Kidron had been discontinued at this same proximate
location.
- Keefeton.....Cherokee.....31 March 1905.....Allen C. Bradshaw
- Kee-too-wah.....Cherokee..... 8 August 1882.....Richard M. Wolfe
Discontinued effective 7 February 1884, mail to Tahlequah.
- Keirsey.....Chickasaw.....16 June 1904.....H. V. Buckley
This town was often referred to as Mead Junction.
- Keith.....Chickasaw.....14 December 1889.....Millard F. Baker
This postoffice did not commence operation and was discontinued
25 March 1890. Reestablished 5 August 1890. Discontinued effective
7 December 1892, mail to Peery.
- Keller.....Chickasaw..... 6 August 1894.....William Keller
- Kellyville.....Creek.....27 November 1893.....James E. Kelly
- Kelso.....Cherokee..... 8 July 1898.....Mary G. Ingram
- Keltner.....Chickasaw..... 1 June 1892.....William C. Keltner
Discontinued by order dated 1 September 1900, effective 15 September
1900, mail to Leon.
- Kema.....Peoria.....25 August 1882.....Rebecca L. Laughlin
Discontinued effective 3 January 1884, mail to Whiting.
- Kemp.....Chickasaw.....20 October 1890.....William F. Ford
- Kennady.....Choctaw.....16 May 1889.....James F. Kennady
Formerly Kavanaugh.
- Kent.....Choctaw..... 9 February 1905.....Tilford M. Reed
- Keota.....Choctaw.....14 October 1904.....J. Y. Rainey
Rainey declined the appointment, and the office did not actually
commence operation until May Graham was appointed postmaster
27 January 1905.
- Kerk.....Cherokee.....23 March 1896.....Cyrus Rogers
Did not operate during the period 15 February 1900 to 18 April 1900.
Discontinued by order dated 19 December 1905, effective 15 January
1905, mail to Collinsville.
- Ketchum.....Cherokee.....15 September 1899.....Jesse M. Gallman
- Keys.....Cherokee..... 3 December 1890.....Mrs. Lucy S. Keys
Discontinued effective 24 December 1894, mail to Vinita.
- Keys.....Choctaw..... 9 November 1905.....Robert Young
- Kiamichi.....Choctaw.....27 September 1887.....John W. Robinson
Did not operate during the period 17 July 1890 to 8 January 1891.

- Kidron.....Cherokee.....17 September 1835...James Orr
Site and name changed to Marble Salt Works 8 September 1858. On 27 October 1859 a postoffice was reestablished at the original Kidron site under the name of Kidron. Did not operate during the period 24 August 1866 to 29 October 1868. Discontinued effective 22 January 1869. On 26 May 1886 an office spelled Kedron was established at this same proximate location.
- Kiefer.....Creek.....12 December 1906...Ettie Chasteen
Formerly Praper.
- Killgore.....Chickasaw.....22 June 1907.....William C. Killgore
King.....Choctaw.....10 July 1895.....Mary Y. King
Discontinued effective 30 December 1895.
- Kingston.....Chickasaw.....4 April 1894.....John F. Robinson
Kinlock.....Chickasaw.....7 February 1905.....Zack Williams
Kinnison.....Cherokee.....13 September 1886.....Presly Kinnison
Kinta.....Choctaw.....26 September 1902.....Luke D. Allen
Kiowa.....Choctaw.....6 May 1881.....Lafayette Hamilton
Kiser.....Chickasaw.....26 June 1901.....Jasper A. DeGarmo
Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Wynnewood, Okla.
- Kittie.....Choctaw.....3 January 1902.....Elijah B. Toler
Klaus.....Cherokee.....13 April 1896.....Amos K. Hall
Name changed to Cleora 28 November 1900.
- Klondike.....Chickasaw.....23 April 1901.....Green I. Whitaker
Discontinued by order dated 26 June 1907, effective 15 July 1907, mail to Pauls Valley.
- Knox.....Chickasaw.....24 June 1898.....James M. Golden
Discontinued by order dated 16 December 1901, effective 31 December 1901, mail to Ada.
- Kolb.....Choctaw.....5 February 1892.....Philip Kolb
Name changed to Reichert 7 May 1892.
- Konawa.....Seminole.....15 July 1904.....Robert C. Lovelace
Konomis.....Creek.....13 June 1904.....Henry H. Hay
Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1904, effective 31 December 1904, mail to Morris.
- Kosoma.....Choctaw.....28 November 1888.....Ernest E. Ragland
Krebs.....Choctaw.....10 February 1886.....James D. Moody
Kuli Chuk Chu.....Choctaw.....18 January 1882.....Lewis Teel
Name changed to Kuli Inla 7 August 1882. On 28 December 1838 a postoffice named Miller Court House had been discontinued at this same proximate location.
- Kuli Inla.....Choctaw.....7 August 1882.....Lewis Teel
Formerly Kuli Chuk Chu. Did not operate during the period 24 April 1883 to 2 June 1884. Name changed to Kulli Inla 4 March 1886.
- Kulli Inla.....Choctaw.....4 March 1886.....Joseph L. Bryarly
Formerly Kuli Inla. Name changed to Shawneetown 16 August 1892.
- Kullituklo.....Choctaw.....22 October 1895.....Sidney J. Herndon
Kully Chaha.....Choctaw.....15 February 1881.....A. F. Ross
Did not operate during the period 25 February 1888 to 24 March 1888.
- Lackey.....Cherokee.....11 April 1896.....John M. Lackey
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 4 May 1896, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Lafayette.....Choctaw.....21 June 1907.....Alex Kirkland
Lamar.....Creek.....23 July 1907.....Jackson R. Dunzy
Lane.....Choctaw.....6 October 1902.....George F. Stewart

- Lark.....Chickasaw.....14 January 1889.....Oliver W. Harrell
Did not operate during the period 29 July 1889 to 26 May 1890. Discontinued effective 15 November 1897, mail to Brownsville.
- Lary.....Choctaw.....11 November 1886.....Thomas L. Ward
Discontinued effective 7 September 1887.
- Latham.....Choctaw.....10 May 1901.....Frank D. Inman
Did not operate during the period 15 December 1903 to 23 March 1904, mail to Bokoshe.
- Lawrence.....Chickasaw.....27 June 1907.....John E. Waddill
Formerly Oolite.
- Lawton.....Cherokee.....6 January 1900.....James W. Gibson
Name changed to Weldon 10 July 1901.
- Leach.....Cherokee.....20 February 1897.....John R. Leach
Formerly Ulm.
- Leader.....Choctaw.....18 September 1889.....George W. Scales
Discontinued by order dated 23 June 1902, effective 15 July 1902, mail to Newburg.
- Lebanon.....Chickasaw.....17 February 1882.....George D. James
Formerly Rocky Point.
- Lee.....Creek.....22 July 1892.....David A. Lee
Formerly Wellington.
- Leeper.....Chickasaw.....2 July 1888.....Frank E. Clayton
Discontinued effective 21 July 1892, mail to Purcell.
- Leflore.....Choctaw.....26 August 1887.....Richard A. Walker
- Legal.....Choctaw.....1 June 1896.....William Johnson
- Legate.....Chickasaw.....25 September 1905.....James L. Davidson
- Lehigh.....Choctaw.....4 April 1882.....Brady S. Thompson
- Lenapah.....Cherokee.....9 April 1890.....Eugene S. Taylor
- Lenark Falls.....Cherokee.....14 May 1860.....Robert C. Parks
Discontinued effective 9 July 1866.
- Lenna.....Creek.....4 January 1902.....Richard H. McTigrit
- Lenox.....Choctaw.....2 October 1896.....Lizzie M. Woods
Did not operate during the period 15 April 1902 to 7 February 1906
- Lenton.....Choctaw.....22 October 1901.....Monroe Granville
- Leon.....Chickasaw.....28 June 1883.....James T. Ray
Did not operate during the period 31 December 1885 to 1 March 1886
- Lequire.....Choctaw.....12 December 1906.....P. H. Lequire
Formerly Eaglepoint.
- Lester.....Chickasaw.....15 September 1899.....Thomas J. Bell
- Lewis.....Choctaw.....13 April 1905.....Charles S. Lewis
Formerly Peck. The location of this office was at the site of the present town of Tushka in Atoka County.
- Liddle.....Choctaw.....18 September 1889.....Francis M. Madden
Name changed to Coalgate 23 January 1890.
- Lightning Creek.....Cherokee.....23 October 1872.....Henry Armstrong
Name changed to Al-lu-we 27 June 1883.
- Lilly.....Creek.....23 April 1901.....David Cummings
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 31 July 1901, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Lima.....Seminole.....17 July 1907.....Grudge V. Gross
- Limestone.....Choctaw.....22 September 1897.....Francis M. Williams
Discontinued by order dated 6 July 1901, effective 15 July 1901, mail to Chickiechockie.

Limestone Gap.....	Choctaw.....	29 March 1875.....	Patrick H. Lowler
Did not operate during the periods 21 June 1876 to 3 October 1876 and 8 September 1884 to 14 October 1901.			
Lindsay.....	Chickasaw.....	28 March 1902.....	Robert A. Diggs
Linn.....	Chickasaw.....	14 May 1890.....	James G. Walker
Linwood.....	Chickasaw.....	19 January 1895.....	Mrs. E. L. Wilson
Did not operate during the period 15 October 1900 to 6 February 1902.			
Discontinued by order dated 23 November 1906, effective 2 January 1907, mail to Waurika, Okla. T.			
Little.....	Seminole.....	14 August 1902.....	Jesse B. Chastain
Little Verdigris.....	Cherokee.....	30 December 1859.....	James L. Butler
Discontinued effective 9 July 1866.			
Lloyd.....	Choctaw.....	28 March 1902.....	Frank N. Varney
Discontinued by order dated 19 April 1904, effective 30 April 1904, mail to Lane.			
Loco.....	Chickasaw.....	3 June 1890.....	Alexander B. Biggs
Locust Grove.....	Cherokee.....	26 March 1873.....	Joseph F. Thompson
Did not operate during the period 4 February 1884 to 2 May 1884.			
Lodi.....	Choctaw.....	23 March 1894.....	William W. Francis
Lometa.....	Creek.....	5 November 1904.....	Albert L. Evans
Lona.....	Choctaw.....	6 September 1895.....	George W. Flud
Discontinued by order dated 25 November 1902, effective 31 December 1902, mail to Enterprise.			
Lone Grove.....	Chickasaw.....	4 February 1885.....	Robert E. Thacker
Lonelm.....	Chickasaw.....	25 February 1903.....	Levi J. Shook
Long.....	Cherokee.....	22 August 1894.....	William J. Webb
Longtown.....	Choctaw.....	27 January 1893.....	Stephen E. Talkington
The order establishing this office was rescinded 21 August 1893, and it is doubtful if the postoffice was ever actually in operation.			
Longview.....	Choctaw.....	26 May 1884.....	Aurilla G. Oakes
Discontinued effective 27 October 1887, mail to Goodland.			
Lou.....	Chickasaw.....	11 July 1883.....	Benjamin F. Frensley
Name changed to Dresden 22 November 1883.			
Lovette.....	Cherokee.....	31 January 1907.....	Richard J. Lovette
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 7 January 1908, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.			
Lowell.....	Choctaw.....	11 May 1896.....	Marquis L. Harris
Discontinued effective 20 June 1896, mail to Page.			
Lowery.....	Cherokee.....	20 June 1890.....	John D. Smith
Discontinued effective 5 August 1890. The postmaster was not commissioned, and this postoffice was never actually in operation.			
Lowrey.....	Cherokee.....	20 July 1903.....	Nellie Foreman
Lucas.....	Cherokee.....	1 November 1892.....	William M. McGee
Name changed to Centralia 11 April 1899.			
Lucile.....	Chickasaw.....	8 July 1905.....	George H. Bartlett
Ludlow.....	Choctaw.....	22 April 1901.....	Lawton S. Bohanon
Lukfata.....	Choctaw.....	21 January 1873.....	John N. Hodges
On 9 July 1866 a postoffice spelled Luk-fah-tah had been discontinued at this same proximate location.			
Luk-fah-tah.....	Choctaw.....	14 February 1853.....	Emilius G. Corder
Discontinued effective 9 July 1866. This postoffice was reestablished 21 January 1873 as Lukfata.			
Lula.....	Choctaw.....	12 December 1902.....	George A. Cox
Lumkee.....	Creek.....	14 May 1892.....	James H. Alexander
Discontinued effective 2 November 1895, mail to Wewoka.			

- Lutie.....Choctaw..... 4 October 1901.....Edna S. Eddy
Formerly Ola.
- Luxa.....Choctaw.....31 January 1898.....William H. Norman
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 29 June 1898, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Lyceum.....Choctaw.....23 March 1896.....Nell M. Wakefield
Discontinued by order dated 14 July 1900, effective 30 July 1900, mail to Tushkahomma. Lyceum was the postoffice for the Choctaw Female Academy located near the present town of Tuskahoma.
- Lynch.....Cherokee.....30 October 1905.....Isaac Garber
- Lynch's Prairie.....Cherokee..... 9 May 1878.....George W. Clark
Name changed to Spavina Mills 10 October 1878.
- McAlester.....Choctaw.....12 November 1885.....James J. McAlester
Formerly McAlister. Name changed to North McAlester 11 May 1907
This is the present town of North McAlester.
- McAlester.....Choctaw.....10 May 1907.....Harry C. Clark
Formerly South McAlester. This is the present town of McAlester
- McAlister.....Choctaw.....31 March 1873.....Samuel A. Rosse
Name changed to McAlester 12 November 1885. This postoffice was at the site of the present town of North McAlester, a few miles north of McAlester in Pittsburg County.
- McCarty.....Chickasaw.....15 April 1905.....Emory O. Hickman
- McCurtain.....Choctaw..... 5 April 1902.....John W. Wyers
Formerly Panther.
- McDermott.....Creek.....10 March 1894.....Louis H. McDermott
Formerly Springfield. Did not operate during the period 28 January 1899 to 11 March 1899. Discontinued by order dated 24 June 1903 effective 15 July 1903, mail to Okemah.
- McFall.....Cherokee..... 4 November 1892.....Charles E. Holland
On 27 April 1898 an order was issued discontinuing this postoffice but was rescinded 12 May 1898 and the office continued in operation
Name changed to Vera 15 December 1899.
- McGee.....Chickasaw.....15 April 1891.....William G. Mood
Discontinued by order dated 6 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907 mail to Byars.
- McKenney.....Chickasaw.....22 June 1892.....James E. McKenney
Discontinued effective 15 November 1893, mail to Center.
- McKey.....Cherokee.....13 March 1891.....Norman S. Drake
- McLain.....Cherokee.....18 September 1894.....William M. Hanes
- McLean.....Shawnee.....16 February 1869.....Ross Duncan
Discontinued effective 20 September 1869.
- McLeans Station.....Ottawa.....29 August 1870.....Moses Pooor
Discontinued effective 11 March 1872.
- McMillan.....Chickasaw.....28 March 1892.....Joseph E. A. McMillan
- Mabelle.....Cherokee..... 3 July 1907.....George W. Scarborough
Formerly Santown.
- Madill.....Chickasaw.....29 April 1901.....Richard H. Everett
- Malvern.....Chickasaw..... 3 November 1903.....Holbert Hardiman
Discontinued by order dated 29 November 1905, effective 31 December 1905, mail to Purcell.
- Manard.....Cherokee.....23 August 1883.....William H. Hendricks
- Manda.....Creek..... 2 August 1901.....George W. Hill
Discontinued by order dated 26 August 1902, effective 15 September 1902, mail to Okmulgee.
- Mannford.....Creek.....11 April 1903.....Frederick E. Martin

Mannsville.....	Chickasaw.....	28 August 1888.....	Wallace A. Mann
Mantee.....	Creek.....	6 January 1905.....	Albert Edwards
Maple.....	Cherokee.....	3 February 1899.....	Samuel U. Martin
Marble Salt Works.....	Cherokee.....	8 September 1858.....	James Mackey
Formerly Kidron. Did not operate during the period 10 July 1860 to 6 October 1869. Discontinued effective 23 October 1871.			
Marble.....	Cherokee.....	16 January 1895.....	John D. Rice
Formerly Kedron. Did not operate during the period 9 September 1897 to 2 November 1898. Named changed to Marble City 2 April 1906.			
Marble City.....	Cherokee.....	2 April 1906.....	James E. Hotchkiss
Formerly Marble.			
Marietta.....	Chickasaw.....	20 December 1887.....	Jerry C. Washington
Mark.....	Cherokee.....	6 August 1904.....	Moses Boatman
Markham.....	Cherokee.....	21 March 1895.....	Carter C. Markham
Discontinued effective 25 January 1897, mail to Pryor Creek.			
Marlow.....	Chickasaw.....	13 March 1891.....	Calvin Harris
Marsden.....	Chickasaw.....	7 February 1895.....	George C. Wright
Massey.....	Choctaw.....	17 August 1900.....	James H. Briston
Matoy.....	Choctaw.....	23 January 1901.....	Willie G. Parson
Max.....	Peoria.....	19 March 1891.....	John P. McNaughton
Discontinued effective 4 May 1894.			
Maxey.....	Choctaw.....	2 June 1884.....	William A. Welch
Name changed to Caston 5 November 1887.			
Maxwell.....	Chickasaw.....	14 February 1896.....	William Hartley
Mayes.....	Cherokee.....	19 September 1887.....	Edward D. Hicks
Formerly Oo-wa-la. Name changed back to Oo-wa-la 14 June 1888.			
Mayhew.....	Choctaw.....	5 February 1845.....	Charles F. Stewart
Did not operate during the periods 10 August 1848 to 26 October 1860, 21 February 1861 to 17 September 1891, and 29 March 1892 to 5 February 1894. Name changed to Boswell 30 September 1902.			
Mays.....	Cherokee.....	7 June 1888.....	William N. Littlejohn
Formerly Sallisaw. Discontinued effective 19 September 1896, mail to Stilwell.			
Maysville.....	Chickasaw.....	19 March 1878.....	Thomas J. Williams
Discontinued effective 29 May 1878. On 17 June 1878 a postoffice named Beef Creek was established at this same proximate location, the name of which was changed to Maysville 19 September 1902.			
Mazie.....	Creek.....	11 July 1905.....	William H. Elliott
Mead.....	Chickasaw.....	10 April 1894.....	John A. Lucy
Means.....	Chickasaw.....	17 May 1902.....	Eliza B. Means
Discontinued by order dated 22 December 1902, effective 31 December 1902, mail to Ada.			
Mekusukey.....	Seminole.....	17 October 1894.....	Will A. Davis
Mellette.....	Creek.....	1 May 1901.....	G. M. McMurray
Melvin.....	Cherokee.....	2 March 1894.....	Xerxes Z. Taylor
Messer.....	Choctaw.....	4 January 1907.....	Columbus G. Messer
Metory.....	Cherokee.....	13 February 1906.....	Ellen J. Robertson
Metz.....	Cherokee.....	1 November 1887.....	Fred Metzner
Name changed to Nowata 8 November 1889.			
Miah.....	Choctaw.....	27 June 1902.....	William E. Cravens
Name changed to Sawyer 1 April 1903.			
Miami.....	Ottawa.....	13 April 1891.....	James L. Palmer
Micawber.....	Creek.....	10 May 1904.....	William L. Houston

- Micco.....Creek..... 4 August 1853.....Catlett J. Atkins
Did not operate during the periods 9 July 1866 to 18 April 1867 and 21 April 1873 to 21 May 1884. Discontinued effective 20 March 1886, mail to Muscogee.
- Midland.....Chickasaw.....25 September 1897.....William A. Balmain
- Midway.....Choctaw.....16 January 1902.....Patrick Harley
- Milburn.....Chickasaw.....17 August 1901.....William H. Nichols
Formerly Ellen.
- Miles.....Cherokee.....29 March 1892.....Charles H. Strait
- Miller Court House.....Choctaw..... 5 September 1824.....J. H. Fowler
Discontinued effective 28 December 1838. Due to the increase of settlers in the Red River country above the Great Raft, the General Assembly of Arkansas Territory by Act of 1 April 1820 created Miller County. The boundaries were loosely defined, but the county included most was what is now southeastern Oklahoma and north-eastern Texas. A county government was organized, meeting at the home of Claiborne Wright, a prominent citizen of the region. His place was designated in contemporary records as Miller Court House, and continued to serve as the seat of government as long as the county existed north of Red River. The Choctaw Treaty of 20 January 1825, ceding the area to the Choctaws, meant an end to that portion of the county. The residents made futile attempts to be exempted from the operation of the treaty, but on 17 October 1828 the Arkansas General Assembly abolished that part of the county north of the Red River and west of the Choctaw line. In protest and disgust, the settlers burned the courthouse on 5 November 1828, and by this act destroyed most of the records that could today throw light on this interesting chapter of Southwestern history. On 18 January 1882 a postoffice named Kuli Chuk Chu was established at this same proximate location.
- Miller.....Choctaw.....22 June 1905.....Charles E. Niles
- Mill Creek.....Chickasaw.....11 June 1879.....James Davison
Name changed to Millcreek 21 February 1896.
- Millcreek.....Chickasaw.....21 February 1896.....John W. Forrester
Formerly Mill Creek.
- Milltown.....Cherokee.....16 April 1883.....Andrew H. Norwood
Discontinued effective 3 September 1883, mail to Catoosa.
- Milo.....Chickasaw.....28 October 1899.....Leonard M. Chandler
- Milton.....Choctaw.....20 June 1890.....James C. Smith
- Mina.....Chickasaw..... 9 March 1903.....Alfred P. Hall
Discontinued by order dated 11 January 1904, effective 30 January 1904, mail to Yuba.
- Minco.....Chickasaw.....30 June 1890.....Frank E. Clayton
- Mineral Hill.....Choctaw.....12 August 1852.....John S. Bellah
Did not operate during the period 17 June 1856 to 11 November 1856. Name changed to Harris' Mill 5 April 1859.
- Minko.....Choctaw.....23 August 1888.....William M. Keith
Discontinued effective 13 December 1888.
- Moddle.....Choctaw.....26 June 1900.....Ira F. Douglas
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 5 October 1900, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Mohawk.....Cherokee.....18 May 1906.....Choney Arrington
- Moneka.....Quapaw..... 9 April 1892.....Melissa J. Abrams
Discontinued effective 12 November 1892. This postoffice was never actually in operation.

- Moneka.....Chickasaw.....18 April 1895.....James D. Looper
Formerly Peery. Discontinued effective 15 May 1898, mail to
Addington.
- Monk.....Chickasaw.....25 February 1896.....Daniel B. Tipps
Discontinued by order dated 29 November 1905, effective 31 December
1905, mail to Tatums.
- Monroe.....Choctaw.....25 February 1881.....Simon M. Griffith
- Moodys.....Cherokee.....21 March 1896.....Andrew J. Hooper
- Morehead.....Cherokee.....7 June 1883.....George Bradley
Discontinued effective 10 November 1887.
- Morris.....Creek.....26 March 1903.....Joseph J. Chambliss
- Morrow.....Chickasaw.....8 April 1887.....Thomas T. Morrow
Name changed to Petuna 6 March 1888.
- Morse.....Creek.....28 June 1897.....George D. Harvison
- Mounds.....Creek.....19 April 1898.....Lillie Thompson
Formerly Posey. The postoffice at Posey was located a few miles
east of its site at Mounds.
- Mount Clarimier.....Cherokee.....30 May 1860.....David M. Foreman
Discontinued effective 11 February 1867.
- Mountain.....Choctaw.....10 October 1873.....Martha J. Edwards
Discontinued effective 6 May 1886. This postoffice was located on
the south of Fourche Creek, a few miles southeast of the present
town of Wilburton, and was an entirely different postoffice than
the Mountain following.
- Mountain.....Choctaw.....21 December 1896.....Fannie A. Culbertson
Did not operate during the period 30 April 1901 to 6 February 1902.
Discontinued by order dated 9 December 1907, effective 31 December
1907, mail to Oak Lodge, Okla. This postoffice was located on the
south side of the Arkansas River, a few miles northwest of the
present town of Braden, and is an entirely different Mountain than
the one preceding.
- Muldrow.....Cherokee.....19 November 1887.....Wilson O. Burton
- Mulkey.....Chickasaw.....24 February 1905.....John C. Mulkey
- Murrow.....Choctaw.....21 June 1907.....William P. Blake
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 19 July 1907, and
the office was never actually in operation.
- Muscogee.....Creek.....18 January 1872.....James L. Barnes
Name changed to Muskogee 19 July 1900.
- Muse.....Choctaw.....1 October 1896.....Marion S. Carver
- Muskogee.....Creek.....19 July 1900.....Houston T. Estes
Formerly Muscogee.
- Myers.....Chickasaw.....16 April 1903.....Percy E. Ayers
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 10 July 1903, and
it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Nail.....Choctaw.....13 October 1888.....L. Maynard
Did not operate during the periods 28 August 1896 to 8 October 1896
and 2 April 1897 to 17 May 1902.
- Naples.....Chickasaw.....5 May 1890.....Mrs. Ellen S. Chilton
Did not operate during the period 20 June 1892 to 23 May 1894.
- Napoleon.....Creek.....21 January 1904.....William E. Moxley
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 7 May 1904, and
it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Narcissa.....Cherokee.....15 January 1902.....William H. Parrott
- Nashoba.....Choctaw.....13 September 1886.....Robert S. Rowling
Did not operate during the periods 16 May 1887 to 21 January 1904
and 30 November 1905 to 13 March 1906.

Natura.....	Creek.....	3 January 1905.....	Wilson M. Phillips
Naudack.....	Creek.....	20 July 1903.....	Rufus B. Naudack
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906, mail to Morris.			
Nebo.....	Chickasaw.....	22 August 1890.....	Elam M. Wells
Needmore.....	Creek.....	5 March 1892.....	C. B. Moore
Discontinued effective 3 February 1893, mail to Eufaula.			
Needmore.....	Cherokee.....	14 December 1894.....	John B. Harold
Nelson.....	Choctaw.....	15 September 1881.....	James P. Herndon
Formerly Nelsons.			
Nelsons.....	Choctaw.....	10 March 1881.....	Joseph N. Smith
Name changed to Nelson 15 September 1881.			
Neodesha.....	Creek.....	1 August 1905.....	John W. White
Ner-noh-tah-he.....	Cherokee.....	7 August 1871.....	Charles Tucker
Discontinued effective 20 May 1872.			
New Boggy Depot.....	Choctaw.....	22 March 1872.....	Joseph J. Phillips
Formerly Boggy Depot. In 1871, due to the increased stage travel incident to the construction of the M. K. & T. Ry, the Ft. Smith stage road took a new route and crossed Boggy River about three miles south of its old crossing. At the point where the new road rejoined the old Ft. Washita road T. D. Griffith, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Agent, established his Agency. Gradually the town of Boggy Depot, about 1¼ miles to the north, moved to this new location, and eventually the old site was entirely abandoned. Name changed to Boggy Depot 26 December 1883.			
Newburg.....	Choctaw.....	23 January 1897.....	Henry S. Halloway
Newby.....	Creek.....	17 October 1902.....	William M. Vann
Newcastle.....	Chickasaw.....	26 March 1894.....	E. V. Kelley
Newman.....	Choctaw.....	30 April 1892.....	Joseph S. Stigler
Name changed to Stigler 3 May 1893.			
Newport.....	Chickasaw.....	14 May 1892.....	James J. Grundy
Newton.....	Chickasaw.....	17 April 1894.....	William I. Cleveland
Name changed to Francis 5 June 1902.			
Nicholson.....	Creek.....	6 July 1907.....	G. W. Teague
Nicksville.....	Cherokee.....	25 April 1828.....	John Dillard
Discontinued effective 2 October 1829. Nicksville was established as the county seat of Lovely County, Ark. It was named in honor of Gen. John Nicks, the commander of the Arkansas Militia, and a member of the commission appointed to select the site of the new county seat. Plans for the organization of Lovely County were abandoned when the entire area involved was ceded by the United States to the Cherokees and Choctaws. The improvements at Nicks-ville later became the buildings for Dwight Mission.			
Nida.....	Chickasaw.....	26 October 1895.....	Richard F. French
Ninnekah.....	Chickasaw.....	28 July 1892.....	George R. Beller
Nixon.....	Choctaw.....	2 May 1896.....	John W. Jones
Did not operate during the period 31 July 1905 to 22 May 1907.			
Noah.....	Choctaw.....	2 October 1903.....	Adam J. Wilkins
Non.....	Choctaw.....	22 October 1901.....	John W. Cannon
North McAlester.....	Choctaw.....	11 May 1907.....	Charles J. Lane
Formerly McAlester.			
Norton.....	Chickasaw.....	22 May 1894.....	Floyd W. Tanner
Norwood.....	Choctaw.....	28 March 1902.....	Charles Stewart
Name changed to Haworth 17 November 1906.			
Nowata.....	Cherokee.....	8 November 1889.....	Fred Metzner
Formerly Metz.			

- Nunna**.....Choctaw..... 7 October 1870.....Samuel Garland
Discontinued effective 6 March 1872. This postoffice was re-established by order dated 10 July 1901, but such order was rescinded 22 January 1902, and the office did not actually resume operation.
- Oak Grove**.....Cherokee.....28 March 1902.....C. W. Addington
Discontinued effective 13 July 1905, mail to Dutch Mills, Ark.
- Oakland**.....Chickasaw.....20 July 1881.....William Grinstead
- Oak Lodge**.....Choctaw.....22 December 1871.....Henry W. Fannin
On 10 October 1871 a postoffice named Choctaw Agency had been discontinued at this same proximate location.
- Oakman**.....Chickasaw.....24 December 1896.....Silas A. Heflin
The railroad name for this town was Rainey.
- Oaks**.....Cherokee.....18 July 1881.....George Miller
- Oberlin**.....Choctaw..... 6 October 1897.....William Fields
Did not operate during the period 14 October 1905 to 17 November 1905.
- Ochelata**.....Cherokee.....23 March 1900.....John W. Railey
- Oconee**.....Choctaw..... 7 March 1895.....William M. Norman
Discontinued by order dated 29 June 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Olney.
- Octavia**.....Choctaw.....29 October 1898.....Octavia Lewis
- Odell**.....Cherokee.....28 February 1903.....Pearl Upton
Did not operate during the period 31 October 1904 to 13 August 1907.
- Ogeechee**.....Cherokee..... 4 January 1895.....George C. Jackson
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 20 February 1895, and the office had not at that time actually commenced operation. Reestablished by order dated 8 March 1895. Discontinued by order dated 29 May 1907, effective 15 June 1907, mail to Fairland.
- Oglesby**.....Cherokee.....13 November 1900.....Clara H. Stevens
- Okemah**.....Creek.....16 May 1902.....Perry Rodkey
- Okfuskee**.....Creek.....18 July 1896.....Theodore A. Manwaring
- Oklahoma**.....Choctaw.....21 December 1881.....Thompson C. McKinney
Name changed to Whitefield 27 November 1888.
- Okmulgee**.....Creek.....15 November 1883.....Francis L. Cramer
Formerly Okmulkee.
- Okmulkee**.....Creek.....29 April 1869.....Frederick B. Severs
Name changed to Okmulgee 15 November 1883.
- Okoee**.....Cherokee.....22 October 1901.....John M. Tucker
- Okolona**.....Choctaw.....25 June 1890.....George G. Miller
Discontinued effective 25 July 1894, mail to Rocky Comfort, Ark.
- Okra**.....Chickasaw.....26 July 1898.....William G. Rogers
- Okshawali**.....Choctaw.....14 March 1879.....B. F. Locke
Discontinued effective 20 April 1881.
- Oktaha**.....Creek..... 6 August 1900.....William A. Cain
- Ola**.....Choctaw..... 1 May 1886.....William G. Baird
Did not operate during the period 28 January 1891 to 11 March 1899. Name changed to Lutie 4 October 1901.
- Olive**.....Creek.....20 November 1896.....Anna E. Wharry
Did not operate during the period 27 January 1899 to 12 May 1899.
- Olney**.....Choctaw.....12 July 1902.....Horace M. Orr
Formerly Parmicho.
- Olympus**.....Cherokee.....30 December 1885.....William P. Mayes
Discontinued effective 4 June 1895, mail to Grove. On 27 April 1896 a postoffice named Hill was established at this same proximate location.

- Oochalater.....Cherokee..... 9 April 1895.....T. L. Harry
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 18 April 1896,
and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Oolite.....Chickasaw..... 1 May 1906.....Edward L. Reed
Name changed to Lawrence 27 June 1907.
- Oologah.....Cherokee..... 25 May 1891.....William T. Hewitt
- Oo-tah-se-tah.....Cherokee..... 10 March 1880.....S. M. Adair
Discontinued effective 26 July 1882, mail to Vinita.
- Oo-wa-la.....Cherokee..... 18 March 1881.....Clarke C. Lipe
Name changed to Mayes 19 September 1887, and changed back to
Oo-wa-la 14 January 1888. Discontinued effective 4 December 1889,
mail to Claremore.
- Oneta.....Creek..... 7 July 1905.....William M. Hall
- Opie.....Chickasaw..... 3 August 1894.....E. R. Johnson
Discontinued by order dated 5 November 1901, effective 30 November
1901, mail to Ryan.
- Opposum.....Choctaw..... 23 June 1881.....Mrs. Sarah A. Kelly
Discontinued effective 20 February 1882, mail to Brazil Station.
- Orcutt.....Creek..... 21 February 1894.....Newton R. Belford
Discontinued effective 4 January 1898, mail to Sapulpa.
- Orinne.....Chickasaw..... 13 June 1895.....James W. Burrows
Name changed to Greenville 4 December 1902.
- Orr.....Chickasaw..... 21 July 1892.....William C. Rountree
- Oscar.....Chickasaw..... 23 November 1892.....William R. Butler
- Oseuma.....Cherokee..... 4 March 1868.....James J. Trott
Did not operate during the period 20 May 1872 to 1 July 1896.
- Oswalt.....Chickasaw..... 13 July 1898.....John B. Cathey
Did not operate during the period 31 July 1901 to 20 June 1902.
- Ottawa.....Ottawa..... 28 June 1898.....Westley F. Cole
- Ouray.....Seneca..... 23 June 1890.....John A. Winney
Discontinued effective 3 October 1895, mail to Cayuga.
- Overbrook.....Chickasaw..... 21 June 1887.....Joseph S. McAlister
- Owasso.....Cherokee..... 24 January 1900.....Press Ballard
Formerly Elmcreek.
- Owl.....Choctaw..... 10 July 1894.....Erie Self
Formerly Byrd. This postoffice moved a few miles northeast and
name changed to Centrahoma 11 June 1907.
- Ozark.....Cherokee..... 29 June 1906.....E. C. Wolford
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 31 January 1907,
and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Paden.....Cherokee..... 5 May 1890.....Benjamin F. Paden
Discontinued effective 8 August 1896, mail to Mays.
- Paden.....Creek..... 21 January 1903.....Cora Beaver
- Page.....Choctaw..... 6 April 1896.....Charles A. Stewart
- Palmer.....Chickasaw..... 23 June 1892.....Winfield Wood
- Panama.....Choctaw..... 14 January 1898.....John D. Yandell
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 23 February 1898,
and the office did not actually commence operation until it was re-
established on 21 February 1899.
- Panola.....Choctaw..... 17 April 1884.....Charles W. Banks
Name changed to Blaine 1 October 1884.
- Panther.....Choctaw..... 11 June 1890.....Joseph W. Kober
Name changed to McCurtain 5 April 1902.
- Paoli.....Chickasaw..... 27 June 1888.....George D. Thompson

- Park Hill.....Cherokee.....18 May 1838.....Samuel Newton
Name changed to Tahlequah 6 May 1847.
- Park Hill.....Cherokee.....22 April 1892.....Joseph Mc. Leiper
This new postoffice named Park Hill was located a few miles south of Tahlequah.
- Parks.....Chickasaw.....28 March 1902.....John H. Acres
- Parmicho.....Choctaw.....31 August 1901.....Joseph J. Crum
Name changed to Olney 12 July 1902.
- Paro.....Creek.....17 April 1903.....Davis Bruner
Discontinued by order dated 23 May 1907, effective 15 June 1907, mail to Holdenville.
- Parr.....Chickasaw.....11 July 1883.....E. C. Van Dalsem
Name changed to Rush Springs 13 May 1892.
- Parsons.....Choctaw.....17 May 1902.....W. S. Parsons
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 26 September 1902, and the office did not actually commence operation until W. S. Parsons was reappointed postmaster by order dated 15 December 1902. Name changed to Millerton, Okla., 5 March 1908.
- Patrick.....Cherokee.....26 May 1886.....John J. Patrick
Name changed to Braggs 10 September 1888.
- Patterson.....Choctaw.....31 October 1906.....John R. Denton
Formerly Thurston.
- Paucaunla.....Chickasaw.....23 September 1897.....William W. Perkins
- Pauls Valley.....Chickasaw.....21 August 1871.....J. C. D. Blackburn
- Paw Paw.....Cherokee.....26 December 1882.....Marion Watts
- Payne.....Chickasaw.....15 December 1904.....Jeff D. Payne
- Pearl.....Chickasaw.....25 January 1892.....Joseph E. Taylor
Discontinued effective 23 July 1895, mail to Burt.
- Pecan.....Cherokee.....29 July 1891.....Mrs. Nan McNair
Discontinued effective 1 November 1892, mail to Choteau.
- Peck.....Choctaw.....17 April 1903.....Charles S. Lewis
Name changed to Lewis 13 April 1905.
- Peery.....Chickasaw.....22 May 1890.....Andrew J. Looper
Name changed to Moneka 18 April 1895.
- Peggs.....Cherokee.....4 February 1896.....William Downing
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 5 September 1896, and the office did not actually commence operation until it was reestablished by order dated 6 December 1899 and George F. Bailey appointed postmaster.
- Pensacola.....Cherokee.....23 May 1896.....Flora B. Martin
- Pensee.....Chickasaw.....11 September 1891.....Jacob Descombs
Formerly Waco. Name changed to Chickasha 20 June 1892.
- Peoria.....Peoria.....13 June 1891.....James A. Dent
- Petersburg.....Chickasaw.....10 July 1891.....Henry M. Denney
Did not operate during the period 22 September 1894 to 24 May 1895.
- Petros.....Choctaw.....21 January 1898.....Leslie L. Woods
Discontinued by order dated 15 March 1901, effective 30 March 1901, mail to Heavener.
- Petuna.....Chickasaw.....6 March 1888.....Thomas T. Morrow
Formerly Morrow. Discontinued effective 10 April 1889, mail to Parr.
- Phillips.....Choctaw.....2 April 1892.....Henry L. Phillips
Did not operate during the period 28 December 1892 to 11 February 1895.

- Philipsburg.....Creek.....16 July 1894.....Joseph W. Cheesman
Discontinued effective 20 August 1898, mail to Bristow.
- Pickens.....Chickasaw.....7 February 1895.....John W. Buckholts
Discontinued by order dated 22 November 1899, effective 15 December 1899, mail to Lebanon.
- Pierce.....Creek.....26 March 1907.....Homer P. Lee
- Pike.....Chickasaw.....28 November 1892.....Dewitt C. Gannaway
- Pilot.....Chickasaw.....25 November 1893.....T. F. Dennis
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 11 January 1894, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Pine.....Choctaw.....3 March 1900.....Julia Stevens
- Pirtle.....Choctaw.....30 January 1904.....Calvin E. Hardy
Discontinued by order dated 15 June 1907, effective 29 June 1907, mail to Blue.
- Platter.....Chickasaw.....11 April 1901.....George O. Reves
Formerly Finch.
- Pleasant Point.....Cherokee.....27 December 1872.....Robert J. Lundy
Discontinued effective 18 March 1873.
- Pleasant Ridge.....Choctaw.....1 July 1874.....William Bryant
Discontinued effective 20 May 1875.
- Pleasant View.....Creek.....13 January 1871.....Levi R. Newgent
Discontinued effective 26 January 1872.
- Pliny.....Cherokee.....15 September 1899.....George W. Cox
Discontinued effective 6 August 1900.
- Pocahontas.....Choctaw.....11 May 1895.....John M. Taylor
Formerly Braidwood. Name changed to Caston 18 April 1898. This is an entirely different postoffice than the Pocohontas following; this office was in present LeFlore County. Although there was at that time a Caston located on the Frisco Railroad a few miles south-west of Wister, the Rock Island switch to the Pocohontas mine became known as Caston Switch; and the old postoffice at Caston was consolidated with this postoffice, and the new office continued to operate under the name Caston.
- Pocahontas.....Choctaw.....31 March 1905.....George F. Smith
This was an entirely different postoffice than the Pocohontas preceding. This town was located in present Pittsburg County.
- Pocasset.....Chickasaw.....13 December 1902.....Isaac D. Hilton
- Pocola.....Choctaw.....15 February 1881.....George W. Hickman
Discontinued effective 29 February 1916.
- Pollard.....Choctaw.....10 May 1904.....Tilden H. Pollard
- Pontotoc.....Chickasaw.....22 September 1858.....Robert L. Cochran
Did not operate during the period 11 February 1869 to 23 March 1894
- Pooler.....Ottawa.....9 October 1882.....Moses Pooler
Did not operate during the period 6 January 1885 to 5 December 1888
Discontinued effective 28 November 1892, mail to Prairie City.
- Pooleville.....Chickasaw.....20 July 1907.....Rufus S. Hendon
Formerly Elk.
- Porter.....Creek.....1 June 1903.....M. E. Tyson
- Porum.....Cherokee.....25 March 1890.....Walter R. Russell
Did not operate during the period 28 February 1898 to 8 August 1904
- Posey.....Creek.....18 March 1895.....James T. Simmons
Site moved a few miles west and name changed to Mounds 19 April 1898.

- Postoak.....Chickasaw.....13 September 1901.....James Roberts
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 19 April 1902 and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Post Oak Grove.....Chickasaw..... 2 November 1874.....Henry A. Reich
Did not operate during the period 24 February 1876 to 11 July 1876.
Discontinued effective 22 November 1878.
- Poteau.....Choctaw.....27 October 1887.....Robert T. Forbes
- Poulas.....Cherokee.....11 July 1879.....Joseph V. Crutchfield
Did not operate during the period 18 October 1880 to 19 January 1881.
Discontinued effective 29 June 1882, mail to Pryor Creek.
- Powell.....Chickasaw.....31 January 1894.....Robert L. Donnell
- Prairie City.....Wyandotte.....26 February 1872.....Isaac W. Smith
On 1 December 1876 the site of this postoffice was moved about three miles east to the railroad and name changed to Grand River.
- Prairie City.....Cherokee.....12 September 1879.....Napoleon B. Breedlove
Discontinued effective 4 November 1893, mail to Fairland.
- Praper.....Creek.....26 June 1901.....Ettie Chasteen
The site of this postoffice was moved about 2½ miles west and name changed to Kiefer 12 December 1906.
- Price.....Chickasaw.....20 August 1884.....Samuel R. Offutt
On 1 December 1890 an order was published discontinuing this office, but was rescinded 15 December 1890. Discontinued effective 15 May 1896, mail to Dougherty.
- Price.....Creek..... 3 September 1903.....Victoria Price
- Proctor.....Creek..... 2 April 1892.....Wesley Smith
Did not operate during the period 31 March 1899 to 9 September 1899.
Discontinued by order dated 10 May 1901, effective 31 May 1901, mail to Eufaula.
- Proctor.....Cherokee..... 5 March 1903.....Joseph A. McCarter
- Provence.....Chickasaw..... 4 January 1895.....John H. Price
- Pryors Creek.....Cherokee.....19 August 1869.....Rufus N. Denton
Name changed to Choteau 18 October 1871.
- Pryor Creek.....Cherokee.....27 November 1878.....Alexander M. Rider
Did not operate during the period 22 July 1881 to 2 November 1881.
Discontinued effective 28 October 1884, mail to Coo-y-yah.
- Pryor Creek.....Cherokee.....23 April 1887.....David I. Elliot
Formerly Coo-y-yah. Postmarks have been noted wherein the name of this office was spelled Prior Creek.
- Purcell.....Chickasaw.....21 April 1887.....John M. Wantland
- Purdy.....Chickasaw.....14 March 1892.....R. S. Purdy
- Quapaw.....Quapaw..... 9 June 1897.....Charles Labadie
- Quinton.....Choctaw.....28 March 1902.....James M. White
- Quita.....Choctaw.....18 May 1895.....Joseph L. Pendergraft
Discontinued effective 16 November 1897, mail to Bower.
- Raiford.....Creek.....17 June 1905.....Robert M. Walden
- Ramona.....Cherokee..... 9 December 1899.....Ara M. Hollingsworth
Formerly Bonton.
- Ran.....Chickasaw.....26 June 1894.....John A. Ray
- Randolph.....Chickasaw..... 5 September 1901.....Thomas Code
Did not operate during the period 28 February 1906 to 26 March 1906, mail to Teller.
- Rasor.....Choctaw.....23 September 1897.....Stephen M. Rasor
Discontinued effective 2 November 1898, mail to South McAlester.
- Ravia.....Chickasaw.....30 March 1894.....Eliza A. Forbess
- Ray.....Cherokee.....20 September 1904.....William L. Kile

- Raysville.....Chickasaw.....22 May 1890.....Samuel F. Milner
Discontinued effective 26 May 1898, mail to McMillan.
- Reagan.....Chickasaw.....25 June 1894.....A. J. Phillips
- Reams.....Choctaw.....6 March 1901.....F. C. Krieger
Did not operate during the period 25 September 1901 to 21 April 1906.
- Reaves.....Cherokee.....15 September 1891.....Thos. W. Reaves
The postmaster declined appointment, the order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 6 October 1891, and the office was never in operation.
- Reba.....Cherokee.....25 February 1903.....Charles M. Seward
Discontinued by order dated 9 November 1903, effective 14 November 1903, mail to Stilwell.
- Reck.....Chickasaw.....25 January 1892.....Joseph S. Pallett
- Redbird.....Creek.....20 June 1902.....Ellie White
- Redden.....Choctaw.....1 June 1903.....John A. Redden
- Red Fork.....Creek.....3 January 1884.....Samuel Clay
- Red Hill.....Cherokee.....29 May 1868.....J. L. Gardner
Discontinued effective 11 January 1869.
- Redlake.....Chickasaw.....25 January 1895.....John E. Hardin
Discontinued effective 16 April 1897, mail to Yarnaby.
- Redland.....Cherokee.....17 May 1883.....Alfred Foyil
- Red Oak.....Choctaw.....11 March 1868.....Thomas Edwards
Did not operate during the period 14 September 1870 to 22 July 1872.
- Reed.....Cherokee.....25 February 1903.....Arthur Chanley
- Reevesville.....Creek.....23 July 1906.....Mrs. Martha C. Wilson
- Reichert.....Choctaw.....7 May 1892.....William Reichert
Formerly Kolb.
- Rego.....Choctaw.....28 September 1897.....William A. Peter
Discontinued effective 7 February 1899, mail to Page.
- Remy.....Cherokee.....15 October 1891.....Jesse M. Allen
Discontinued effective 30 November 1909.
- Rentie.....Creek.....21 January 1904.....John H. Reeves
- Rentiesville.....Creek.....11 May 1904.....John J. Hudson
- Rex.....Chickasaw.....1 December 1890.....Peter Cox
Discontinued effective 27 April 1892, mail to Fred.
- Rex.....Cherokee.....16 November 1900.....Abel J. Sands
On January 1893 a postoffice named Correta had been discontinued at this same proximate location.
- Reynolds.....Choctaw.....19 February 1895.....Minnie Cooper
Did not operate during the period 23 September 1896 to 31 March 1902.
- Rice.....Chickasaw.....14 November 1893.....Charles M. Combs
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 20 September 1904, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Ridge.....Creek.....29 December 1884.....William C. Garrett
Did not operate during the period 12 March 1886 to 19 January 1895.
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908.
- Ringo.....Cherokee.....12 December 1889.....Charles M. Keeler
Did not operate during the period 9 April 1890 to 21 May 1890.
Discontinued effective 15 February 1900, mail to Ramona.
- Riverview.....Choctaw.....21 March 1895.....John M. Walburn
Name changed to Calvin 24 June 1895.
- Robberson.....Chickasaw.....11 June 1890.....William F. Robberson
- Robbersroost.....Chickasaw.....26 February 1897.....Henry Leech

Robbins.....	Creek.....	2 April 1903.....	Edward A. Tabor
Name changed to Tabor 12 December 1903.			
Roberta.....	Choctaw.....	23 March 1894.....	James Roberts
Rockbridge.....	Chickasaw.....	24 June 1892.....	Philip T. Stroud
Discontinued effective 15 November 1892, mail to Robberson.			
Rock Island.....	Choctaw.....	1 February 1905.....	Harvey E. McLarty
Rock Spring.....	Chickasaw.....	14 February 1870.....	Holmes Colbert
Discontinued effective 6 March 1872.			
Rockspur.....	Cherokee.....	25 June 1901.....	Otto U. Housted
Discontinued by order dated 19 June 1902, effective 30 June 1902, mail to Dawson.			
Rocky Point.....	Chickasaw.....	22 October 1878.....	Adolphus H. Law
Name changed to Lebanon 17 February 1882.			
Rodgers Station.....	Choctaw.....	1 July 1874.....	Burton Doyle
Name changed to Rogers Station 18 October 1877.			
Rodney.....	Choctaw.....	30 June 1890.....	Thomas H. Ash
Discontinued effective 5 July 1899, mail to Antlers.			
Roena.....	Choctaw.....	3 November 1903.....	E. B. Howe
Roff.....	Chickasaw.....	14 June 1890.....	Joe Roff
Rogers Station.....	Choctaw.....	18 October 1877.....	Mrs. Mary E. Rogers
Formerly Rodgers Station. Discontinued effective 13 November 1878.			
Roland.....	Cherokee.....	18 May 1904.....	John S. Johnson
Formerly Garrison.			
Rome.....	Cherokee.....	13 September 1886.....	J. T. Ewers
Discontinued effective 21 January 1891, mail to Coody's Bluff.			
Rose.....	Cherokee.....	13 March 1891.....	David Ragsdale
Row.....	Cherokee.....	8 April 1905.....	James R. Wilson
Although now at a slightly different location, this is the present town of Colcord in Delaware County.			
Royal.....	Chickasaw.....	8 March 1904.....	Alfred B. Hughes
Rubottom.....	Chickasaw.....	14 August 1902.....	William A. Gatlin
Ruby.....	Cherokee.....	2 June 1894.....	John C. Nelson
Rud.....	Cherokee.....	25 February 1903.....	Arthur Chamley
Discontinued by order dated 22 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Afton.			
Rufe.....	Choctaw.....	13 February 1904.....	Mattie Wilson
Rush Springs.....	Chickasaw.....	13 May 1892.....	Samuel H. Hancock
Formerly Parr.			
Russellville.....	Choctaw.....	19 June 1890.....	George Nees
Did not operate during the period 28 December 1892 to 5 September 1895.			
Russellville.....	Cherokee.....	2 February 1895.....	George Clifton
Discontinued effective 3 August 1895.			
Russet.....	Chickasaw.....	3 October 1894.....	C. W. Abernathy
Ryan.....	Chickasaw.....	19 June 1890.....	Elbert M. Solomon
Did not operate during the period 7 February 1891 to 31 October 1893.			
Ryan.....	Chickasaw.....	7 June 1892.....	Thomas G. Windle
Formerly Baldwin. Discontinued effective 31 October 1893, at which time the postoffice at the former Ryan site was reestablished.			
Sabo.....	Creek.....	25 October 1907.....	Thomas S. Foster
Sadie.....	Cherokee.....	1 March 1906.....	Solomon W. Atkerson
Said.....	Chickasaw.....	8 January 1896.....	Willie H. Walters
Discontinued effective 31 October 1896, mail to Wayne.			
Segeeyah.....	Cherokee.....	7 December 1900.....	George Merritt

- Salina.....Cherokee.....10 March 1884.....Joseph F. Thompson
Formerly Cherokee Orphan Asylum.
- Sallisaw.....Cherokee.....29 September 1873.....W. H. Williams
Did not operate during the periods 26 May 1875 to 19 January 1876
and 19 April 1877 to 24 October 1884. Name changed to Mays 7 June
1888.
- Sallisaw.....Cherokee.....8 December 1888.....Thomas Pearson
Formerly Childer's Station.
- Sam.....Choctaw.....22 July 1903.....James M. Johnson
- Sanders.....Cherokee.....6 August 1884.....William F. Sanders
Discontinued effective 6 November 1888, mail to Wesley.
- Sandtown.....Creek.....12 December 1902.....Robert Donalson
Discontinued effective 10 July 1903. This postoffice was never actually
in operation.
- Sandy.....Chickasaw.....14 January 1889.....James R. Ross
Did not operate during the period 12 February 1889 to 4 May 1894.
Name changed to Walker 14 September 1897.
- Sans Bois.....Choctaw.....1 September 1879.....Green W. McCurtain
- Santee.....Cherokee.....7 June 1895.....Robert E. West
- Santown.....Cherokee.....22 September 1904.....George W. Scarborough
Name changed to Mabelle 3 July 1907.
- Sapulpa.....Creek.....1 July 1889.....Frank N. McSpadden
- Sardis.....Choctaw.....20 February 1905.....Nicholas Bohanan
Discontinued by order dated 21 September 1905, effective 14 October
1905, mail to Tushkahomma.
- Sa-sak-wa.....Seminole.....14 January 1880.....Andrew J. Brown
The exact date the spelling of this postoffice was changed to Sasakwa
is not available.
- Savanna.....Choctaw.....5 May 1876.....David M. Williford
Did not operate during the period 17 November 1876 to 26 January
1880.
- Sawokla.....Creek.....17 May 1902.....Robert F. Bradford
Name changed to Haskell 20 June 1904.
- Sawyer.....Choctaw.....1 April 1903.....William E. Cravens
Formerly Miah.
- Saylor.....Choctaw.....13 September 1901.....Wiley J. Sisk
- Scales.....Creek.....10 June 1904.....Prince F. Anderson
- Scalesville.....Choctaw.....8 September 1868.....William T. Davis
Name changed to Buckluxy 1 March 1870.
- Schulter.....Creek.....20 August 1903.....Kitty Russell
- Scipio.....Choctaw.....24 January 1890.....Joseph T. Bevill
Did not operate during the period 11 September 1890 to 10 April
1894.
- Scullin.....Chickasaw.....25 March 1901.....John C. Gerry
Formerly Vaughn. Did not operate during the period 31 October
1901 to 21 March 1906.
- Scullyville.....Choctaw.....16 August 1860.....Francis E. Williams
Formerly Choctaw Agency. Name changed back to Choctaw Agency
14 December 1860. The spelling Scullyville rather than Skullyville
has appeared uniformly in Postoffice Department records.
- Seminole.....Seminole.....6 February 1907.....George Robinett
Formerly Tidmore.
- Senora.....Creek.....20 April 1896.....Frank Likowski
- Sequoyah.....Cherokee.....10 August 1871.....A. C. Ware
Did not operate during the periods 11 March 1872 to 24 December

1888, 29 July 1889 to 29 August 1889, 8 July 1895 to 7 May 1896, and 7 December 1896 to 27 October 1904.

- Shadypoint.....Choctaw.....11 December 1894....Sarah E. Lippard
Formerly Harrison.
- Shakespeare.....Cherokee..... 4 September 1903...William T. Martin
Discontinued by order dated 7 March 1905, effective 31 March 1905,
mail to Uniontown, Ark.
- Sharp.....Creek..... 9 May 1903.....Joseph W. Sharp
- Shawnee Creek.....Choctaw.....23 September 1879...Isaac McClure
Discontinued effective 29 December 1880.
- Shawneetown.....Choctaw.....16 August 1892.....Robert M. Love
Formerly Kulli Inla.
- Shay.....Chickasaw.....23 April 1901.....Charles L. Norman
- Sherman.....Choctaw.....18 February 1902.....W. S. Holt
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 28 July 1902, and
the office was never actually in operation.
- Shellbark.....Creek..... 23 April 1901.....Dennis E. Davis
Discontinued by order dated 24 December 1902, effective 31 December
1902, mail to Stonebluff.
- Shoals.....Choctaw..... 2 July 1904.....John W. Wood
- Short Mountain.....Choctaw..... 3 October 1879.....Eli E. Mitchell
Discontinued effective 18 February 1880.
- Shults.....Choctaw..... 9 February 1905.....George W. Shults
- Shumpker.....Creek..... 3 January 1905.....Toney E. Proctor
Name changed to Trenton 16 May 1905.
- Silo.....Chickasaw..... 4 November 1893.....Albert B. Gates
- Silver City.....Chickasaw.....29 May 1883.....Philip A. Smith
Discontinued effective 17 July 1890, mail to Leeper.
- Simon.....Chickasaw.....19 November 1888.....Thomas J. Overstreet
- Simpson.....Choctaw.....22 August 1894.....Joseph Childers
Discontinued by order dated 24 January 1900, effective 15 February
1900, mail to Vireton.
- Simpson.....Chickasaw.....23 March 1904.....Hugh B. Brown
Formerly Gunton.
- Sitka.....Creek.....17 June 1905.....Mrs. Mary A. Barnes
The postmaster declined the appointment, the order establishing this
postoffice was rescinded 5 September 1905, and the office was never
actually in operation.
- Skelton Depot.....Choctaw..... 4 February 1867.....Miss Emma DeHart
Discontinued effective 15 September 1868.
- Ski-a-took.....Cherokee.....12 March 1880.....William C. Rogers
Did not operate during the period 27 April 1881 to 20 June 1882.
Name changed to Skiatook 11 April 1892.
- Skiatook.....Cherokee.....11 April 1892.....Joseph Bariclaw
Formerly Ski-a-took.
- Skin Bayou.....Cherokee.....27 October 1873.....John B. Belts
Discontinued effective 1 September 1875.
- Sleeper.....Cherokee.....10 May 1904.....John Hinkle
- Smithville.....Choctaw..... 1 May 1890.....Joshua M. Smith
Formerly Hatobi.
- Sneed.....Chickasaw.....29 May 1901.....William Keller
- Snow.....Cherokee..... 3 November 1903.....Frank F. Farbro
Discontinued by order dated 3 September 1904, effective 15 September
1904, mail to Coffeyville, Kans.

- Sofka.....Creek.....27 August 1894.....William E. Lurton
Discontinued effective 14 December 1897, mail to Sapulpa.
- Soper.....Choctaw.....2 April 1903.....Malcom E. Walker
- South Canadian.....Choctaw.....29 May 1873.....R. D. Burton
Name changed to Canadian 11 December 1899.
- South McAlester.....Choctaw.....5 February 1890.....William Noble
Name changed to McAlester 10 May 1907.
- Sowder.....Cherokee.....29 August 1902.....James C. Saylor
Discontinued by order dated 15 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to McKey.
- Spaulding.....Creek.....29 December 1902.....Rufus M. Brady
- Spavina Mills.....Cherokee.....10 October 1878.....W. A. West
Formerly Lynch's Prairie. Discontinued effective 6 January 1879.
- Spavinaw.....Cherokee.....14 March 1892.....Henry C. Cochran
- Spears.....Cherokee.....19 August 1890.....Xerxes Z. Taylor
Discontinued effective 21 November 1890, mail to Tahlequah.
- Spencer Academy.....Choctaw.....22 January 1844.....William Wilson
Discontinued effective 22 July 1847.
- Spencerville.....Choctaw.....17 May 1902.....William Hullinger
- Sperry.....Cherokee.....17 May 1902.....William H. Carson
- Spiro.....Choctaw.....21 September 1898.....Samuel H. Bailey
- Spodek.....Creek.....17 May 1902.....Jacob S. Beams
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 12 September 1902, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Spokogee.....Creek.....27 June 1902.....Marion J. Butler
Formerly Watsonville. Name changed to Dustin 9 May 1904.
- Spring Bluff.....Choctaw.....20 November 1867.....Hattie C. Sample
Did not operate during the period 20 May 1872 to 4 October 1872.
Discontinued effective 13 August 1874.
- Springbrook.....Chickasaw.....17 July 1906.....Benjamin A. Sanders
Formerly Viola.
- Springer.....Chickasaw.....1 September 1890.....Daniel P. Fairchild
- Springfield.....Creek.....16 April 1884.....Joseph S. Robison
Name changed to McDermott 10 March 1894.
- Standley.....Choctaw.....6 December 1887.....William G. Martin
Discontinued by order dated 15 January 1900, effective 31 January 1900, mail to Dexter.
- Stanley.....Choctaw.....20 August 1906.....Curtis A. Brothers
Apparently Stanley was a reestablishment of Standley.
- Star.....Choctaw.....14 March 1892.....James B. Beckett
- Starvilla.....Cherokee.....16 January 1895.....William L. Ingram
Did not operate during the period 28 February 1905 to 31 March 1905.
Discontinued by order dated 9 June 1905, effective 30 June 1905, mail to Porum.
- Starville.....Choctaw.....29 March 1875.....G. C. Lloyd
Discontinued effective 30 April 1875.
- Stephen.....Choctaw.....28 April 1905.....Alfonzo F. Vanhorn
Discontinued by order dated 1 February 1906, effective 28 February 1906, mail to Scipio.
- Stephens.....Chickasaw.....1 May 1888.....C. G. Edsall
Discontinued effective 20 December 1888, mail to Lone Grove.
- Sterrett.....Choctaw.....20 June 1899.....John W. Blevins
Formerly Cale.
- Stidham.....Creek.....30 January 1897.....Alexander Lyon

- Stigler.....Choctaw..... 3 May 1893.....Joseph L. Stigler
Formerly Newman.
- Stilwell.....Cherokee.....12 May 1896.....Joseph T. Johnson
Formerly Flint.
- Stonebluff.....Creek..... 28 May 1897.....Sarah J. Johnson
- Stoner.....Chickasaw.....13 June 1906.....Charles H. Stoner
- Stonewall.....Chickasaw.....30 December 1874.....Thomas J. Phillips
The original town of Stonewall was located on Clear Boggy Creek
at the site of the present town of Frisco in Pontotoc County.
- Story.....Chickasaw.....11 October 1899.....S. P. Howard
- Stratford.....Chickasaw.....23 October 1906.....Moses M. Ledford
- Stringtown.....Choctaw.....17 August 1874.....James D. Garner
Name changed to Sulphur Springs 9 July 1877. Name changed back
to Stringtown 23 July 1877.
- Stuart.....Choctaw.....14 April 1896.....William L. Wooley
Formerly Hoyuby.
- Suagee.....Cherokee.....25 June 1892.....William T. Melton
Discontinued effective 14 September 1898, mail to Grove.
- Sugden.....Chickasaw.....14 November 1893.....Charles J. Green
- Sulphur.....Chickasaw..... 2 October 1895.....William J. Bloomer
- Sulphur Springs.....Choctaw..... 9 July 1877.....William F. Haynes
Formerly Stringtown. Name changed back to Stringtown 23 July 1877.
- Sugg.....Chickasaw.....14 March 1888.....Robert P. Short
Formerly Baldwin. Name changed back to Baldwin 23 January 1890.
- Summerfield.....Choctaw.....13 October 1888.....Lily Sexton
- Summitt.....Creek.....18 May 1896.....Mark L. Minter
- Sutter.....Choctaw.....18 October 1899.....Dora Jones
The present name of this town is Calhoun.
- Swimmer.....Cherokee.....24 July 1890.....George W. Swimmer
Discontinued effective 9 September 1897, mail to Long.
- Swink.....Choctaw.....14 August 1902.....Jasper N. Thompson
- Sycamore.....Cherokee.....14 July 1906.....Ross Oodeledo
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 26 October 1906,
and the office was never actually in operation.
- Sylvan.....Chickasaw.....18 May 1895.....William Scrivner
Discontinued by order dated 31 January 1905, effective 28 February
1905, mail to Wyatt.
- Sylvian.....Seminole..... 2 February 1907.....William T. Stanley
- Tabor.....Creek.....12 December 1903.....Edward A. Tabor
Formerly Robbins.
- Taft.....Creek.....18 November 1904.....James H. Patrick
Formerly Twine.
- Tahlequah.....Cherokee..... 6 May 1847.....George M. Murrell
Formerly Park Hill. The spelling of this postoffice was originally
shown as Tallequah, and sometime between 29 August 1855 and 6 May
1856 the records in the office of the Postmaster General were altered
by pen so as to read Tahlequah.
- Talala.....Cherokee.....23 June 1890.....Albert A. French
- Talihina.....Choctaw.....30 November 1887.....Andrew A. Muse
- Tamaha.....Choctaw.....17 April 1884.....John E. McBrayer
Did not operate during the period 16 November 1886 to 6 March 1888.
- Tandy.....Choctaw.....17 September 1894.....John H. Brunson
Discontinued by order dated 3 November 1903, effective 14 November
1903, mail to Calvin.

- Tanooyah**.....Cherokee.....10 May 1904.....William J. Harper
Harper declined the appointment as postmaster, and the order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 11 August 1904. On 2 February 1906 an order was issued appointing B. F. Nicholson postmaster and reestablishing this office. He likewise declined the appointment and the order of reestablishment was rescinded 19 April 1906. The office was never actually in operation.
- Tatapa**.....Choctaw.....16 September 1892.....Jesse H. Hardaway
Discontinued effective 26 February 1895. This postoffice was never in operation.
- Tate**.....Seminole.....1 June 1903.....J. O. Lynch
Discontinued by order dated 24 October 1906, effective 30 November 1906, mail to Wewoka.
- Tatums**.....Chickasaw.....9 May 1896.....Lee B. Tatum
- Teakhela**.....Choctaw.....1 September 1879.....Mrs. Louisa Parrish
Discontinued effective 2 August 1880.
- Teller**.....Chickasaw.....17 May 1898.....Asbery H. Scrimshire
- Terral**.....Chickasaw.....9 August 1892.....John H. D. Terral
- Texanna**.....Chickasaw.....9 December 1885.....William F. Stone
Discontinued effective 9 September 1887, mail to Thackerville.
- Texanna**.....Cherokee.....27 June 1888.....John Bryant
Did not operate during the period 29 July 1889 to 25 August 1890.
- Thackerville**.....Chickasaw.....31 January 1882.....Millard F. Thacker
- Theoda**.....Chickasaw.....15 October 1906.....Richard Sparks
- Thomas**.....Chickasaw.....18 November 1890.....John W. Turner
Discontinued effective 6 October 1891, mail to Berwyn.
- Thomasville**.....Choctaw.....25 January 1896.....Marcus L. Thomas
Discontinued by order dated 28 September 1906, effective 31 October 1906, mail to Page.
- Thornton**.....Cherokee.....7 March 1895.....Thomas J. Thornton
Discontinued effective 25 October 1895, mail to Ringo.
- Thrace**.....Seminole.....22 May 1906.....Abraham Villines
- Thurman**.....Choctaw.....20 March 1888.....Carl G. Rodman
Name changed to Garner 1 July 1902.
- Thurston**.....Choctaw.....23 December 1904.....John R. Denton
Name changed to Patterson 31 October 1906.
- Ti**.....Choctaw.....6 March 1896.....William D. Tomlin
- Tiawah**.....Cherokee.....24 August 1903.....Maxwell Chambers
- Tidmore**.....Seminole.....17 May 1902.....David P. McGehee
Name changed to Seminole 6 February 1907.
- Tiff**.....Chickasaw.....3 July 1905.....James P. Satterfield
Discontinued by order dated 4 September 1906, effective 29 September 1906, mail to Deese.
- Tiger**.....Creek.....3 December 1890.....Alma Isparhehcher
Discontinued effective 15 September 1891, mail to Okmulgee.
- Timber**.....Creek.....15 December 1902.....Lorenzo D. Johnson
Name changed to Wecharty 2 August 1904.
- Timberhill**.....Cherokee.....25 February 1903.....Charles J. Schuth
Discontinued by order dated 25 November 1903, effective 15 December 1903, mail to Welch.
- Tip**.....Cherokee.....19 June 1906.....William D. Brewer
- Tishomingo**.....Chickasaw.....29 June 1857.....Aaron Harlan
Did not operate during the periods 18 October 1860 to 14 December 1860, 31 July 1866 to 21 March 1870, and 6 March 1872 to 19 March 1872.

- Toboxky**.....Choctaw.....18 September 1857.....Gray E. Scales
Did not operate during the periods 9 July 1866 to 22 March 1867 and 15 September 1868 to 10 October 1870. Discontinued effective 8 May 1871.
- Toboxy**.....Choctaw.....14 May 1872.....David R. Brown
Did not operate during the period 20 February 1874 to 4 June 1877. Discontinued effective 22 March 1878. The office was reestablished by order dated 22 May 1899; but such order was rescinded 29 June 1899 and the office did not actually resume operation.
- Toloka**.....Choctaw.....17 May 1902.....Riley L. Coleman
Discontinued by order dated 9 January 1903, effective 31 January 1903, mail to Stigler.
- Tooka**.....Creek.....24 March 1894.....Henry H. Bowman
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 14 September 1894, and it is doubtful if the office was ever actually in operation.
- Townsley**.....Chickasaw.....7 February 1905.....James M. Townsley
Discontinued by order dated 3 January 1907, effective 31 January 1907, mail to Cope.
- Trenton**.....Creek.....16 May 1905.....Toney E. Proctor
Formerly Shumpker.
- Trilby**.....Seminole.....5 June 1906.....Cary R. Spillman
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 15 August 1906, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Troy**.....Chickasaw.....14 September 1897.....Robert C. Akers
- Truax**.....Chickasaw.....1 June 1901.....John W. Lewis
On 18 January 1908 an order was issued discontinuing this postoffice to be effective 15 February 1908, but was rescinded 29 January 1908. The office was later discontinued by order dated 4 May 1908, effective 31 May 1908, mail to Tishomingo, Okla.
- Tucker**.....Chickasaw.....28 April 1887.....Christian D. Link
Name changed to Comanche 26 January 1893.
- Tucker**.....Choctaw.....30 March 1894.....Jefferson D. Shaw
- Tuklo**.....Choctaw.....14 May 1892.....John McHenry
Discontinued effective 25 April 1893, mail to Tulip, Tex.
- Tullahassee**.....Creek.....26 January 1899.....Lewis E. Willis
- Tul-lah-te-kee**.....Cherokee.....4 December 1871.....A. W. Robb
Discontinued effective 20 May 1872.
- Tulsa**.....Creek.....25 March 1879.....Josiah C. Perryman
- Tupelo**.....Choctaw.....13 January 1904.....James H. Clark
Formerly Jeffs.
- Turkey Ford**.....Seneca.....14 December 1905.....Isaac R. Russell
- Turley**.....Cherokee.....13 January 1897.....William Daum
- Turner**.....Creek.....23 April 1901.....Drew B. F. Pennington
- Tuskegee**.....Creek.....6 September 1872.....Richard R. Bruner
Did not operate during the period 18 November 1872 to 24 December 1896.
- Tuskha Homma**.....Choctaw.....27 February 1884.....Henry T. Jackman
Name changed to Tushkahomma 28 October 1891.
- Tushkahomma**.....Choctaw.....28 October 1891.....John W. Schmer
Formerly Tuskha Homma.
- Tussy**.....Chickasaw.....1 March 1890.....Finch P. Scraggs
- Tuttle**.....Chickasaw.....14 August 1902.....Anderson J. Davison
- Twine**.....Creek.....28 March 1902.....Thomas W. Manuel
Name changed to Taft 18 November 1904.
- Tyler**.....Creek.....31 January 1899.....William M. Boatright

- Tyrola.....Chickasaw..... 4 May 1896.....Robert B. Wright
 Ulm.....Cherokee..... 1 March 1890.....George Miller
 Name changed to Leach 20 February 1897.
- Unchuka.....Choctaw..... 9 August 1907.....G. Lee Phillips
 Ungles.....Choctaw..... 21 August 1897.....John Butts
 Discontinued effective 3 March 1898, mail to South McAlester.
- Uno.....Choctaw..... 23 March 1881.....Mrs. Isabella Matthews
 Discontinued effective 3 October 1881.
- Utica.....Choctaw..... 14 February 1894.....Wilber F. Whaley
 Valliant.....Choctaw..... 23 June 1902.....Hosea L. Fowler
 Formerly Fowlerville.
- Vamoosa.....Seminole..... 19 May 1906.....Garner F. Hicks
 Vance.....Creek..... 28 March 1902.....Malinda Vance
 Discontinued by order dated 14 April 1904, effective 30 April 1904,
 mail to Catoosa.
- Vann.....Cherokee..... 11 July 1894.....John C. Belt
 Did not operate during the period 22 October 1895 to 27 December
 1895. Discontinued effective 7 September 1898, mail to Starvilla.
- Vaughn.....Chickasaw..... 21 December 1896.....Abraham M. Leonard
 Name changed to Scullin 25 March 1901.
- Vaught.....Choctaw..... 23 June 1892.....James O. Ormsby
 Discontinued effective 28 September 1892. This postoffice was never
 in operation.
- Velma.....Chickasaw..... 25 September 1886.....John R. Frensley
 Vera.....Cherokee..... 15 December 1899.....Eli Carr
 Formerly McFall.
- Verdigris.....Cherokee..... 12 March 1880.....Clem V. Rogers
 Discontinued effective 29 July 1880. On 2 April 1903 an order was
 issued reestablishing this postoffice and appointing John S. Kirby
 postmaster. He declined the appointment and the order was rescinded
 10 July 1903. On 18 March 1904 the office was reestablished and
 Nathan R. Bland appointed postmaster.
- Veto.....Chickasaw..... 24 December 1892.....William T. Reed
 Discontinued effective 8 April 1893, mail to Fleetwood.
- Vian.....Cherokee..... 6 May 1886.....Mahala Thompson
 Vibbard.....Choctaw..... 4 October 1901.....Mary J. Roberts
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 21 November
 1901, and the office was never actually in operation.
- Vicars.....Creek..... 8 April 1900.....John R. Vicars
 Discontinued by order dated 29 August 1903, effective 15 September
 1903, mail to Bristow.
- Victor.....Chickasaw..... 21 February 1894.....Myra Carnahan
 Discontinued effective 4 April 1899, mail to York.
- Victor.....Choctaw..... 1 May 1901.....Charles W. Lofton
 View.....Choctaw..... 20 July 1898.....Lula Muncy
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 29 October 1898,
 and the office was never actually in operation.
- Vinita.....Cherokee..... 13 September 1871.....William H. Campbell
 Did not operate during the period 25 November 1872 to 16 December
 1872.
- Viola.....Chickasaw..... 30 June 1890.....John C. Boswell
 Did not operate during the period 29 August 1894 to 16 April 1895.
 Name changed to Springbrook 17 July 1906.

- Vireton**.....Choctaw..... 1 May 1896.....Henry E. Miller
On 29 November 1907 an order was issued discontinuing this postoffice to be effective 14 December 1907, but was rescinded 2 December 1907. Discontinued by order dated 17 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Krebs, Okla.
- Voca**.....Choctaw..... 16 January 1906.....Charles H. Smith
- Waco**.....Chickasaw..... 20 October 1890.....Jacob Descombs
Name changed to Pensee 11 September 1891.
- Wade**.....Choctaw..... 24 October 1890.....Felin LeFlore
Did not operate during the period 23 April 1891 to 7 August 1894.
- Wadeville**.....Choctaw..... 19 November 1877.....Alfred Wade
Did not operate during the period 14 May 1883 to 10 September 1883. Discontinued effective 2 January 1884.
- Wagoner**.....Creek..... 25 February 1888.....William W. Teague
- Wainwright**.....Creek..... 20 October 1905.....Gretta M. Somerville
- Waldon**.....Chickasaw..... 23 November 1892.....Odd E. Rice
Did not operate during the period 17 June 1895 to 9 October 1895. Discontinued by order dated 18 January 1905, effective 15 February 1905, mail to Tuttle.
- Walker**.....Chickasaw..... 14 September 1897.....Eli W. Barnett
Formerly Sandy. Did not operate during the period 15 January 1906 to 31 March 1906.
- Walls**.....Choctaw..... 17 April 1894.....Benjamin F. Wall
- Wallville**.....Chickasaw..... 7 March 1891.....John L. Wilson
- Walner**.....Chickasaw..... 8 January 1886.....Henry Kaiser
Name changed to Wynne Wood 6 April 1887.
- Walnut**.....Cherokee..... 30 August 1902.....William P. Brandon
Discontinued by order dated 1 March 1905, effective 31 March 1905, mail to Pensacola.
- Wann**.....Cherokee..... 13 October 1899.....Anton H. Faller
Formerly Coon.
- Wapanucka**.....Chickasaw..... 5 March 1883.....Frank P. Wells
Wapanucka Academy, often known as Chickasaw Rock Academy, was organized in 1851 by Rev. John S. Allen. Its official name was the Wapanucka Female Manual Training School, and 40 girls were in attendance when the school opened for the Fall 1852 term. The school operated under the auspices of the Presbyterian Mission Board until 6 July 1860, at which time the school was closed. During the Civil War the Confederate forces used the buildings for a hospital. In 1868 the Chickasaw Nation took over the operation of the school, running it on a contract basis. The Academy was finally closed in 1910, and on 11 July 1911 the buildings were sold to private parties. On 17 December 1888 the site of the postoffice was moved about four miles east to the railroad and into the Choctaw Nation.
- Wapanucka**.....Choctaw..... 17 December 1888.....Alva A. Taylor
This postoffice was formerly located about four miles to the west in the Chickasaw Nation at the site of the Chickasaw Rock Academy.
- Ward**.....Choctaw..... 20 June 1892.....James A. Riggs
- Wardville**.....Choctaw..... 18 July 1907.....Elbridge Smith
Formerly Herbert.
- Warner**.....Cherokee..... 22 April 1905.....James F. Shepard
Formerly Hereford.
- Washington**.....Chickasaw..... 10 May 1904.....John R. Kerr
- Washita**.....Chickasaw..... 11 August 1887.....Samuel H. Davis
Discontinued by order dated 17 October 1900, effective 31 October 1900, mail to Davis.

- Wasson.....Cherokee.....24 May 1892.....George Datinsky
Did not operate during the period 10 January 1896 to 2 June 1898.
Discontinued by order dated 25 July 1906, effective 15 August 1906,
mail to Welch.
- Watkins.....Chickasaw.....17 May 1883.....John A. Fowler
Name changed to Courtney 17 August 1886.
- Watova.....Cherokee.....9 April 1892.....Albert E. Williams
- Watsonville.....Creek.....18 April 1898.....Marion J. Butler
Name changed to Spokogee 27 June 1902.
- Wau-hil-lau.....Cherokee.....13 February 1879.....Robert A. Walker
Spelling changed to Wauhillau sometime between 21 April 1891 and
23 April 1895.
- Wayne.....Chickasaw.....11 December 1890.....William F. King
- We-a-la-ka.....Creek.....8 April 1880.....W. T. Davis
Discontinued effective 14 August 1889. On 28 January 1892 this post-
office was reestablished as Wealaka.
- Wealaka.....Creek.....28 January 1892.....Charles J. Phenis
This postoffice was formerly known as We-a-la-ka.
- Weaverton.....Chickasaw.....4 April 1898.....James E. Weaver
- Webbers Falls.....Cherokee.....15 July 1856.....John McDaniel
Did not operate during the period 9 July 1866 to 16 May 1870.
- Wecharty.....Creek.....2 August 1904.....Lewis C. Young
Formerly Timber.
- Weer.....Creek.....21 February 1894.....John E. Weer
Discontinued by order dated 27 September 1906, effective 30 November
1906, mail to Broken Arrow.
- Wekiwa.....Creek.....21 April 1906.....Louis C. Brown
- Welch.....Cherokee.....13 July 1892.....Benjamin F. Brookshire
- Welcome.....Creek.....17 May 1905.....Elmer E. Jenks
Name changed to Alsuma 12 February 1906.
- Weldon.....Cherokee.....10 July 1901.....James W. Gibson
Formerly Lawton. Name changed to Copan 27 February 1904.
- Weleetka.....Creek.....14 March 1902.....Lake Moore
- Wellington.....Creek.....3 June 1890.....David A. Lee
Name changed to Lee 22 July 1892.
- Welling.....Cherokee.....19 April 1899.....Sarah S. Mathes
- Welty.....Creek.....12 October 1905.....Jeremiah D. Wilson
Formerly Creek.
- Wesley.....Chickasaw.....16 June 1886.....John W. Brown
Discontinued effective 15 May 1889, mail to Spanish Fort, Tex.
- Wesley.....Choctaw.....2 October 1903.....Arthur P. Davis
- West Tulsa.....Creek.....4 October 1907.....Frank W. Crethers
- Westville.....Cherokee.....18 November 1895.....Ellis R. Alberty
- We-tum-ka.....Creek.....1 February 1881.....Thomas H. Scales
Name changed to Wetumka 2 June 1893.
- Wetumka.....Creek.....2 June 1893.....Jackson R. Dunzy
Formerly We-tum-ka.
- We-wo-ka.....Seminole.....13 May 1867.....Elisha S. Brown
Did not operate during the period 1 November 1883 to 1 April 1884.
The exact date the name of this postoffice was changed to Wewoka
is not available.
- Wheeler.....Chickasaw.....8 May 1896.....Thomas S. Burns
- Wheelock.....Choctaw.....21 March 1845.....Henry K. Copeland
Did not operate during the periods 9 July 1866 to 24 August 1866 and
20 May 1872 to 4 October 1872. Discontinued effective 3 May 1895, mail
to Garvin.

White.....	Choctaw.....	27 August 1906.....	Henry D. Smith
White Bead Hill.....	Chickasaw.....	5 May 1876.....	Albert Hood
Did not operate during the period 14 December 1876 to 15 January 1877. Name changed to Whitebead 26 April 1895.			
Whitebead.....	Chickasaw.....	26 April 1895.....	Abraham C. Gray
Formerly White Bead Hill.			
Whitefield.....	Choctaw.....	27 November 1888....	William S. Hall
Formerly Oklahoma.			
Whiteoak.....	Cherokee.....	31 October 1898.....	Bates B. Burnett
White Water.....	Cherokee.....	1 April 1873.....	Samuel N. Melton
Discontinued effective 9 July 1866.			
Whiting.....	Quapaw.....	3 October 1882.....	Ida Whiting
Discontinued effective 6 May 1885, mail to Baxter Springs, Kans.			
Whitmire.....	Cherokee.....	23 September 1897...	Charlotte C. Whitmire
Whitney.....	Creek.....	31 March 1903.....	Eda A. Burke
Wilburton.....	Choctaw.....	2 January 1891.....	William R. Guin
Wildcat.....	Creek.....	19 May 1897.....	Birl Grayson
Name changed to Grayson 20 February 1902.			
Wiley.....	Chickasaw.....	24 December 1892....	Wilbur S. Green
Williams.....	Choctaw.....	14 October 1904.....	John B. Pilgreen
On 19 May 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this postoffice, to be effective 30 June 1906, but was rescinded 26 June 1906.			
Willis.....	Chickasaw.....	15 March 1886.....	Robert C. Thompson
Wilson.....	Chickasaw.....	4 April 1888.....	William S. Rogers
Discontinued by order dated 18 July 1907, effective 15 August 1907, mail to Legate.			
Wimer.....	Cherokee.....	8 September 1894....	James H. Wimer
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 27 December 1894, and the office did not actually commence operation until it was reestablished by order dated 20 December 1899 appointing Joseph Allen postmaster.			
Winchester.....	Cherokee.....	16 August 1890.....	George Blair
Discontinued effective 23 September 1891, mail to Sallisaw.			
Winston.....	Choctaw.....	13 September 1886...	Charles Winston
Discontinued effective 16 May 1887.			
Wister.....	Choctaw.....	30 June 1890.....	Isaac M. Willis
Witteville.....	Choctaw.....	22 August 1894.....	Gerhard H. Witte
Discontinued by order dated 7 April 1908, effective 30 April 1908, mail to Poteau, Okla.			
Wolf.....	Seminole.....	25 February 1903....	Joseph M. York
Discontinued by order dated 29 August 1907, effective 14 September 1907, mail to Maud, Okla. T.			
Wolfton.....	Chickasaw.....	12 April 1895.....	George W. Wolf
Discontinued effective 4 October 1895, mail to Purcell.			
Womack.....	Chickasaw.....	6 August 1900.....	John C. Womack
Woodford.....	Chickasaw.....	4 February 1884....	John Bywater
Woodley.....	Cherokee.....	19 October 1897.....	William O'Neil
Discontinued by order dated 15 June 1907, effective 29 June 1907, mail to Vinita.			
Woodville.....	Chickasaw.....	9 July 1888.....	Robert S. Bell
Formerly Harney.			
Woolsey.....	Chickasaw.....	21 January 1891.....	William A. Alexander
Did not operate during the period 24 December 1892 to 15 November 1893.			
Wyandotte.....	Wyandotte.....	3 October 1894.....	Julia E. Mudeater
Formerly Grand River.			

Wyatt.....	Chickasaw.....	6 September 1895.....	Pinkney F. Wyatt
Discontinued by order dated 28 May 1906, effective 30 June 1906, mail to Baum.			
Wybark.....	Creek.....	18 January 1890.....	William Lamb
The railroad name for this postoffice was Verdark.			
Wynne Wood.....	Chickasaw.....	6 April 1887.....	Henry Kaiser
Formerly Walner. Spelling changed to Wynnewood by special order of the Postmaster General dated 5 November 1895.			
Yahola.....	Creek.....	8 October 1906.....	G. V. Reynolds
Yarnaby.....	Chickasaw.....	22 January 1883.....	Ambrose Powell
The Postoffice Department apparently had difficulty in determining the exact location of the postoffice, as records in the office of the Postmaster General showed Yarnaby to be not only in the Chickasaw Nation, but also in the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations.			
Yarrow.....	Creek.....	25 April 1898.....	Jacob W. Bales
Discontinued by order dated 5 October 1900, effective 15 October 1900, mail to Mounds.			
Yeager.....	Creek.....	6 February 1902.....	John W. George
Yellow Hills.....	Chickasaw.....	25 November 1890.....	Mrs. Mary J. Clark
Name changed to Durwood 11 September 1891.			
York.....	Chickasaw.....	17 August 1894.....	Joseph F. York
Yuba.....	Chickasaw.....	14 September 1898.....	William H. Hall
Zena.....	Cherokee.....	11 April 1896.....	William H. Wood
Zenobia.....	Chickasaw.....	27 April 1906.....	Daniel Cummings
Formerly Jaunita. Name changed to Bromide 8 June 1907.			
Zoraya.....	Choctaw.....	22 April 1905.....	John A. Kirksey

APPENDIX

THE CIVIL WAR IN INDIAN TERRITORY

POSTOFFICES IN OPERATION ON 15 MARCH 1861	NATION	DATE DISCONTINUED FOLLOWING CIVIL WAR
Armstrong Academy.....	Choctaw.....	22 June 1866
Baptist Mission.....	Cherokee.....	22 June 1866
Boggy Depot.....	Choctaw.....	
Burney Academy.....	Chickasaw.....	22 June 1866
Choctaw Agency.....	Choctaw.....	
Coody's Bluff.....	Cherokee.....	2 July 1866
Creek Agency.....	Creek.....	8 February 1867
Danielsville.....	Cherokee.....	2 July 1866
Doaksville.....	Choctaw.....	2 July 1866
Eagle Town.....	Choctaw.....	2 July 1866
Eh-yoh-hee.....	Cherokee.....	24 August 1866
Flint.....	Cherokee.....	
Fort Arbuckle.....	Chickasaw.....	
Fort Gibson.....	Cherokee.....	
Fort Washita.....	Chickasaw.....	
Grand Saline.....	Cherokee.....	24 August 1866
Harris' Mill.....	Choctaw.....	2 July 1866
Kidron.....	Cherokee.....	24 August 1866
Lenark Falls.....	Cherokee.....	9 July 1866
Luk-fah-tah.....	Choctaw.....	9 July 1866
Little Verdigris.....	Cherokee.....	9 July 1866

Micco.....	Creek.....	9 July 1866
Mount Clarimier.....	Cherokee.....	11 February 1867
Pontotoc.....	Chickasaw.....	
Tahlequah.....	Cherokee.....	
Tishomingo.....	Chickasaw.....	31 July 1866
Toboxky.....	Choctaw.....	9 July 1866
Webbers Falls.....	Cherokee.....	9 July 1866
Wheelock.....	Choctaw.....	9 July 1866

On paper, at least, there were in operation at the outbreak of the Civil War 29 postoffices in what is now Oklahoma. The Postmaster General made no effort to keep his records abreast of the local situation, and no orders of any kind were issued for the entire period of hostilities changing the status of any Indian Territory postoffice. At the close of the Civil War a survey was made, and a series of blanket general orders were issued formally closing out those offices, 21 in number, that did not survive the war period. Some of those so discontinued were later reestablished, but of the 29 offices in operation at the outbreak of the war, only eight appear to have maintained a continuous existence.

—G.H.S.

THE POST OFFICES OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

POSTOFFICE	LOCATION	DATE ESTABLISHED	FIRST POSTMASTER
Aaron.....	Greer County.....	22 January 1889.....	William W. Lee
Did not operate during the period 31 May 1901 to 21 September 1901. Discontinued effective 14 January 1905, mail to Olustee.			
Adams.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	8 April 1880.....	Daniel L. Taylor
Discontinued effective 19 January 1881.			
Alfred.....	Oklahoma.....	18 May 1889.....	Ancil B. Wood
Name changed to Mulhall 6 June 1890.			
Alpine.....	Beaver County.....	2 March 1887.....	Alexander C. Bender
Discontinued effective 29 June 1894, mail to Riverside.			
Alsford.....	Greer County.....	2 May 1891.....	Herbert W. White
Discontinued effective 26 October 1891, mail to Lock.			
Altus.....	Greer County.....	27 October 1890.....	Wiley Bancum
Anadarko.....	Leased District.....	22 April 1873.....	Jonathan Richards
Antelope.....	Oklahoma.....	13 March 1891.....	Thomas L. Campbell
Discontinued effective 2 December 1891, mail to Burwick.			
Arcadia.....	Oklahoma.....	5 August 1890.....	Mrs. Sarah J. Newkirk
Ball.....	Oklahoma.....	17 April 1891.....	William H. Ball
Discontinued by order dated 27 November 1903, effective 14 December 1903, mail to Cashion.			
Beaver.....	Beaver County.....	5 April 1883.....	Peter T. Reep
Benton.....	Beaver County.....	13 September 1886.....	Benjamin D. Fowler
Discontinued by order dated 4 October 1899, effective 14 October 1899, mail to Riverside.			
Bluegrass.....	Beaver County.....	13 September 1886.....	Willis B. Stanley
Discontinued effective 27 October 1898.			
Bowman.....	Oklahoma.....	25 June 1890.....	John Bowman
Discontinued by order dated 30 August 1900, effective 15 September 1900, mail to Standard.			
Boyd.....	Beaver County.....	24 December 1887.....	Lemvick W. Moore
Britton.....	Oklahoma.....	26 November 1889.....	David C. Dailey

- Buffalo.....Beaver County.....15 March 1888.....Andrew Henderson
This is not the present town of Buffalo, the county seat of Harper County, but was located a few miles north of the present town of Optima in Texas County. Discontinued by order dated 2 August 1902, effective 30 August 1902.
- Burlington.....Oklahoma.....23 January 1890.....M. D. McNett
Name changed to Waterloo 9 April 1892.
- Burnett.....Pottawatomie Nation... 8 June 1888.....John T. Peyton
Did not operate during the period 1 May 1890 to 23 June 1890.
- Burwick.....Oklahoma.....31 January 1891.....Mary E. Canning
Discontinued by order dated 28 November 1900, effective 15 December 1900, mail to Guthrie.
- Camp McCullah..Oklahoma.....20 February 1880...William A. Libbee
Discontinued effective 3 August 1880.
- Camp Morris.....Leased District.....20 February 1880...James M. Raglan
Discontinued effective 3 August 1880.
- Camp Supply.....Cherokee Outlet.....17 March 1873.....A. E. Reynolds
Name changed to Fort Supply 26 June 1889.
- Canadian.....Oklahoma..... 7 March 1891.....Joseph M. Northrup
Discontinued effective 22 October 1895, mail to Yukon.
- Cantonment.....Leased District.....17 July 1879.....William Hershey
- Caple.....Beaver County.....13 April 1891.....William G. Caple
- Carrizo.....Beaver County..... 9 September 1886...George W. Hubbard
Name changed to Florence 9 April 1890.
- Case.....Oklahoma..... 1 December 1890..Charles P. Case
Discontinued by order dated 29 June 1906, effective 31 July 1906, mail to Moore.
- Center.....Oklahoma.....24 March 1890.....W. D. H. Shockey
Name changed to Whisler 9 June 1890. It is doubtful if this postoffice was ever in operation under the name Canter.
- Chaddick.....Oklahoma.....16 April 1890.....Alonzo P. Bacon
- Chandler.....Sac & Fox Reserve.....21 September 1891..William L. Harvey
- Cheyenne.....Leased District.....11 April 1892.....Lewis L. Bill
- Choctaw City.....Oklahoma.....21 February 1890...Sarah A. Muzzy
- Chetola.....Oklahoma.....20 July 1889.....Frank Fischer
Discontinued effective 19 August 1890.
- Chilton.....Greer County.....18 April 1890.....Joseph C. Penwright
Name changed to Dunbar 21 March 1892.
- Cimarron City...Oklahoma.....28 August 1889.....C. E. Bearhs
- Clardyville.....Pottawatomie Nation...25 February 1875...Isabella A. Clardy
Formerly Isabella. Name changed to Oberlin 25 April 1876.
- Clarkson.....Oklahoma.....31 January 1890.....Grant T. Johnson
- Clayton.....Oklahoma.....21 February 1890...Samuel Dial
- Clear Lake.....Beaver County.....11 February 1888...Warren Ellison
Formerly Lake.
- Collins.....Beaver County..... 2 March 1888.....Samuel Anderson
Discontinued effective 2 March 1889, mail to Boston, Col.
- Columbia.....Oklahoma.....21 February 1890...Edward C. Tritt
- Crescent.....Oklahoma.....21 February 1890...John H. Warrenburg
- Cushing.....Sac & Fox Reserve.....10 November 1891..Louis K. McGriffin
- Custer.....Beaver County.....28 October 1891.....Franklin J. Birdsall
Formerly Ivanhoe.
- Dale.....Pottawatomie Nation...26 October 1893.....Robert D. Vaughn
Formerly King.

Darlington.....	Oklahoma.....	2 April 1873.....	Lucy D. Miles
Dial.....	Greer County.....	27 June 1890.....	Lettie H. Dial
Discontinued effective 4 September 1890, mail to Martha.			
Dover.....	Oklahoma.....	1 March 1890.....	John C. Chapin
Downs.....	Oklahoma.....	12 August 1889.....	Frank Rector
Name changed to Cashion 14 May 1900.			
Duke.....	Greer County.....	11 September 1890.....	William D. McFarlane
Dunbar.....	Greer County.....	21 March 1892.....	Joseph C. Penwright
Formerly Chilton.			
Eda.....	Oklahoma.....	24 March 1890.....	Lewis B. Cooper
Discontinued by order dated 6 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904, mail to Piedmont.			
Edmond.....	Oklahoma.....	23 May 1889.....	Franklin L. Greene
El Dorado.....	Greer County.....	1 September 1890.....	John T. Brown
Elm.....	Oklahoma.....	1 March 1890.....	Felix G. Ott
Name changed to Martin 27 October 1890.			
Elmwood.....	Beaver County.....	26 January 1888.....	Noah C. McCown
Did not operate during the period 16 October 1893 to 4 February 1895.			
El Reno.....	Oklahoma.....	28 June 1889.....	Reuben H. Hickox
Name changed to Elreno 14 December 1892.			
Embree.....	Osage Nation.....	10 November 1891.....	George C. Saunders
Discontinued effective 5 March 1892, mail to Ringo, Ind. T.			
Erie.....	Greer County.....	26 June 1888.....	Jonathan A. Butler
Discontinued effective 2 April 1889, mail to Mangum.			
Eubank.....	Beaver County.....	12 February 1891.....	Alexander Eubank
Eva.....	Greer County.....	4 April 1891.....	Mrs. Eva Moreland
Discontinued effective 16 November 1891, mail to Mangum.			
Falls.....	Oklahoma.....	14 June 1890.....	George W. Gibbs, Jr.
Discontinued effective 10 January 1891, mail to Norman.			
Fairview.....	Beaver County.....	21 February 1888.....	David Carmichael
Discontinued effective 5 March 1890. This is an entirely different postoffice than the Fairview following. This office was located in the extreme northeast corner of what is now Beaver County.			
Fairview.....	Oklahoma.....	1 September 1890.....	Mrs. J. H. Bowe
Discontinued effective 11 April 1893, mail to Downs. This is an entirely different postoffice than the Fairview preceding, and is not the present town of that name in Major County. This postoffice was located a few miles west of Guthrie in what is now Logan County.			
Florence.....	Beaver County.....	9 April 1890.....	George W. Hubbard
Formerly Carrizo. Name changed to Kenton 12 May 1891.			
Fort Reno.....	Leased District.....	1 February 1877.....	Charles Schiffbauer
Fort Sill.....	Leased District.....	28 September 1869.....	John E. Evans
Fort Supply.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	26 June 1889.....	Samuel H. Perin
Formerly Camp Supply.			
Frazer.....	Greer County.....	13 February 1886.....	Jennie A. Holt
Discontinued effective 31 December 1895.			
Frisco.....	Oklahoma.....	18 May 1889.....	David M. Deupree
Fulton.....	Beaver County.....	21 April 1887.....	Elmer Tompkins
Discontinued effective 2 April, 1891, mail to Boyd.			
Gallienas.....	Beaver County.....	14 May 1890.....	Mary J. Robinson
Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Regnier, Col.			
Garland.....	Beaver County.....	21 February 1888.....	Augustus Roberts
Discontinued effective 8 July 1891, mail to Englewood, Kans.			

Garrett.....	Beaver County.....	17 April 1891.....	Martha E. Garrett
Gate City.....	Beaver County.....	13 April 1886.....	Jesse M. Gresham
Grand Valley.....	Beaver County.....	23 June 1888.....	A. J. Silverwood
Gray Horse.....	Osage Nation.....	5 May 1890.....	Louis Wismeyer
Greer.....	Greer County.....	10 November 1891.....	Robert J. Hill
Griffin.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	9 June 1888.....	L. B. Ross
Discontinued effective 13 December 1888.			
Goar.....	Greer County.....	31 January 1890.....	B. W. Thompson
Discontinued effective 26 March 1890; this postoffice was never in operation.			
Guthrie.....	Oklahoma.....	4 April 1889.....	Dennis T. Flynn
Hall.....	Pottawatomie.....	7 March 1891.....	Mrs. Carrie Hall
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Noble.			
Hampton.....	Osage Nation.....	25 April 1891.....	William G. Ham
Discontinued effective 25 October 1897, mail to Caney, Kans.			
Hardesty.....	Beaver County.....	3 August 1887.....	Peter Harding
Did not operate during the period 22 March 1888 to 6 April 1888.			
Harrison.....	Oklahoma.....	8 November 1889.....	Miss Lula H. Taylor
Discontinued effective 5 February 1890.			
Harvey.....	Sac & Fox Reserve.....	8 December 1891.....	Thomas H. Varner
Hennesy.....	Oklahoma.....	20 July 1889.....	Guy R. Gillett
Name changed to Hennessey 7 October 1889.			
Hennessey.....	Oklahoma.....	7 October 1889.....	Guy R. Gillett
Formerly Hennesy.			
Hereford.....	Beaver County.....	26 January 1888.....	Arthur Proctor
Discontinued effective 2 August 1889, mail to Benton.			
Herron.....	Oklahoma.....	2 March 1891.....	Francis C. Herron
Discontinued by order dated 10 July 1900, effective 31 July 1900, mail to Eda.			
Hess.....	Greer County.....	18 May 1889.....	Elvira P. Hess
Hominy.....	Osage Nation.....	10 July 1891.....	Robert Dunlap
Idelah.....	Oklahoma.....	14 December 1889.....	James H. Concannon
Discontinued effective 5 November 1891, mail to Choctaw City.			
Ingalls.....	Oklahoma.....	22 January 1890.....	Robert F. McMurtry
Isabella.....	Pottawatomie Nation.....	15 February 1875.....	Isabella A. Clardy
Name changed to Clardyville 25 February 1875.			
Ivanhoe.....	Beaver County.....	26 August 1887.....	Melville L. Cox
Name changed to Custer 28 October 1891.			
Jackson.....	Oklahoma.....	25 March 1890.....	Leopold Zipf
Name changed to Tohee 13 November 1890.			
Jeffress.....	Greer County.....	26 June 1889.....	Thomas J. Jeffress
Discontinued effective 11 November 1889; this postoffice was never in operation.			
Jester.....	Greer County.....	18 November 1890.....	David C. Jester
Jonesborough.....	Oklahoma.....	17 July 1890.....	John W. Boswell
Discontinued effective 16 April 1892, mail to Oklahoma.			
Kaw Agency.....	Kansas Nation.....	28 June 1880.....	Thomas G. Gilbert
Discontinued by order dated 29 September 1902, effective 15 October 1902, mail to Kaw.			
Kenton.....	Beaver County.....	12 May 1891.....	Adolph Fehlmann
Formerly Florence.			
Keokuk Falls.....	Sac & Fox Reserve.....	13 January 1892.....	Hency J. Jones
Keystone.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	23 February 1888.....	William Childress
Name changed to Waynoka 10 April 1889.			

Kickapoo Station	Kickapoo Reservation	6 January 1876	Thomas Stephens
Did not operate during the period 24 January 1877 to 10 April 1878.			
Discontinued effective 4 September 1879.			
King	Pottawatomie Nation	25 April 1891	George A. Newsom
Name changed to Dale 26 October 1893.			
Kingfisher	Oklahoma	18 July 1889	Jacob W. Mills
Formerly Lisbon.			
Kinman	Leased District	18 March 1891	Mrs. Florence Hardin
Discontinued effective 27 May 1891, mail to Kingfisher.			
Kokoma	Beaver County	20 March 1888	John A. Wiseman
Discontinued effective 6 October 1891, mail to Beaver.			
Lacey	Oklahoma	16 April 1890	Darius C. Farnsworth
Lake	Beaver County	24 December 1887	Winston Gilbert
Name changed to Clear Lake 11 February 1888.			
Lakeview	Oklahoma	25 April 1891	Robert L. Nelson
Langston	Iowa Reserve	25 June 1891	Samuel G. Garrett
Lansing	Beaver County	19 April 1888	Drury N. Morris
Discontinued effective 26 June 1896, mail to Benton.			
Lavrock	Beaver County	8 January 1889	George F. Eubank
Discontinued effective 30 April 1892, mail to Hardesty.			
Lawrie	Oklahoma	22 August 1890	Allen G. Walters
Discontinued effective 26 October 1892, mail to Guthrie.			
Lexington	Oklahoma	21 February 1890	Henry W. Stuart
Liberty	Oklahoma	14 June 1890	Nicholas D. Barrett
Discontinued by order dated 5 January 1904, effective 14 January 1904, mail to El Reno.			
Lilly	Sac & Fox Reservation	23 June 1892	Joel F. Lilly
Discontinued effective 16 December 1898, mail to Davenport.			
Lincoln	Oklahoma	14 December 1889	John J. Gowing
Discontinued effective 22 September 1894, mail to Wanamaker.			
Lisbon	Oklahoma	20 April 1889	Jacob W. Mills
Name changed to Kingfisher 18 July 1889.			
Lock	Greer County	25 May 1891	William Kittrell
Lockwood	Beaver County	10 March 1887	Chancy D. Fisk
Logan	Beaver County	10 December 1888	William Reynolds
Louis	Cherokee Outlet	25 April 1891	Louis Goemann
McKinley	Oklahoma	12 December 1891	Marvin P. McCoy
Magnolia	Otoe & Missouri Res.	28 March 1890	Harry Atherton
Mangum	Greer County	15 April 1886	Henry C. Sweet
Marshall	Oklahoma	1 March 1890	Sylvan T. Rice
Martha	Greer County	18 May 1889	Thomas F. Medlin
Martin	Oklahoma	27 October 1890	Mrs. Birdie Martin
Formerly Elm. Discontinued effective 26 October 1891, mail to Langston.			
Mathewson	Oklahoma	25 March 1890	Joseph Gravenhorst
Discontinued by order dated 9 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904, mail to Piedmont.			
Meridian	Beaver County	1 June 1887	John Walburn
Did not operate during the period 21 November 1890 to 2 January 1891.			
Discontinued effective 25 July 1893, mail to Gate City.			
Milan	Oklahoma	7 February 1891	John R. Robison
Discontinued effective 16 July 1891, mail to Moore.			
Miller	Oklahoma	21 February 1890	Samuel H. Miller
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Britton.			

- Mineral City.....Beaver County..... 6 February 1888...Sebastian L. Baker
Name changed to Mineral 29 March 1895.
- Mineral.....Beaver County.....29 March 1895.....William E. Campbell
Formerly Mineral City.
- Mitchell.....Beaver County.....28 August 1888.....James W. Mitchell
Discontinued effective 24 September 1890, mail to Grand Valley.
- Momet.....Pottawatomie Nation...18 November 1884...George Greyson
Discontinued effective 3 June 1885, mail to Johnson, Ind. T.
- Moore.....Oklahoma.....27 May 1889.....Albert M. Petite
- Morris.....Greer County.....25 August 1890.....James F. Black
Discontinued effective 6 November 1892, mail to Martha.
- Mount Walsh.....Greer County..... 5 December 1888...Louisa A. Haynes
Discontinued by order dated 17 August 1900, effective 31 August 1900,
mail to Granite.
- Mulhall.....Oklahoma..... 6 June 1890..... Ancil B. Woods
Formerly Alfred.
- Murdock.....Beaver County.....31 January 1889....C. W. Bugbee
Discontinued effective 12 August 1891, mail to Englewood, Kans.
- Myrtle.....Oklahoma.....24 September 1890...Mrs. Annie VanDeren
Discontinued by order dated 29 July 1904, effective 13 August 1904,
mail to Hennessey.
- Navajoe.....Greer County..... 1 September 1887...Walter H. Acers
- Noble.....Oklahoma.....18 July 1889.....Albert Rennie
- Norman.....Oklahoma.....27 May 1889.....Daniel W. Marquart
- Oberlin.....Pottawatomie Nation...25 April 1876.....Mary Trousdale
Formerly Clardyville. Name changed to Wagoza 18 July 1881.
- Okarche.....Oklahoma.....28 June 1890.....Mrs. Laura Speer
- Oklahoma.....Oklahoma.....18 December 1888...Samuel H. Radebaugh
Formerly Oklahoma Station.
- Oklahoma Station..Oklahoma.....30 December 1887...Samuel H. Radebaugh
Name changed to Oklahoma 18 December 1888.
- Optima.....Beaver County.....13 September 1886...William H. Miller
- Orlando.....Oklahoma.....18 July 1889.....George H. Dodson
- Osmitt.....Pottawatomie Nation... 4 February 1884...Samuel Davis
Did not operate during the period 15 January 1887 to 1 September 1887.
Discontinued 29 June 1888, mail to Sacred Heart.
- Otoe.....Otoe & Missouri Res.... 3 May 1892.....Benjamin F. Swarts
Formerly Redrock.
- Paladora.....Beaver County.....25 April 1888.....John Burns
- Pawhuska.....Osage Nation..... 4 May 1876.....Lizzie Hiatt
- Pawnee.....Pawnee Reservation...26 October 1893...Henry C. Jacobs
Formerly Pawnee Agency.
- Pawnee Agency..Pawnee Reservation... 4 May 1876.....George F. Howell
Name changed to Pawnee 26 October 1893.
- Payne.....Oklahoma.....19 June 1890.....Albert M. Haverstock
Discontinued effective 12 February 1894, mail to Cimarron City.
- Peoria.....Beaver County..... 1 March 1890.....Jesten Hickman
Discontinued effective 29 April 1891, mail to Beaver.
- Perkins.....Oklahoma.....31 January 1890....Jesse E. Stanton
- Polona.....Oklahoma.....28 March 1890.....Rizon D. Hovions
Discontinued effective 21 March 1891, mail to Frisco.
- Ponca.....Ponca Reservation..... 4 December 1879...Joseph H. Sherborne
Name changed to Whiteagle 21 August 1896.

Pond.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	13 November 1879..	William E. Malaley
	Discontinued effective 14 April 1887, mail to Caldwell, Kans.		
Pond Creek.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	18 July 1889.....	George W. Haines
	Discontinued effective 25 March 1890. This postoffice was never in operation.		
Quartz.....	Greer County.....	25 February 1888...	Albert C. Farmer
	Discontinued effective 31 July 1900, mail to Granite.		
Redrock.....	Otoe & Missouri Res.....	8 November 1881..	Charlotte Woodin
	Name changed to Otoe 3 May 1892.		
Reno City.....	Oklahoma.....	15 June 1889.....	Norman W. Dickson
	Discontinued effective 13 April 1889, mail to El Reno.		
Riverside.....	Beaver County.....	20 March 1888.....	David S. Hays
Rock Island.....	Oklahoma.....	26 July 1889.....	David C. Bothel
	Discontinued effective 21 July 1898, mail to Okarche.		
Rosedale.....	Oklahoma.....	18 July 1890.....	James W. Massey
Rothwell.....	Beaver County.....	24 September 1887...	James S. Hart
	Discontinued effective 18 April 1898.		
Sac and Fox			
Agency.....	Sac & Fox Reserve.....	25 October 1875.....	Mrs. Minnie M. Howard
Sacred Heart.....	Pottawatomie Nation...	24 May 1888.....	John Lavacy
	Formerly Sacred Heart Mission.		
Sacred Heart			
Mission.....	Pottawatomie Nation...	30 January 1879.....	Isadore Robot
	Name changed to Sacred Heart 24 May 1888.		
Seward.....	Oklahoma.....	15 May 1889.....	Edward S. Manning
Seymour.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	15 November 1886..	William S. Decker
	Discontinued effective 13 May 1887, mail to Redrock.		
Shade.....	Beaver County.....	19 August 1890.....	Mary L. Fore
	Discontinued by order dated 21 August 1902, effective 15 September 1902, mail to Liberal, Kans.		
Shawnee.....	Pottawatomie Nation...	2 April 1892.....	Mrs. Etta Beard
	On 25 February 1892 a postoffice named Shawneetown had been discontinued at this same proximate location.		
Shawneetown.....	Pottawatomie Nation...	6 January 1876.....	Thomas Deer
	Discontinued effective 25 February 1892, mail to Tecumseh.		
Sheridan.....	Oklahoma.....	28 June 1890.....	George Rainey
	Discontinued by order dated 1 June 1904, effective 30 June 1904, mail to Hennessey.		
Silver.....	Oklahoma.....	3 December 1890..	Clayborn Jones
Snyder.....	Oklahoma.....	28 August 1890.....	Margaret A. Snyder
	This is not the present postoffice of Snyder in Kiowa County.		
Springer.....	Beaver County.....	6 March 1888.....	William A. Wright
	Discontinued effective 13 December 1888.		
Springvale.....	Oklahoma.....	21 February 1890..	John S. Darst
	Discontinued by order dated 21 April 1903, effective 30 April 1903.		
Standard.....	Oklahoma.....	30 June 1890.....	William D. James
	Discontinued by order dated 5 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Crescent.		
Stillwater.....	Oklahoma.....	28 August 1889.....	Robert A. Lowry
Taylor.....	Oklahoma.....	15 July 1889.....	Lula M. Taylor
	Discontinued effective 1 November 1889. This postoffice was never in operation.		
Tecumseh.....	Pottawatomie Nation...	18 September 1891..	Hendrick Baker

Thurston.....	Oklahoma.....	25 June 1890.....	Wells S. Rice
	Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1902, effective 31 December 1902, mail to Mustang.		
Tiffany.....	Beaver County.....	9 December 1887.....	James H. Crawford
	Discontinued effective 23 May 1888.		
Tohee.....	Oklahoma.....	13 November 1890.....	Leopold Zipf
	Formerly Jackson. Discontinued by order dated 27 December 1905, effective 31 January 1906.		
Twamley.....	Oklahoma.....	1 September 1890.....	John Twamley
	Discontinued effective 13 November 1890. This postoffice was never in operation.		
Union.....	Oklahoma.....	28 August 1889.....	James D. Harston
Wagoza.....	Pottawatomie Nation.....	18 July 1881.....	John Clinton
	Formerly Oberlin. Discontinued effective 9 June 1884, mail to Sacred Heart Mission.		
Wah-ti-au-cah.....	Osage Nation.....	6 February 1880.....	Peter Perian
	Discontinued effective 6 July 1880.		
Wanamaker.....	Oklahoma.....	25 March 1890.....	Miss Clara M. Overtor
Wandel.....	Oklahoma.....	5 May 1890.....	Benjamin M. Wandel
	Discontinued by order dated 2 March 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Kingfisher.		
Warren.....	Greer County.....	25 February 1888.....	William H. Cleveland
Waterloo.....	Oklahoma.....	9 April 1892.....	M. D. McNett
	Formerly Burlington.		
Waynoka.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	10 April 1889.....	William Childress
	Formerly Keystone.		
Wellston.....	Kickapoo Reservation.....	19 September 1884.....	Christian T. Wells
Whisler.....	Oklahoma.....	9 June 1890.....	W. L. Whisler
	Formerly Center.		
Whiteagle.....	Ponca Reservation.....	21 August 1896.....	William W. Brown
	Formerly Ponca.		
Willowvale.....	Greer County.....	18 April 1890.....	Everett G. Walcott
	Discontinued by order dated 19 November 1900, effective 30 November 1900, mail to Olustee.		
Windom.....	Oklahoma.....	18 January 1890.....	John B. Chapman
	Discontinued effective 15 October 1892, mail to Stillwater.		
Woodward.....	Cherokee Outlet.....	3 February 1893.....	James T. Hickey
Yates.....	Oklahoma.....	21 May 1890.....	Yates Smith
Yukon.....	Oklahoma.....	28 March 1891.....	James M. Faris

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE E. FOSTER'S PUBLISHED WORKS ON THE
CHEROKEE, IN THE J. B. MILAM HISTORICAL COLLECTION

A bibliography of the published works of George E. Foster, one of the early popular writers on Indian history in Oklahoma, is found in a leaflet in the historical collection owned by J. Bartley Milam, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation and a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Milam's collection is one of the most complete and finest on the history of the Cherokee, in this country, his interest in the history of Oklahoma and, particularly, in that of the Cherokee Nation, having continued over a long period of years. His collection assembled in his library at Claremore contains up into the thousands of both modern and rare out-of-print volumes on Cherokee history, some magazine articles (original prints) dating back to publication in England in the 1750's. The leaflet titled "Literary Introduction" is especially interesting to Oklahomans, in that it presents a resume of the works of George E. Foster, writer and lecturer, who did much in publicizing the Indian Territory in the 1880's, pointing to the development and advancement of the Cherokee people.

George Everett Foster was born on August 27, 1849, in Milford, New Hampshire, the son of John Everett and Sophie Phelps (Farley) Foster. He was educated at Milford High School, New London Literary and Scientific Institution, and Cornell University. A visitor to the Indian Territory and well known in the field of journalism, Mr. Foster worked on the staff of a number of newspapers, conducted a weekly newspaper in New Hampshire for about thirteen years, and managed a publishing house in Ithaca, New York. He was the writer of articles on Indian life and history in well-known newspapers and magazines, including *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, *Magazine of American History*, *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, *Woman's Magazine*, and *Century*. His published books included: *Se-quo-yah*, *The American Cadmus and Modern Moses* (Philadelphia, 1885); *Literature of the Cherokees: Also Bibliography and Story of their Genesis* (Ithaca, N. Y.). The "Literary Introduction" in the Milam Historical Collection gives many other titles of his writings, published and in preparation.

His wife was Mary Lord Burritt, the daughter of the Reverend Charles David and Jerusha Webster (Lord) Burritt, of Skaneateles, New York. From her interest in literature, art, and music, Mrs. Foster gave much in assisting in her husband's work. She died in 1932, at Muscotah, Kansas, in the home of their son, the Reverend Jesse W. Foster. George Everett Foster died on April 23, 1917, and was buried in East Hampton Cemetery, Hampton, Virginia, where he and his wife had made their home during his last years.

LITERARY INTRODUCTION.

GEORGE E. FOSTER, ITHACA, N. Y.

[P. O. Box 822.]

PUBLISHED WORKS.

SE-QUO-YAH, THE AMERICAN CADMUS AND MODERN MOSES. Illustrated. 12mo.; pp 262. Philadelphia, 1885. Price \$1.50.
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 Founder and Editor of : } Milford (N. H.) *Enterprise*. 1874-87.
 } Wilton (N. H.) *Journal*. 1875-87.
 Editorial Staff of *Daily Journal*, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887-88.
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SERIAL STORY

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Education Among the Cherokees. 1888.
 Education Among the Arapahoes. 1888.
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 A Zigzag Journey through the Indian Territory. (Illustrated with original lead pencil sketches.) Aug. 11, 1888.

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly:—

Among the Cherokees. Illustrated. Feb., 1888.
 Fishing Party in the Creek Nation. May, 1889.
 Pottawatomie Traditions of Gen. W. H. Harrison. May, 1890.

Magazine of American History:—

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Woman's Magazine:—

A Rose of Long Ago. 1885.
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 About Women, by a Man. Oct., 1886.
 About Women, by a Man. Nov., 1886.
 Through the Cherokee Nation. 1888.
 Robt. B. Thomas and his Almanac. 1888.

The Century:—

The Cherokee Emancipation Proclamation. Open Letter 1888.

Souvenir of Journalism:—

Infelicities of Rural Journalism. Illustrated. 1886.

Leaflet from the Historical Collection of
 Hon. J. B. Milam, Claremore, Oklahoma.

VALUABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON OKLAHOMA INDIAN HISTORY IN THE
BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSIONS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The following report to *The Chronicles*, from Doctor B. B. Chapman, Associate Professor of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College, who is on sabbatical leave to do research in Washington, D.C., will be of special interest to researchers in the field of Oklahoma Indian history:

Valuable, unused manuscripts on the history of the St. Louis School at Pawhuska, and the St. John's School at Hominy Creek are in the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 2021 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. These manuscripts are letters and reports made by persons connected with the schools. Their chief value is in showing problems of the early schools.

The manuscripts are in substantial cases and are well housed. The following periods and letters therefor are illustrative: 1865-74, 40 letters; 1885-86, 6 letters; 1887-88, 100 letters; 1890-91, 80 letters, 1891-93, 25 letters. The period for 1875-84 contains some material dealing with the administration of Agent Laban J. Miles, as well as with the schools. For 1890 there are about 40 letters dealing with the Sacred Heart School, and a half dozen dealing with the St. Elizabeth's School.

While these manuscripts are somewhat scanty, there are bits of interesting information. For instance, in 1890 one school was farming 50 acres. The papers are of sufficient importance to merit the attention of any searcher doing extensive work on the history of Catholic missions in Oklahoma.

These manuscripts are not public property. They should not, and will not, be available to persons who have not demonstrated an intense interest in the subject, as well as proficiency and honesty in research. With supplementary material available, a master's thesis could be written on the history of the St. Louis and St. John's Schools, or perhaps there is sufficient material for a thesis on one school. There is always the possibility of having records of this kind microfilmed, when owners are sufficiently assured that efficient and proper use will be made of them.

—B. B. Chapman.

ORIGINAL LETTER WRITTEN BY THE "LOST CAPTAIN"
OF OLD FORT GIBSON

The original of what is the second oldest letter now known, postmarked within the boundaries of Oklahoma, was written by J. L. Dawson, Assistant Quartermaster, at Cantonment Gibson, "Arkansas Territory," on November 1, 1828, addressed to Brig.-General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, Washington City. The postmark of this letter was written and dated November 5, 1828. The romantic story of J. L. Dawson, titled "The Lost Captain," by Dr. James H. Gardner, appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 217-49. This rare, original letter from the collection of Dr. Carroll Chase is as follows:

Cant Gibson, A. T.
1st Nov. 1828

Sir.

The influence of this climate has so much impaired the state of my health during the last year, that a temporary removal to a more northern position is indispensably necessary for its restoration. My liver has been for a considerable length of time, very much inflamed and as I have been recommended to visit the North in the course of the ensuing year, as the means best calculated to produce a salutary change in its action, I will be very thankful if the interests of the Dept. will admit of my being furloughed for 6 months, commencing on the 1st April next.

The duties connected with my office at this Post, will be very limited in the next year as the Cant. is now very nearly as complete as it is proposed to make it, and if in your view of the subject my absence for a short period will not be attended with injury to the service in this quarter, I should be much pleased to receive from you the favor now solicited.

I have the Honor to be Sir
very respectfully
Your obt. Servt.
J. L. Dawson
Afst. QrMr
U.S.A.

To (s)
Brigd.Genl.Th.S.Jesup
QrMr General
Washington City

“SENATORIAL DIRECT ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF OKLAHOMA”

The move to secure an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide for the direct election of United States Senators by the vote of the people was given immediate attention by the State Legislature after the admission of Oklahoma on November 16, 1907. Soon after the First State Legislature convened at Guthrie on December 2, 1907, State Senator William D. Franklin of District 26 (Love and Marshall counties) introduced a joint resolution providing for the appointment of a legislative commission of eight members, to be known as the “Senatorial Direct Election Commission of the State of Oklahoma,” to urge Congress to call a convention of the States for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The resolution further provided that the State of Oklahoma in this convention should propose particularly an amendment for the direct election of United States Senators. In his “Twenty-Second Special Message” to the Legislature, dated January 6, 1908, Governor Charles N. Haskell stated (*House Journal*, 1st State Legislature, p. 81):

Election of Senators.—The joint resolution introduced by Senator Franklin, with certain amendments, which he has submitted, is in my judgment the only practical way likely to lead to an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, authorizing the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of the State, the same as we elect the Governor and other State officials.

14

Capt Gibson J. J.

1st Dec 1828.

The influence of this Climate has
so much impaired the State of my Health during
the last Year, that a temporary Removal to
a more Northern position is indispensably necessary
for its restoration. My liver has been for a
considerable length of time, very much inflamed
and so I have been recommended to visit the
Woods in the course of the ensuing Year, as the means
best calculated to produce a salutary Change in its
action. I shall be very thankful if the interests of
the Regt will admit of my being furloughed for
months, or even years in the 1st April next.

The duties connected with my office
at this Post will be very limited in the next Year
as it is as near very nearly as complete as it
is, ordered to make it, and if a Year more of the
same my absence for a short period will not be
the least injury to the Service in this Quarter
I should be much obliged to receive from him
the favor of your signature.

I have the Honor to be
very respectfully
Yours and Devoted
J. L. Dawson
Apr 10 1829
H. S. C.

Wm. L. Dawson
Apr 10 1829
H. S. C.

(From the collection of Dr. Carroll Chase)

Original letter from J. L. Dawson, Assistant Quartermaster, Cantonment Gibson— "The Lost Captain."

I sincerely hope that you will pass Senator Franklin's amended joint resolution as the earliest possible date. . . .

The resolution passed by the Legislature and approved on January 9, 1908 (*Oklahoma Session Laws, 1907-1908*, pp. 776-78) was as follows:

J. R. No. 9

RELATING TO THE CALLING OF A CONVENTION OF THE STATES TO PROPOSE AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES PROVIDING FOR THE ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS BY THE DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES, AND PROVIDING FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A SENATORIAL DIRECT ELECTION COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

Whereas, a large number of state legislatures have, at various times, adopted memorials and resolutions in favor of the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of the respective States; and

Whereas, the National House of Representatives has, on several different occasions, in recent years, adopted resolutions in favor of the proposed change in the method of electing United States Senators, which were not adopted by the Senate, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIONS of the State of Oklahoma

Section 1. That the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, in accordance with the provisions of Article V. of the Constitution of the United States, desires to join with other States of the Union to respectfully request that a convention of the several States be called for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and hereby apply to and request the Congress of the United States to call such Convention, and to provide for submitting to the several states the amendments so proposed for ratification by the legislatures thereof, or by convention therein, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress.

Sec. 2. That at said convention the State of Oklahoma will propose among other amendments, that section 3 of article 1 of the Constitution of the United States shall be amended to read as follows:

"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the electors thereof, as the governor is chosen for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. They shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise the governor may make temporary appointments until the next regular election in such state. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an elector of the state for which he shall be chosen. The vice president of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided. The Senate shall choose their own officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States."

Sec. 3. A legislative commission is hereby created to be composed of the Governor, and eight members, to be appointed by him, not more than four of whom shall belong to the same political party, to be known as the Senatorial Direct Election Commission of the State of Oklahoma. It shall be the duty of said Legislative Commission to urge action by the legislatures of the several states and by the Congress of the United States

to the end that a Convention may be called as provided in section one hereof. The members of said commission shall receive no compensation.

Sec. 4. That the Governor of the State of Oklahoma is hereby directed forthwith to transmit certified copies of this joint resolution and application to both House of the United States Congress to the Governor of each state in the Union, and to each of our Representatives and Senators in Congress.

Approved January 9, 1908.

On January 11, Governor Haskell appointed the following members to the newly created Senatorial Direct Election Commission: C. B. Douglas, Muskogee; Thomas H. Doyle, Perry; Jno. Threadgill, Oklahoma City; George H. Evans, Chickasha; Thompson B. Ferguson, Watonga; Jesse J. Dunn, Alva; D. L. Sleeper, Tulsa; J. J. Quarles, Fairfax. Governor Haskell was elected Chairman, and Thomas H. Doyle, Vice-President, of the Commission (later, William H. Murray served as a member). With this move, Oklahoma was in the van for election of United States senators by direct vote, Judge Doyle leading out in the work that finally resulted in the ratification of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, certified by the Secretary of State at Washington on May 13, 1913.

The first duty of the First State Legislature after its organization in 1907 had been the election of the two United States senators from Oklahoma. Since Robert L. Owen, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, and Thomas P. Gore, of Lawton, had been chosen as the nominees of the Democratic Party in the state primary election, they were duly elected as Oklahoma's first United States senators by the First State Legislature in which the Democratic members were in the majority.

Oklahoma was admitted in 1907, the odd numbered year, and the regular election followed the next summer, 1908. For this reason, the first terms for United States Senator were of unequal length. The "long term" would expire on March 3, 1913; the "short term," on March 3, 1909. To decide which of the two senators should hold these terms, lots were drawn. Senator Gore had the "short term," and was re-elected by the Second State Legislature for the term 1909-15. In the election of 1914, the people of Oklahoma voted for United States Senator for the first time under the 17th Amendment. Senator Gore was again the Democratic nominee and was elected for his third term (1915-21), the first Senator from Oklahoma elected by direct vote of the people. He was elected for his fourth term (1931-37) as the Democratic nominee in 1930. Senator Robert L. Owen drew the lot for the "long term" in 1907. He was re-elected as the Democratic nominee by the Fourth State Legislature in 1913, for the six year term as Senator from Oklahoma, ending March 3, 1919. In 1918, he was again the Democratic nominee and was elected by direct vote for his third term as United States Senator (1919-25).

(M.H.W.)

LIFE OF JUDGE ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS, 1868-1948

By special request of Doctor Fred S. Clinton, of Tulsa, the following factual statement on the life of Judge Robert Lee Williams is presented here:

Born at Brundridge, Ala., Dec. 20, 1868; son of Jonathan and Sarah Julia (Paul) Williams; M.A. Southern University Alabama, (now Birmingham Southern College, Greensboro, Ala.) 1894, L.L.D., 1913; L.L.D., Tulsa University, 1934; Admitted to the bar, 1894. Began practice in Troy, Ala.; went to Atoka, I.T. 1896 and six months later to Durant. City Attorney, Durant 1899; member Ind. Ter. Democratic Comm. 1902-04; Dem. Nat. Comm. 1904-08; member Oklahoma Constitutional Convention 1906-07; Chief Justice Supreme Court of Okla. 1907-08; reelected for term 1909-15; resigned March 10, 1914; Governor of Oklahoma, term 1915-19. U. S. Judge Eastern District of Okla. 1919-1937; became U.S. Circuit Judge Tenth Circuit, April 26, 1937; retired March 31, 1939, but continued to serve. Member, a director and President of the Oklahoma Historical Society; the American Bar Association, Alpha Tau Omega (Ala. Beta Beta Chapter). He was unmarried, a Methodist, a 32 degree Mason, and author of *Constitution and Enabling Act of Oklahoma, Annotated*.¹ (Died April 10, 1948. Interment Highland Park Cemetery, Durant, Oklahoma.)

The Oklahoma Capitol Building, the University Hospital, and the Historical Building each will serve as a living monument and lasting memorial to Judge Williams' rugged honesty and perseverance. He had the valuable aid and cooperation of Mr. Edward P. Boyd of the staff of Supervising Architect of the U.S. Treasury, as superintendent of construction of the Capitol.² The Judge was instrumental in planning and securing the locations and funds to build the University Hospital³ and Historical Building.

Oklahoma has lost a most distinguished and useful citizen; an able jurist and a learned and fearless judge.

—Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.

¹ *Who's Who in America*, 1940-41 (Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Company), p. 2779.

² *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* by Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), Vol. II, pp. 654-59.

³ "University of Oklahoma Medical School Crisis Averted" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1947-48), p. 342.

NECROLOGIES

CLARA ALICE WARD

1859-1946

Clara Alice Ward, born at New Springplace, Cherokee Nation, on September 14, 1859, was the daughter of the Reverend James (Jr.) and Esther (Hoyt) Ward. Their children in the order of birth were Darius E. Ward, married first, Sarah Ritter, and second, Mary (Hester) Murphy; Lydia Anna Ward, married William C. Chamberlain; Clara Alice Ward; William W. Ward, married Roxana Sterner, and his twin, Henry J. Ward, married Emma Luckenbach.

Esther Hoyt Ward was born at Willstown, Alabama, on March 18, 1826, the daughter of Milo and Lydia (Lowry) Hoyt. Doctor Milo Hoyt, a son of the missionaries, the Reverend Ard Hoyt and his wife, served as a physician in the Union Brigade, under the command of Colonel William R. Phillips, in the War between the States. Lydia Lowry Hoyt was the "pious and intelligent daughter" of Chief George Lowry and his wife, Lucy Benge Lowry. At the age of sixteen, Lydia joined the Presbyterian Church when she was baptized at Brainerd Mission, Tennessee, January 31, 1819. Shortly afterward, she was the author of a hymn, the first written by a Cherokee. Her daughter, Esther, was educated in the mission schools and, as a young woman, taught in the Park Hill Mission near Tahlequah. Her grandfather, Chief George Lowry, died at the age of eighty-two (October 20, 1852) and was buried in the cemetery at Tahlequah where the monument erected to his memory by order of the Cherokee National Council stands inscribed with a history of his life. At her own request, Miss Clara Alice Ward was buried by the side of Chief Lowry's grave at Tahlequah after her death on January 14, 1946.

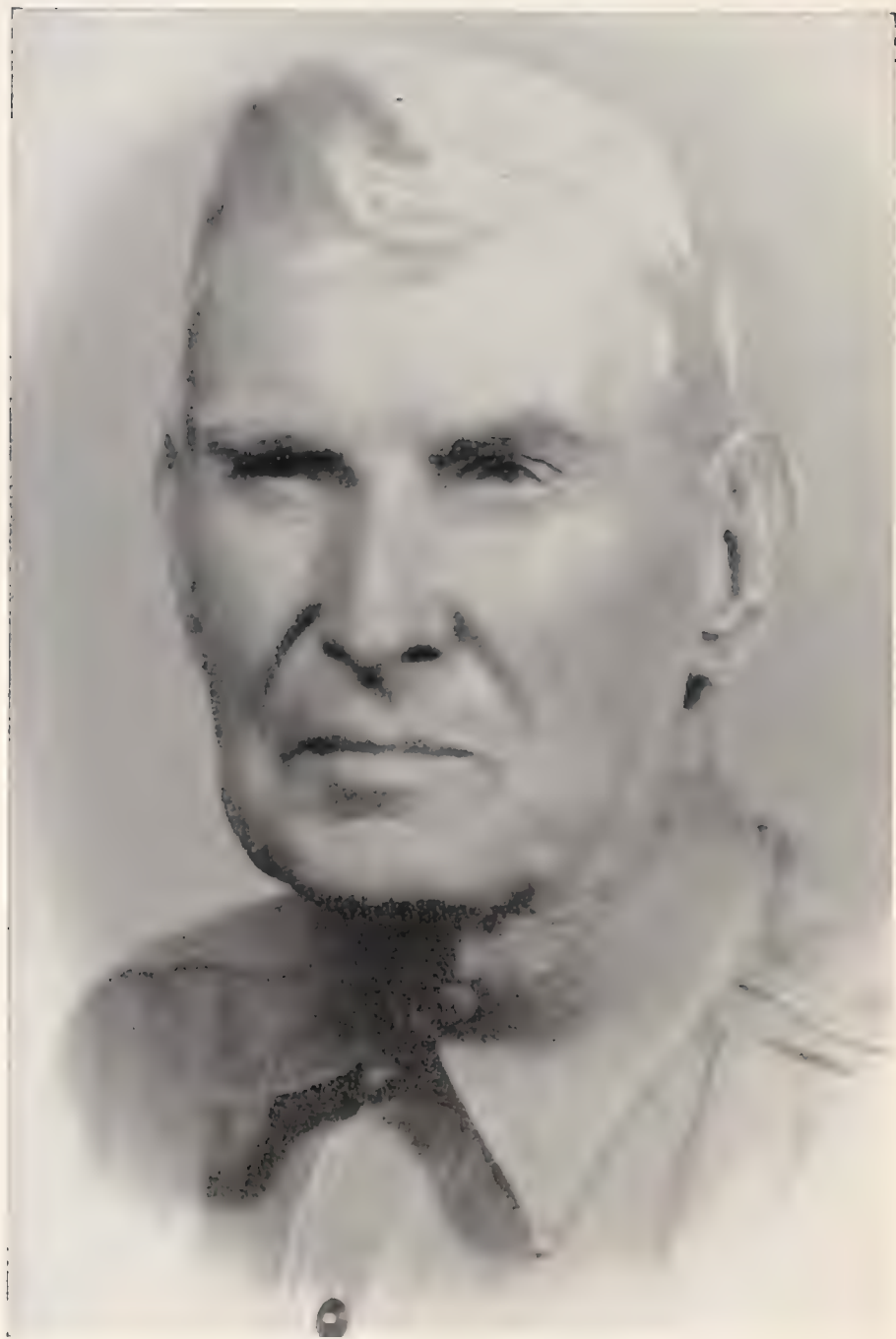
The Reverend James Ward, Jr., was the lineal descendant of the noted Nancy Ward of the Cherokee Nation, who was elected to the position of *Ghigua* (Beloved Woman) to represent the Cherokee women in the National Council. He came as a lad to the Indian Territory with his parents, James Ward, Sr., and his wife Lucy (Hainy) Ward, over the "Trail of Tears" from Georgia. James, Jr., attended Dwight Mission and was a student for a term at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. In April, 1858, he and his young wife joined the Moravian Church, subsequently making their home at New Springplace Mission (near present Oaks, in Delaware County) where he served as assistant missionary. Though his family were among the slave holding Southerners, James Ward remained steadfast with the Moravian Church which took a stand of neutrality in the Indian Territory, during the War between the States. At the beginning of the second Federal invasion of the Territory in the late summer of 1862, bands of Cherokee "Pins" (members of the Keetoowah Society, Union sympathizers) swept through the Nation in revenge against the mixed-blood Cherokee who had any relations with the Southern people. On September 2, 1862, James Ward was waylaid and killed by a band of "Pins," while he was riding out from his home after a herd of cattle. The story of his wife, Esther Hoyt Ward, who was left to care for their five small children, is one of heroism in the annals of the Cherokee Nation. The battles and fighting in the Indian Territory and Arkansas, finally forced her to seek refuge with her children and a small orphan niece, Florence Hoyt, among the Moravians at West Salem, Illinois. Mrs. Ward died of pneumonia soon after her arrival at West Salem, on December 13, 1863, and her children were reared and educated under the auspices of the Moravian Church.



CLARA ALICE WARD

(Photo taken 1941)





SAMUEL ROBERT WILSON

Clara Alice Ward made her home with Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Knoll of West Salem, after the death of her mother. At the age of nine years, she was sent to Hope Seminary, a Moravian school in Indiana, and later made her home in the East, with the Reverend and Mrs. W. H. Rice. Clara Alice had the distinction of being the first Cherokee girl to complete the nurses' training course at Bellevue Hospital, in New York City, from which noted institution she graduated, R.N., in 1887. She made a high record in her chosen profession and continued in private nursing for many years. Her education and work had taken her away from the Cherokee Nation so long that she lost her right to enrollment and did not receive an allotment of land in 1902 though her brother and other members of the family did. By her own efforts, she provided for her old age and, after her retirement at about seventy-five, came to Tulsa to reside near her relatives in 1939.

Shortly after coming to Tulsa to live, she attended the "Old Timers' Celebration" held by the Cherokee in a special program at Tulsa, during which she felt greatly honored as the last surviving child of her parents, the "Missionary Wards." It was on this occasion that Miss Ward had the inspiration to sponsor the publication of a memorial volume to her mother and father. This beautiful little book¹ appearing off the press in January, 1940, now out of print, gives the genealogies of both the Lowry and the Ward families among the Cherokee, and presents a brief historical sketch of the development of the Cherokee Nation and the flowering of Christianity among its people.

By Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society

SAMUEL ROBERT WILSON

1861-1947

Samuel Robert Wilson was born near Hartford, Sebastian County, Arkansas, on November 1, 1861. His parents, John R. Wilson and Lydia (Sellers) Wilson, were born in Alabama and came to Arkansas from Montgomery County, Alabama, in the early part of 1861. Besides their son, Samuel Robert Wilson, they had a daughter, Levannah, born in Montgomery County, Alabama, on February 10, 1851, who married John C. Crawford near Hartford, Arkansas, in 1871. John R. Wilson was a teacher and served as a justice of the peace and also in the Confederate Army from Arkansas. For a time, he worked as a carpenter on a boat which operated between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Memphis, Tennessee, the principal cargo being supplies for the army. His wife, Lydia, (Sellers) Wilson, died in November, 1863, and three years later (1866) he married a second time, Elizabeth Heavener. To this union were born three children: a daughter, Ella Wilson, who married Jasper Black; and two sons, Floyd R. Wilson, and John R. Wilson, Jr.

Samuel Robert Wilson was two years old when his mother died and only eleven years old at the death of his father (1872). At the age of sixteen (1877), the subject of this sketch removed from Arkansas to Sugar Loaf County (now included in Le Flore County), Choctaw Nation where he settled. He came in a wagon with an Indian trader and lived for a while with Jerry White, a Choctaw citizen who was Judge of Sugar Loaf County. Judge White's son, Buck White, now living at Reichert in Le Flore County, Oklahoma, taught Samuel Robert Wilson the Choctaw

¹ *Springdale, Moravian Mission, Cherokee Nation* by Muriel H. Wright (Guthrie, 1940).

language which he learned to speak as fluently as a fullblood and for many years he served as a Choctaw interpreter. When the Kansas City Southern Railroad was constructed from Kansas City, Missouri, to Port Arthur, Texas, the name of Choctaw City, a town in Sugar Loaf County, Choctaw Nation, was changed to Heavener (Le Flore County), in which locality Samuel Robert Wilson remained the rest of his life. He died on Friday, December 26, 1947, at 10:15 a.m., and was interred in the Heavener Memorial Cemetery at 2:00 p.m., December 28, 1947.¹ Funeral services were conducted by the local Methodist minister, the Reverend Jesse L. Ragan.²

At the age of twenty-two, Samuel Robert Wilson married Julia Hickman of the Choctaw Nation and to this union were born nine children. She and five of her nine children died before allotment of lands in the Choctaw Nation.³ Three of her children—Dora, Louella, and Ed—all live at Heavener. A deceased daughter, Josephine Wilson, married Rufus Hill and they had four other children whose names in order of age are: Claud, Ruby, and Johnnie—all three daughters—, and Wilson Hill—a son. The names of Ed Wilson's children, all of whom reside in and around Heavener, are: four sons, Ted, S. R., John D., and Stanley; and two daughters, Billy Joe (Wilson) Bennett, and Wanda Lee (Wilson) Carter.

On August 8, 1900, Samuel Robert Wilson was married a second time to Alice Robinson who survives him.⁴ To this union the following children were born: Eunice Wilson, who married Charles A. Billingsly, now living in Bakersfield, California; Ruth Wilson, who married C. W. Wofford, living at Heavener; and three sons, Charles, Earl, and Hubert Wilson (deceased), all of Heavener. None of these had children except Earl Wilson who had only one child, named Earl Robert Wilson.

Samuel Robert Wilson's principal occupation throughout life was farming and ranching, and also dealing in real estate and serving as an officer. As an intermarried citizen of the Choctaw Nation, he was called upon to serve with the National Lighthorsemen under the leadership of the late Peter Conser, a prominent Choctaw citizen.⁵ Samuel Robert Wilson served from 1907 to 1909 as chief deputy sheriff under George B. Noble, and as field deputy sheriff under H. S. Pilgreen from 1929 to 1930, and held special commissions under practically every sheriff in Le Flore County until age prevented active service. After the erection of the State of Oklahoma, he was the principal organizer of the first Democratic Club in that section of the country where he made his home for over seventy years.

—By Robert L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

¹ *Heavener Ledger*, January 1, 1948.

² *Poteau Sun*, January 2, 1948.

³ The names of Josephine Wilson (age 18), Dora Wilson (age 14), Louella Wilson (age 11), and Ed Wilson (age 9) are listed as Choctaws by blood on the *Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes*, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives.—Ed.

⁴ The names of Alice Wilson and Samuel Robert Wilson are listed as intermarried white on the *Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes*, Oklahoma Historical Society Archives.—Ed.

⁵ Any one of the nine National Lighthorsemen, who were appointed by the Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation to preserve the peace and aid in the execution of the criminal laws of the Nation, could "summon any number of citizens deemed requisite, over eighteen and under sixty years of age, to aid and assist in keeping order, spilling liquor and arresting offenders, and taking them before the county judge. . . ." (*Constitution, Treaties and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* [Sedalia, Missouri: Democrat Steam Print, 1887], p. 90).—Ed.



JUSTUS OTHO HALL



CHARLES ORR JOHNSON

JUSTUS OTHO HALL 1870-1947

Justus Otho Hall was born February 27, 1870, at Warner, Ohio, the son of George W. Hall and his wife, Diantha Elizabeth (Harvey) Hall. His father was born January 6, 1847, and died December 27, 1927; his mother was born May 17, 1849, and died March 9, 1900. They were also the parents of the following children: William Louie Hall, born March 31, 1872, died December 24, 1938; Charles Elmer Hall, born April 26, 1874, died August 5, 1900; Joseph Alla Hall, born August 2, 1876, died September 21, 1941; Rosa Anna Hall Bunn, born February 15, 1881; Mamie Belle Hall, born August 1, 1883, died November 14, 1907.

Justus Otho Hall married Miss Bertha Kelley at Horton at Horton, Kansas, on August 31, 1904. He was a graduate of Kansas University, Class of 1898, and engaged in school work for many years. He was Superintendent of schools at Horton, Beloit, and Hutchinson, Kansas, and was President of the Kansas State Teachers' Association for two years. He also served as Superintendent of schools at Pawhuska, Oklahoma. He died on July 26, 1947, at Muskogee, Oklahoma, and is survived by his wife who resides at 2624 West Okmulgee Avenue, Muskogee.

After giving up his school work he became special agent for the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and was still active at the time of his death. He took an active part in civic work, and at the time of his death, he was President of Montfort Stokes Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

—By Robert L. Williams

Durant, Oklahoma

CHARLES ORR JOHNSON 1864-1947

Charles Orr Johnson, son of David and Eliza (Dixson) Johnson, was born on April 28, 1864 in Benton County, Iowa. His father engaged in farming and his son followed in that occupation until they both left the farm in 1892, moving to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and thereafter engaged in the implement business under the firm name of Yuill and Johnson. Both of his parents were born in Ireland, Castle Caulfield, Tyrone.

In 1904 he was elected an Alderman at Large of Cedar Rapids and was Chairman of the Finance Committee and also on the Committee of Public Improvement and Railroads.

He removed from Cedar Rapids to Durant, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, in 1906, where he engaged in the real estate, loan and insurance business and was an extensive land-owner and livestock grower and dealer, and an early promoter for the development of highways.

In 1917 he was a faithful and efficient member and secretary of the Oklahoma State Board of Affairs. He was a charter member of the Durant Rotary Club; a member of the Durant Library Board from the time of its organization until the date of his death; a member of the City Park Board until a short time prior to his death; a member (deacon) of the First Presbyterian Church, U.S., Durant; a Mason (32nd degree); and had been president of the Durant Country Club and active in all civic matters until slowed up by age.

He died on August 25, 1947 and his funeral was held on the 27th day of August, 1947 at the Presbyterian Church, Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkin, longtime friend officiating, with interment in Highland Cemetery at Durant.

He was married on October 29, 1903 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to Miss Annie Phipps who preceded him in death on November 29, 1944, and interment in Highland Cemetery at Durant.

He was the youngest of eight children and the last to survive. A faithful and upright citizen has passed on.

—By R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

GENERAL ANDREW HOLLEY

1859-1947

General Andrew Holley, usually referred to as G. A. Holley, born in Alabama on November 27, 1859, was a son of R. C. and Emaline J. (Jackson) Holley, his full name being General Andrew (Jackson) Holley. He was one of seven children, all deceased now except two brothers, J. T. Holley of Stigler, Oklahoma and F. M. Holley of Hamilton, Alabama, and one sister, Susan Wreich of Itawamba County, Mississippi.¹

His family moved to Itawamba County, Mississippi, when he was nineteen years old, and he received his education almost entirely in that state, attending school at Rara Avis. He later studied at the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio, and finished his education at Iuka Normal Institute.

General Andrew Holley aided in the founding of the Oakland Normal located about twelve miles from Fulton, county seat of Itawamba County, Mississippi. He studied law at Nashville, Tennessee, and after completing his law course was admitted to the practice in 1900, locating at Hamilton, Alabama, where the West Alabama Agricultural School was located. He moved to Stigler, Indian Territory, in 1902, where he opened a law office and practiced until he moved to Maud, Oklahoma, in 1927, where he and his son, "Dutch" (E.D.) Holley were associated in the practice of law, the latter having graduated from the Law Department of the University of Oklahoma in 1921. In 1943, G. A. Holley moved back to Stigler. While at Stigler, he was associated in the practice of law with W. H. Brown, Guy A. Curry, and the late Fred H. Fannin.

He was a life-long Democrat, Chairman of the Haskell County Democratic Central Committee for many years and during the administration of Governor Williams was a Honorary Colonel on his staff. He was a member and Deacon of the Baptist Church. He sent all of his eight children to college, some of whom graduated.

His death occurred at Stigler, Oklahoma on Sept. 9, 1947 where he is buried.

His first wife was Cordelia Permelia Hale and after her death, his second wife was Eva Winter, to whom he was married on August 7, 1902. By his first marriage he had the following children: Hester Ferguson, Eureka Springs, Arkansas; E. D. (Dutch) Holley, Maud, Oklahoma; James A. Holley, Stillwater, Oklahoma; Carmille Rush, Kalamazoo, Michigan. By his second marriage he had the following children: Charlotte Lehmann, Socorro, New Mexico; John Richard Holley and Catherine E. Aufill, both of San Francisco, California.

He was a faithful churchman and a fine citizen, and a good husband and father.

—R. L. Williams.

Durant, Oklahoma

¹ "Families of Prominence, "Memoirs of Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 941.



GENERAL ANDREW HOLLEY

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 26, 1948

Guthrie, Oklahoma

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened May 26, 1948, in Constitution Hall, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Following registration of members and visitors, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, First Vice-President, due to the death of Judge Robert L. Williams, President of the Society, since the last quarterly meeting in January 1948, called the meeting to order.

The Chairman introduced Hon. L. G. Flesner, Secretary-Manager of the Chamber of Commerce of Guthrie, who, in the absence of Hon. Noel Datin, President, gave the address of welcome, which was responded to by Hon. Robert A. Hefner.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following Board members present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Hon. George L. Bowman, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Judge Harry Campbell, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Dr. I. N. McCash, Hon. J. B. Milam, Hon. H. L. Muldrow, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams and Dr. Charles Evans, the Secretary.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that absentee members be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. The motion was seconded by Judge Robert A. Hefner and passed unanimously.

The Staff members present were: Mrs. O. J. Cook, Miss Muriel H. Wright, Miss Hazel Beaty, Mrs. C. E. Cook, Mrs. Edith Mitchell and Mrs. Rella Looney.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: W. E. Green, Tulsa; Mrs. S. A. Hammack, Clinton; Ray McNaughton, Miami; Dr. Joseph Sigall, Tulsa.

ANNUAL: Harvey G. Albright, Madill; Mrs. Lena R. Banks, Lawton; W. G. Beasley, Holdenville; Judge Tom R. Blaine, Enid; Paul Boone, Stillwater; Seldon D. Butcher, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ed Cofer, Shawnee; Don Cameron, Oklahoma City; Edward N. Campbell, Oklahoma City; Alice Carlson, Stillwater; Margaretta W. Compton, Wewoka; Daniel Coodey, Muskogee; John H. Crawford, Sr., Tulsa; Martha K. Crawford, Sapulpa; Arthur S. Davenport, Oklahoma City; Dr. Oscar W. Davison, Durant; Dr. John L. Day, Fort Supply; Mrs. Joe A. Driskill, Oklahoma City; Mrs. L. R. Emerson, Oklahoma City; George E. Fay, Joplin, Mo.; Mrs. L. Fountain, Paris, Texas; Rev. Herbert Eugene Gatti, Guthrie; Gus Hanson, Oklahoma City; Mrs. J. Eben Hart, Oklahoma City; Mrs. R. M. Hensy, Shawnee; Ida V. Hieronymus, Atlanta, Ill.; J. A. Kendall, Oklahoma City; John Klapp, Tecumseh; Mrs. O. W. Largent, Denver, Colo.; Prof. George E. Lewis, Stillwater; Josephine Lewis, Shawnee; E. D. Lusk, Tulsa; John A. McReynolds, Oklahoma City; Dr. Norbert R. Mahnken, Stillwater; Col. E. G. Matthews, Oklahoma City; N. Webster Moore, Jr., Bristow; Mrs. Nellie Moore, Edmond; Jerry B. Newby, Oklahoma City; Lloyd Noble, Ardmore; Carol O'Keefe, West Newton, Mass.; Pat Owen, Oklahoma City; Lena Peyton, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ruth Rogers Pickens, Lilburn, Ga.; B. M.

Risinger, Sand Springs; Mrs. B. M. Risinger, Sand Springs; V. W. Russell, Oklahoma City; L. P. Sanford, Pampa, Texas; Dr. O. S. Somerville, Bartlesville; Harold W. Straughn, Stillwater; H. L. Sweet, Okmulgee; Ralph Taylor, Bartlesville; Mrs. Loren G. Thomas, Des Moines, Iowa; Edwin A. Walker, Madill; Mrs. Ida C. Walker, Broken Arrow; Creekmore Wallace, Oklahoma City.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list. Hon. Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which carried unanimously.

Dr. I. N. McCash presented two checks for \$25.00 each for Life Memberships in the Oklahoma Historical Society for Mrs. C. H. Kimes and Mrs. Daisy Thomas, both of Enid, Oklahoma, and \$1.00 for an annual membership in the Society for Miss Martha Louise Lincoln of Enid, and made a motion that they be received as members of this Society. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. George A. Bowman made the motion that the reading of the Minutes of the quarterly meeting of January 29, 1948, be omitted. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President stated that due to error in omission of the name of Dr. I. N. McCash in the printing of the last Committee List she was placing Dr. McCash on the following committees: Committee on Library and Museum, Committee on Exercises Observing Historical Dates and Events and Committee for Placing Busts of Governors.

The President appointed General William S. Key, Hon. Hal Muldrow, Hon. Robert A. Hefner, Hon. George A. Bowman and Hon. R. M. Mountcastle on the Legislative and Appropriation Committee which must report to the State Budget Officer after July 1, 1948.

Hon. Baxter Taylor made his report as Chairman of the Art Committee, calling attention to the portraits hanging in the Art Gallery on the fourth floor of the historical building and suggesting that some regulations be made relative to the selection of portraits given to the Society.

Mrs. Frank Korn made the motion that the hall parallel to the portrait gallery be used in addition to the present art gallery and that the steel engravings now hanging on the walls thereof be placed in books, portraits to be hung on the walls in their stead. Hon. H. L. Muldrow seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Paul Cope, Director of the State Veterans Department was introduced. He stated that his group of employees is housed in the southeast corner of the basement of the historical society building along with the Department of Oklahoma Veterans of Foreign Wars; that they wish to install, at their expense, accoustical tile on the ceiling of that room, together with flourescent lighting; that the State Board of Public Affairs is in favor of said installation, and if agreeable with the Directors of the Historical Society they wish to make said improvements.

Hon. Baxter Taylor made the motion that Mr. Cope be granted the above request with the provision that such installations shall become a permanent addition to this building. Hon. George A. Bowman made the motion that Dr. Charles Evans, the Secretary, be made a member of that committee in the place of Judge Robert L. Williams, and that said committee confer with Mr. Cope, with power to act. Hon. Baxter Taylor withdrew his motion. Hon. Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that Mrs. Anzelle B. McCuen who was elected to the position of Chief Clerk of the Historical Society at the annual meeting held in Pryor, Oklahoma, on May 26, 1947, has not taken that place; that she has been excused several times during the year.

Hon. H. L. Muldrow made the motion that the position of the elected member, Mrs. Anzelle B. McCuen, as Chief Clerk, who heretofore has not qualified, shall be set aside and vacated and the present clerk pro tempore be continued. Hon. Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that there is need for a railing to protect the rare painting by Alfred W. Miller, presented by the late Gov. E. W. Maryland, now valued at \$25,000, and that a suitable railing will cost \$120.00.

Dr. I. N. McCash made the motion that a suitable railing be purchased for the sum of \$120.00 for the protection of this valuable painting. Mrs. Blanche Lucas seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported relative to the popularity of the Auditorium of the Historical Building by various organizations, especially music teachers; that the janitors of said building are necessarily called upon to clean, open and close the room and building for each group using it and that said janitors should be permitted to receive the sum of \$5.00 for their services from those they serve.

Hon. Harry Campbell made the motion that said janitors be directed to ask not more than \$5.00 for said extra work. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that Mr. James E. Serven of Santa Ana, California, had offered to pay the Historical Society the sum of \$500.00 for a Colt percussion revolver that is in the Museum. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the matter be referred to a committee for investigation, to be reported at the July quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President appointed Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell and Dr. Charles Evans, the Secretary, on said Committee.

The Secretary reported that a committee, including Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator of the Museum, was appointed at the July 1947 meeting of the Board of Directors, to secure samples and prices of literature and post-cards to sell to people coming to the Historical Society, and that Mrs. Cook has reported as follows:

Artvue Albums containing 10 different pictures and one on the cover can be purchased:

1000 for \$165.00, and sell for \$250.00
2000 for \$290.00, and sell for \$500.00
4000 for \$500.00, and sell for \$1000.00

Also a booklet to include 24 pages and cover, containing pictures of historic places in Oklahoma, together with a short history of each, can be purchased:

1000 for \$227.80
2000 for \$323.65
3000 for \$416.65

the price of cuts to be determined and added.

Mrs. Frank Korn made the motion that the above figures be accepted and that a Committee be appointed to take care of the matter and that the Chief Clerk be designated to handle the money received from the sale of the albums and booklets. Hon. George A. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President introduced Mr. C. A. Bassler, Vice-President of the Payne County Historical Society, who invited the Oklahoma Historical Society to hold its next annual meeting at Stillwater, Oklahoma, in 1949.

Mrs. Blanche Lucas made the motion that the Board accept Mr. Bassler's invitation to hold its annual meeting in Stillwater in 1949. Hon. Baxter

Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President called attention to a request received from the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company to run a pipe line down the border of the R. M. Jones Cemetery in the southeastern part of Oklahoma.

Dr. I. N. McCash made the motion that this matter be referred to the Robert M. Jones Cemetery Committee of which Hon. H. L. Muldrow is chairman. Hon. Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. George A. Bowman made the motion that nominations for the vacancy of Director on the Board of the Historical Society be made at this time, to be elected at the quarterly meeting to be held in July 1948. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. John R. Williams nominated Hon. Milt Phillips, Editor of the *Seminole Producer*, for the position of Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. J. Garfield Buell nominated Judge Redmond S. Cole, an attorney of Tulsa, Oklahoma, for the position of Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. Angie Debo nominated Dr. Berlin B. Chapman of the History Department of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, for the position of Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Hon. George A. Bowman nominated State Senator James Rinehart of El Reno, Oklahoma, for the position of Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Frank Korn made a motion that a committee be appointed to propose some amendments to the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. H. L. Muldrow presented a "Souvenir of the Fall Reunion, Indian Consistory & Coordinate Bodies, A. A. S. R., Valley of McAlester-Orient of Oklahoma November 4, 5, 6 & 7, 1935," in which is a picture of the Will Rogers Memorial Class of April 16, 1908, Will Rogers' picture standing out quite prominently. Hon. Baxter Taylor made the motion that said booklet be accepted and that Mr. Muldrow be thanked for the same. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. H. L. Muldrow then presented for Hon. W. Mark Sexson, father of the Order of the Rainbow, all of the proceedings of the Grand Chapter of the Supreme Assembly of the Order of the Rainbow from its incipency down to the present, to be added to the Masonic material already in the library of the Historical Society.

Dr. I. N. McCash made the motion that a letter of acknowledgment and thanks be written by the Secretary to Mr. Sexson for the above gift and that he be elected an Honorary Life Member of this Society. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Hon. H. L. Muldrow then presented as the gift of Hon. Charles H. Bunting, a unique collection of Masonic Jewels which has an intrinsic as well as historical value. Hon. Robert A. Hefner made the motion that said Jewels be accepted and that a letter of acknowledgment and thanks be written by the Secretary to Hon. Charles H. Bunting for said gift. Hon. Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

At this point the First Vice-President, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, presiding, stated that she had read carefully the Constitution and By-Laws of the Oklahoma Historical Society and that she held that she was elevated, through the death of President Robert L. Williams, to the presidency of

the Society until January 1950. She stated that she recognized her responsibilities and that her health and powers assured her of the ability to discharge the obligations with fidelity and, she hoped with honor to this Society. She further stated that she would rely upon each member of the Board and the Secretary to give her assistance for which she would be duly grateful; that she recognized the honorable service which Judge Robert L. Williams, past President, had rendered and she would be true to all the principles that had actuated him in his service to the Society.

Hon. George A. Bowman made the motion that the business meeting be adjourned and that a memorial for Judge Robert L. Williams be held immediately thereafter. Mrs. Blanche Lucas seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, the President, said: "At this time we are going to have a memorial service for our wartime Governor. It was during his administration the capitol was built and it was with pride that he said the granite was all from Oklahoma. He was on the committee that succeeded in getting the Historical Society Building. He was on the committee that went to select a style for our building. He was a fine President and we shall miss him.

'Dear friends, in solemn memory
We are gathered here today
To give a kindly loving thought
To dear friends passed away.

Altho' a place is vacant
That never can be filled
And friends we loved have left us
A friendly voice is stilled.

Tho time may change from year to year
Our lives from day to day
The memory of the friends we knew
Will never pass away.'

At this time we will be glad for any tribute you wish to pay to Judge Williams."

For brevity only excerpts from the remarks of each speaker is given.

Mrs. J. Garfield Buell suggested a few minutes of silent prayer.
Silent prayer.

Mrs. Frank Korn in a splendid tribute said among other remarks: "He was a man of visions and a man of verities. A man to make visions, granted to him realities and how? By untiring and never failing persistence, that if a great object was to be gained, it was worthy of long sustained, undaunted endeavor using all that was in accord with him, converting to his view all that first opposed him, he then in harmony achieved success.

"Every point of difference that lay in the accomplishment of a desired end, he met squarely and settled judicially in open court so far as he was concerned in it. As Browning would say—'he was a fighter for what he conceived to be right.' Robert Lee Williams marched resolutely up life's highway to earn successive distinctions as a practicing lawyer, a district judge, a member of the Constitutional Convention, third Governor of Oklahoma, Justice of the Supreme Court, a high party leader, a Circuit Judge and last, President of the Historical Society which always held a special place in his heart."

Judge Baxter Taylor set forth his love and tribute in substance as follows:

"I met Judge Robert L. Williams when as a young man I came out from Tennessee and pitched tent in the little town of Atoka. The Constitution of Oklahoma was to be made. His fellow citizens of the Durant region presented him to the Constitutional Convention as their spokesman and representative. I can see him now as he appeared at that time, stalwart, rugged, unvarnished as a piece of gold from a gold mine, but alert, persistent and profoundly able. He stood in that Constitution Hall like a mountain of granite in his ideals of honor and integrity. I recall that after they had written the Constitution questions were raised as to the leadership and direction of men who made this Constitution. Robert L. Williams, among his peers and among the people of the new State, ranked as one of the chief molders among those who gave us our fundamental charter of government. As he was then a leader so he continued through more than forty years a towering figure in the annals of the State. He was my friend and I gave him profound admiration and love."

Judge Redmond S. Cole said: "May I add just one word to the thought that my good friend, Judge Taylor, has just given us. The first time I ever met Governor Bob Williams to really know the man I went alone to talk to him about the proposition of making an appointment of a friend of mine to an official position. He listened and then said, 'Is he honest?'"

Judge Harry Campbell then said: "I want to speak a word in memory of Judge Williams. I first met Judge Williams in Durant in 1900 at the time of the Democratic General Election when he was elected President of the National Committee. I have known him intimately through the years. I knew him when he was elected to the State Constitutional Convention, when he was elected to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and when he was Governor, but more intimately since he was appointed Federal Judge of the Eastern District of Oklahoma. Down through the years I practiced law in Judge Williams' court, and while he was domineering in a great number of ways and was impatient at delays he was a man of unusual honor and ability and I have never known him to be accused of any irregularity."

Mrs. Blanche Lucas: "My friendship with Judge Williams began during the Constitutional Convention and has continued through the years and I honor his memory."

Dr. I. N. McCash: "I came to Oklahoma in 1916. Judge Robert L. Williams was Governor. I became the President of a little church college that had no power to offer certificates in teaching. He came and delivered our commencement address. Our friendship began then. As the years went by every teachers' college and all institutions of higher learning in the State, save one, were against allowing Phillips University and other church colleges to be accredited with the power of offering certificates to teachers without standing an examination which they possessed. Governor Williams said that was not right, and then Dr. Charles Evans of Henry Kendall College went to the Legislature with a Bill to give equal credit where equal work was done. In the very last afternoon of the session we found the Bill pigeon-holed. Dr. Evans discovered this and went to the Committee on Education and demanded its being brought to the Floor for passage or rejection. The Senator, Hon. F. E. Tucker, who championed the Bill in the Senate was told that Governor Williams was for it. He said, 'Ask the Governor to come now to the Floor of the Senate,' and in a few minutes he appeared, and in a little while the Bill was passed; Governor Williams signed it and the church colleges of Oklahoma have a right to say, as I have often said, that this law was the Declaration of Independence of the church colleges of Oklahoma."

Dr. Fred S. Clinton: "Judge was my friend. I don't know how long I knew him. I knew him ever since he came to the State. He took an

important part in the making of the Constitution and he had an important part in interpreting the Constitution and other laws. When he was the Governor of the State he helped to establish the Standard Medical School. He was a great benefactor of the Medical Fraternity in Oklahoma."

Hon. George A. Bowman: "I want to say just a word with reference to Judge Williams that has not been pointed out. I knew him when I came to the Oklahoma Territory part of the State in 1899 but the thing that has impressed me about Judge Williams was the fact that we would not have had the historical building of the State if it had not been for him. When he came to be Governor the Historical Society was in a room in Oklahoma City and then in the Capitol and it was through his influence that the legislature appropriated money for the erection of the historical building. Judge Williams was Governor from 1915 to 1919 and in the Fall of 1914 when running for Governor of Oklahoma he got out these little buttons which were to be worn on the coat; and on the bottom of it it says 'Our Bob'. I want to give this to Dr. Evans for the historical society."

Dr. Charles Evans: "While I am on my feet may I say to you that I met Robert L. Williams 43 years ago. Never in my life have I met such a remarkable and singular character. The substance of what Dr. McCash said that he was always for the minority, was the very root of his being. Judge Williams was a really religious man. He loved all that pertained to the origin and growth of this State. His brother-in-law, Mr. Paul Walker of Washington, D. C., sent me a few lines from a plaque that was hanging in his room at the time of his death. May I be given the privilege of reading it?

'BUILD ME ANEW—EACH HOUR, EACH DAY

Keep building me anew, each hour, each year, God.

Fashion my way and will toward better things. Mark plainly the ways of error before me, so that I may not go their routes.

Stimulate my mind to see and my heart to feel.

Take the various phases of my nature and spread them clearly before me—as though a pictured book, so that I may recognize my weakness as well as my gifts of strength.

Keep walking around with me, God. Keep talking to me, so that your Palship may grow in fondness and beauty to me.

Cleanse my mind and heart so that people may see what worth there is in me, as I see the loveliness of formation in the rocks and flowers that play like pals with the crystal streams that ripple among the mountain bases.

Build me anew—each hour, each day.

Tear down that which I have faultily constructed and lead me to new locations—there to start all over again.

I know that I am made of the elements that mingle in the soil of the earth, and that sometime I shall return to the play of their atoms but I am also convinced that you have breathed into this frame of mine an immortal soul, whose journey has just begun.

Keep me simple, God. Attract my mind to simple things—those which are easiest understood.

And mingle me with the great crowd, so that what little influence I may possess may spread deepest and farthest, helping, uplifting the largest number.

With the sun of your love, God, kill every germ of conceit and self-interest within me.

Develop these shoulders of mine so that I may be strong to give a lift to those less strong and fortunate than I.

Build me anew—each hour, each day.’”

Hon. Robert A. Hefner: “My tribute to Judge Williams in a word is the service he performed in preserving our State’s history. No man has rendered a greater service.”

Hon. H. L. Muldrow: “I suspect I knew Bob Williams as long as anybody here. Long ago, in the Indian Territory times, I met him. There have been times when I liked him very much—there have been other times when I despised him. Bob Williams was a man who did things. Whether he was right or wrong he was loyal to his convictions.”

Miss Muriel H. Wright: “As a member of the Staff I would like to make a statement with reference to Judge Williams. It wasn’t my privilege to have known him so long as these good friends of his. In my work with *The Chronicles* I could always depend on Judge Williams in its planning and publication. I wish to say that in the Summer issue all of the articles were approved by him. It will also include a sketch of his life by Dr. Evans, making this number a memorial to Judge Williams.”

Mr. Flesner of the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce then announced that the room on the second floor of Constitutional Hall in which the Constitution was drawn was open and all were invited to visit it.

At this time, a motion was made by Judge Harry Campbell that adjournment be made, after which all members would repair to the Ione Hotel for a banquet given in honor of the Society by the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Guthrie. The motion was seconded by Hon. J. B. Milam and was carried.

The proceedings of the banquet and excursions about the City are revealed in the following program:

“LUNCHEON, Ione Hotel

Sponsored by Guthrie Chamber of Commerce

Master of Ceremonies		Mayor C. E. Barnes, Guthrie, Oklahoma
12:15	Music	Anne Mary Bentley
	Your Song For Paradise by S. B. Brown	
	Introduction of Officers, Members of Staff, and Members of Historical Society.	
	Music	Anne Mary Bentley
	The Pipers Song by Paderewski	
	Address	Hon. Baxter Taylor
	Member of the Board of Directors”	

At the conclusion of the program the President, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour extended thanks and deep appreciation to Mayor C. E. Barnes, Hon. L. G. Flesner, Secretary-Manager, and the Committees of the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce, that had given the Society such a splendid banquet and means of excursion to the historic spots about the City. The Co-operative Publishing Company was also thanked for the beautiful corsages for the lady members of the Board of Directors and the members of the Staff of the Society and boutonnières for the gentlemen of the Board of Directors.

It was the expression of all that it was one of the best annual meetings the Society had ever had.

EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, *President*

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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THE SECRETARY

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BYRON NORRELL, PIONEER EDITOR

By Cora Case Porter*

High up on the honor roll of achievement of men in Oklahoma stands the name of Byron Norrell. When a man so arranges his life to seek out and give himself to the needs of the people of his community, that man will need no monument to indicate to the passerby "here lies a benefactor of mankind." He still lives in the hearts of his neighbors from generation to generation. Such a man was Byron Norrell, Texas reared but Oklahoman by adoption. Norrell took the red hills of Oklahoma to his heart and made them stepping stones to the high plane of achievement. He loaned his every ability and resource to the need of citizens in a raw wilderness that they might achieve their fondest dreams.¹

Byron Norrell came from Italy, Ellis County, Texas, to Ada in the Chickasaw Nation, where he began his editorial work in the publication of *The Ada Weekly Democrat* on November 1, 1906. Those were exciting times in Ada, a typical frontier village of the time in the Indian Territory.² The next Tuesday, November 4, had been proclaimed Election Day when delegates were to be chosen for the Constitutional Convention, and all sorts of men were running on all sorts of platforms. The portentous atmosphere was an editor's

* Mrs. Cora Case Porter now living in Ada, Oklahoma, is well known as the former librarian of the Muskogee Public Library, 1925-1945. She is the author of *Irving Trail and Other Poems* (The Hoffman-Speed Printing Co., Press, Muskogee, 1946), with a foreword by Dr. Grant Foreman. One of her poems, "The Lost Pearl," appeared in the memorial article, "Mrs. Howard Searcy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), p. 19.—Ed.

¹ The writer wishes to render her thanks to Wm. D. Little and Roy McKeown of *The Ada Evening News* for information and assistance in searching through the old files of the newspaper for data, and to Miss Muriel H. Wright for suggestions in the compilation of this article. Special acknowledgments are due Paul V. Norrell and Homer J. Norrell for family data; also, to Berry McGee, Judge of Waxahachie (Texas) Corporation Court, Mrs. Lona Shawver, Borger, Texas, and to Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Duvall, formerly active in Pontotoc County fair and home demonstration work.

² Ada, county seat of Pontotoc County, was named for the daughter of W. J. ("Jeff") Reed, pioneer mail carrier, who erected the first building near 4th Street and Oak Avenue in 1889, a combination store and dwelling of hewed logs. The first post office was established here on September 10, 1891, with W. J. Reed as postmaster. At that time, Ada was in Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory. Mrs. Ada (Reed) Hemler is still living in Ada (August, 1948). With the construction of the first railroad (St. Louis and San Francisco) through the town in 1900, the main townsite was located on 11th and 12th streets. Ada soon had three newspapers: *The Ada Democrat* with W. D. Cardwell, Editor, and A. D. Tanner, Publisher; *The Ada News*, Otis B. Weaver & Co., editors and proprietors; *The Ada Star*, founded in the new town in July, 1900, by E. G. Phelps from Shawnee, which was soon "making money—something new in the early life of a country newspaper" (Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907* [Norman, 1936], pp. 102, 03).



BYRON NORRELL

paradise. After Election Day, the 112 men selected to frame the Oklahoma Constitution in the Convention meeting at Guthrie on November 20 were ripe for sifting through the editor's hopper. Prohibition versus the liquor traffic was hotly debated, much of the argument having a specious ring to him who was an ardent "dry." Norrell was not a politician and never aspired to public office but he kept his fingers on the political pulse. He could not be swayed by sophistry nor could new parties nor radicals—socialist, populist, third party, Ku-Klux, right or left wingers—tip him from his mental balance. He hewed to the line of his Democratic principles, unchangeable but not intolerant. Positive and courageous as an editor, for a third of a century his paper represented everything that was best for the community and opposed everything that was against the public welfare.

Byron Norrell was born in Strickling, Burnet County, Texas, on September 30, 1875. His paternal grandparents were Tom E. Norrell and Sarah Maria Williams Norrell, who were married in Georgia. Tom E. Norrell went to California during the "Gold Rush" in the early 1850's, came home once to see his family but returned to the West Coast and was never heard from again. Years after the tragic disappearance of her husband, Sarah Maria Williams Norrell sold her plantation home near Rome, Georgia, and moved to Bartlett Williamson County, Texas, thence to Brownwood in 1897. She died soon afterward and was buried in the municipal cemetery at Bartlett, Texas. An old daguerreotype of her pictures a beautiful young matron with a bright eyed boy some four or five years old, standing beside her chair. The boy was Byron's father. She had three children: Augustus Benton Norrell (the father of Byron), Henry Norrell, and a daughter, Georgia Norrell, who married Newton Talley, a prosperous farmer near Temple, Texas. Mr. and Mrs. Talley reared a large family and moved to Purcell, Oklahoma, before statehood.

Byron Norrell's father, Augustus Benton Norrell, was a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher and missionary in West Texas for the American Sunday School Union. He was born at Talking Rock, Gilmer County, Georgia, on April 14, 1846. He enlisted in the Confederate States Army at his home in Pickens County, Georgia, on May 10, 1862, serving as private in Company L, 36th Regiment (Broyles') Georgia Infantry. He died at his home in Dallas, Texas, on May 22, 1923, and was buried there in Laurel Memorial Park. He married first, Sarah Elizabeth (Betty) Mabry at Hoover's Valley, Burnet County, Texas, on December 9, 1883. She was born at Lockhart, Caldwell County, Texas, on September 27, 1849, and died at their farm home near Davilla, Burnet County, on December 9, 1883, and was buried in the Community graveyard. Her grave, covered with a concrete slab and fenced with an iron railing, is

marked with a marble headstone. Betty was the daughter of a Methodist minister, the Reverend James Griffin Mabry, who was born in Mississippi, and his wife, Abigail Bishop Roberts Mabry, who was born in Alabama. It is said that the Reverend Mabry preached many times in Texas with a flintlock gun beside his pulpit to protect his flock from the Indians. The diploma that Betty received when she graduated from the Young Ladies Seminary at old Salado, Texas, is the prized possession of one of her children. She and her husband, the Reverend Augustus Benton Norrell, were the parents of five children, all born in Texas: DeLora Yunette who died in infancy; Byron, the eldest son; Mrs. Lura Norrell Skinner, of Ada, Oklahoma; Homer J. Norrell, of San Antonio, Texas; and Mabry Norrell, of Dallas, Texas.

After the death of his mother when he was eight years old, Byron and his brothers and sister lived in Santa Anna, Texas, with his uncle and aunt, Judge Alvin C. Crews and Lora Mabry Crews, his mother's sister, and with relatives elsewhere until his father's second marriage in 1886 to Martha Jennie Wilson, a teacher in Santa Anna. She was a native of Kentucky but her early life was spent in Stanberry, Missouri. She died in Byron Norrell's home in Ada on April 15, 1933, and was buried beside her husband in Laurel Memorial Park, Dallas, Texas. Four children were born of the second union: Leland Augustus Norrell, Chicago, Illinois; Clinton DeWitt Norrell, deceased; Beatrice Norrell, deceased; and Paul V. Norrell, of Stillwater, Oklahoma.

In reviewing the missionary work in Texas from 1840 to 1936, as recorded from the annual reports, *The Lone Star Record of the American Sunday School Union* has this to say of Byron Norrell's father:

From 1876 to 1919 three great missionary characters stand out above their fellows. The last of these three is Rev. A. B. Norrell who was located at Brownwood and worked among ranchers, stockmen and farmers. He traveled thousands of miles over the plains in an open buggy. His term of service was thirty-three years. More than 900 Sunday Schools were organized and in one year he reported 300 conversions. Through years of drought and grasshopper visitation, or when cotton failure was apparent, his courageous spirit and Christian counsel was like a tonic to the scattered disheartened settlers whose homes he visited.

There was plain living and high thinking in the home of the missionary preacher of the early days, in Texas, in Oklahoma, or in any state where the zealous man of God felt called to minister to the souls of men. But high thinking did not always keep the "wolf from the door." The covered top "mover-wagon," with its front end open like an old fashioned split-bonnet sloping back to the pucker-string; moving westward when crops were promising; eastward when hope was blasted, housed the wives and children of ministers for extended periods in pioneer days. Reverend Norrell lived in

Buffalo Gap, Merkel, Abilene, and other places in Texas before settling at Brownwood, in his own home. His youngest son, Paul Norrell, gave some reminiscences in a letter to the author that tell something of his brother's life as a boy and a student:

The two small mules to the open buggy, that he traveled in all over West Texas, were as well known as my father. As far back as I can remember Byron was going to school. Papa had a good friend in Brownwood who was head of a private school, Coggin Academy. His name was Paul Ragsdale and he took Byron into his school. Years afterward it was learned that Professor Ragsdale was his inspiration. None of the eight children had much encouragement to go to school. Papa's pay envelope didn't have too much in it in those days. If we had any luxuries we had to earn the money. Byron picked cotton in the fall. If he picked less than 200 pounds he felt he had had a bad day. The steelyards, on three poles crossed "tepee" fashion, had to hang level when he weighed up his cotton sack. He kept account of each weighing. Once he found he had been overpaid. He returned the overpayment. When the incident was told to Papa, he was greatly pleased with his son's honesty.

Coggin Academy later became Daniel Baker College, to give Brownwood two junior colleges: Howard Payne College, co-educational, and a Baptist institution,³ founded in 1889; Daniel Baker College (old Coggin) founded as a private institution in 1889, transferred control of the college in 1903 to the Southern Presbyterian church [now a part of the Southwestern University of Georgetown, Texas].

When Professor James Harvey Groves became president of Howard Payne, in 1895, he used to go with Papa on missionary trips and drum up students for his college. He told Papa that when any of his children were ready for college their tuition would not cost them anything. Byron took advantage of this offer. He went to Howard Payne in 1897 and 1898. He was on the debate team and he continued with his study of shorthand. Debating and shorthand were his early hobbies. He devised some short cuts in shorthand. On Saturday he worked at any job he could find, regardless of pay. My mother was proud of Byron. While he was working on Saturday she would get his clothes ready for the next week. His clothes were not fine but they were always clean and in good condition.

After a year at Howard Payne he got a certificate to teach school. I remember he taught at Poverty Hill, Thrifty, and Rising Star, country schools near Brownwood. Thirty dollars a month was considered good pay for a country school teacher. He saved money from this meager salary.

Long after Byron Norrell's country school teaching experience in West Texas, he told this story to Renfro Herndon, his young nephew, who was just beginning to teach in the Ada public schools: "On cold nights I would sit with the family until they were ready to go to bed, then would take a hot rock from the fireplace, wrap it in

³ In 1898, Byron Norrell took up a collection of a dime apiece from the boys at Howard Payne college and bought the first football that school ever owned. They did not play real football in those days but just "kicked the ball around." He once said, "The regular sport was adopted two years later."—Ferdie Deering, "Curios & Antiques" column, *Ada News*, September 29, 1935.

paper and take it to my room where wearing my overcoat, I would sit with my feet on the rock reading poetry, biography and history until far into the night."

From 1901 to 1903, he was a student at Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee. He was graduated (L. C.) May 27, 1903. His diploma was signed by ex-Governor James Davis Porter, of Paris, Tennessee, president of Peabody College and chancellor, University of Nashville, 1901-1909. Young Norrell was vice president of his class in 1902, and vice president of Adelphi Literary Society, 1902-03. He represented his society, and won the medal, in the Adelphi-Erosophian debate at the Annual Inter-Society Oratorical Contest, University of Nashville, May 22, 1902. The Peabody Dining Club, housed in Norris Hall, was organized November 1, 1901. The Club was democratic in character, all benefits were shared by the student members. Norrell was the first Secretary, 1901-02 and Manager, 1902-03. He also found time the year of his graduation to take the part of Miles Standish in the annual play, "The Courtship of Miles Standish," staged by the Fine Arts Department on the college campus.⁴ He worked in a box factory during his vacation in 1902, and bought scrap iron for a man in Nashville, making trips into adjoining towns on a bicycle. After his graduation in 1903, feeling brash and important with his degree of Licentiate of Instruction from the normal college of the University of Nashville in his pocket, Byron Norrell went to Italy, Texas.

Before leaving Nashville in May he was told by one of his professors of a vacancy in the high school in Italy. He stopped off enroute to his home in Brownwood and came unexpectedly upon a college friend Doctor Thomas H. Cheatham, then living in Italy, whose brother was a member of the school board. Together they attended the board meeting where applications were being received. When Dr. Cheatham introduced Byron Norrell, among other things he said:

"He isn't married and he isn't good looking as you can see for yourselves, gentlemen, but on account of the high standard of his scholarship and character, he was one of the best known students and debaters in his class at Peabody College. He was a member of Societatis Adelpica of the University of Nashville. I am telling you this because he is too modest to blow his own horn."

Byron Norrell got the job of teaching Latin and mathematics in the Italy High School. In September, 1903, he had to brush up mightily in mathematics to keep ahead of his students. This he did, because he was a conscientious young man. He believed in giving

⁴ *Peabody Alumni Directory*, 1875-1909, supplied by E. Nuckells Littlejohn of Pacolet, South Carolina, a fellow student of Byron Norrell at Peabody; and *Garnet and Blue*, vols. 1 (1902) and 2 (1903), the College annual published by the literary societies of the University of Nashville, Tennessee.

good service for all of his benefits, and also, keeping law and order in the schoolroom.

He taught summer school in a nearby village when high school closed in 1904. Frequently he would stay after school to help the boys and girls with their problems, until the solutions were clearly understood. In the late summer of this year he went to the World's Fair in St. Louis, and returned to Texas by way of Indian Territory. He stopped to visit with Duke Stone in Ada, a classmate of college days at Brownwood. He was fascinated by what he saw in the Territory, and what he heard of the glamorous "Great Run" of April 22, 1889. He continued to teach in the high school until 1905, and served as a member of the Board of Education of Ellis County, 1904-1905.

Loyal and devoted to the members of his family, Byron Norrell's home in Italy and later in Ada was always open to them. His widowed sister and her two children were in his home for fourteen years, her daughter and, also, his step-mother passing away there. The elderly Aunt Lora (Mrs. Crews) was tenderly nursed in his home for many months with a broken hip. His brothers and half-brothers and their children were ever under his watchful care, the sharers of his bounty in affluence and in hard times. In Italy, the family were members of the Park Presbyterian Church. Byron Norrell was a Mason, initiated September 22, 1904, in Italy Lodge No. 647, A.F.&A.M. (passed November 17, raised December 22), and demitted July 18, 1907. In Ada, he was a member of the First Presbyterian Church, serving as a deacon in 1925, and as an elder in 1933.

In 1906, he gave up teaching to become Editor of *The Italy News Herald*, published by T. B. Lusk under whose management he had his first baptism of printers ink along with Miles Grigsby. It was destiny manifesting itself for this was the work he was born to do. It was with fond memories that he left Italy in October of this year for a new location in Ada, Indian Territory, where he gave himself wholeheartedly to his work as an editor. On November 1, 1906, he and Miles Grigsby bought *The Ada Democrat* from A. D. Tanner, "lock, stock and barrel—mostly barrel," as they humorously reported it. Mr. Grigsby sold his interest to Anson B. Yeager in July, 1908. A perpendicular signboard nailed to a front post, with "Printing Office" reading downward in large black letters, and "The Ada Democrat" printed across the front windows attracted attention to the modest printing establishment.⁵

⁵ There is in existence a postcard picture of the building at this date, with the staff members of *The Ada Democrat* leaning nonchalantly against the door jambs and pine posts in front of the entrance, a far different scene from the present dignified *Ada News* building of brick and stone, lighted with a neon sign and equipped with modern presses and up-to-date mechanical conveniences.

Mr. Norrell and Mr. Yeager edited and published *The Ada Democrat* (weekly) until September 1, 1910, when it was consolidated with *The Ada News* (weekly and daily) and the concern was incorporated under the firm name of News Printing and Publishing Company.⁶ The officers were: Otis B. Weaver, President; Byron Norrell, Vice President and Editor; Anson B. Yeager, Manager and Treasurer; Miles C. Grigsby, Assistant Manager. With Weaver, Norrell, Yeager, and Grigsby the *News* was fortified with men of every kind of newspaper experience and its rise from that time on was marked with unprecedented success. Technical publications in the nation commented "that the success of *The Ada News* was a phenomenal stroke of American journalism and that it was the only newspaper of its kind that had succeeded in a town of so small a population and under such pioneering conditions."

At the time of the merger of the two Ada papers, *The Roff Eagle* made this comment: "This week *The Ada Democrat* absorbed *The Ada News* but lost its name in the shuffle. Get married, Norrell, and you will be an unqualified success." Byron Norrell was known over the state as the "Bachelor Editor from Pontotoc County." He was always an admirer of Robert L. Williams, known as the "Bachelor Governor of Oklahoma." He did not always see eye to eye with the Governor who served his State with distinction during World War I, but he respected his blunt sincerity and vigorous prosecution of the right as he saw it. Byron Norrell's administration as President of the Oklahoma Press Association in 1916 was noted as one of the most constructive in the history of the organization. When he was elected President of the Association, he made the members a solemn promise to take unto himself a wife before the next annual meeting. A year later Sunday editions of *The Daily Oklahoma* and of *The Dallas News* carried the picture of the bride and groom entwined with flowers, cupids and wedding bells, with the caption: "Bachelor Editor becomes a Benedict." The young bachelor of forty-two was united in marriage with a "bachelor" girl two years younger, Miss Anne Gertrude Case,

⁶ *The Ada News* was founded in 1901 by A. E. ("Heavenly") Baker and Tom Horn of Pauls Valley, the printing outfit being that of the *Center News* (established in 1896 by Hamm Printing Company) which had been moved from the town of Center, about 30 miles from Pauls Valley in the Chickasaw Nation. *The Ada News* began publication as a five column eight page weekly sheet. After a few months, the paper was sold to Carlton Weaver (age 18 years), with Marvin Brown and E. C. Patton as associates. The press equipment consisted of a Vaughn Ideal hand press for the paper, an 8 x 10 job press, and a "shirt-tail full of type, slugs and quads." E. C. Patton purchased Mr. Brown's interest, and in turn sold it to Otis B. Weaver, a brother of Carlton. Their cousin, Miss Mollie Jernigen, was a power "behind the throne" in the printing office. On December 10, 1903, the new branch of the M. K. & T. Railway from Oklahoma City ran its first train through Ada on to Coalgate and Atoka. Sensing an increase in Ada's population, Otis Weaver put on a daily paper in 1904 every day except Sunday. He later became sole owner and editor of *The Ada News* and remained such until the consolidation.

their romance having culminated in an idyllic wedding on Wednesday evening, November 28, 1917, at "Doll House," her home.⁷

Byron Norrell's leadership in Ada and Pontotoc County was due in a large measure to His Farm Column in *The Ada Weekly News* and his willingness to "Get down to where people understand, touch bottom and lift."

First he began to make the acquaintance of farm folk. He visited them in their homes. He knew the farmers and their wives, hundreds of them, by their names. He rode a bicycle up and down the weedy trails and rutted roads, to study conditions in every section and township. He tramped across fields and streams or fitted his steps into the furrow beside the farmer as he ploughed, to talk to him about his crop, his cattle, his hogs, his orchard, his garden, his bees, his home, his children, his church, or whatever seemed to be the most needful. This type of friendly visitation was a part of his program over a period of years.

He cultivated the friendship of teachers, preachers, and rural club workers. He had correspondents to represent their interests, and pick up local news, in every community and town. The Pontotoc County Boys' Corn Club was organized in six country schools in 1909. The first exhibit of the club was held in Ada. It was announced in *The Weekly News*, September 13, 1910, with this editorial: "It is very plain that the best way to learn a thing is by doing it. Agriculture is being taught in the schools so why not teach it firsthand by having pupils put theory into practice." In person and through the press he talked the educational value of county fairs, and farm women's clubs. The County Fair Association was organized November 5, 1910. The 4-H Clubs were the outgrowth of the corn clubs. Boy Scout work was dear to his heart. His Farm Column boosted its

⁷ Anna Gertrude Case, born in Hubbard, Texas, November 25, 1877, lost her parents when she was in her early teens. Her maternal grandparents came to Texas from Rome, Georgia, in the days of the Republic, and her paternal grandparents came to Missouri from Kentucky before the Civil War. After graduating from Hubbard High School, Gertrude Case financed herself through Baylor College, Belton, Texas, and through Baylor University, Waco, Texas, where she was graduated from the piano department under Rudolph Hoffman, June 1, 1903. She completed her musical studies in Leipzig, Germany, in 1907 and, in 1908, under Joseph Pimbauer. She was at the head of the music department of East Central State Normal, Ada, 1910-1911, the first year of the Normal's existence, transferring the following year to fill a similar position at Central State Normal at Edmond, Oklahoma. Later she was a member of the music faculty of Baylor College, and had her own private summer studio in Corpus Christi, Texas. After her marriage to Byron Norrell, she continued many activities—teaching music, working sometimes in the *News* office as society editor or proof reader, directing church choirs or organized groups for the development of home talent and music appreciation. With the discovery of oil in the Fitts Field eleven miles from Ada when a more gracious way of living was made possible, the Norrell home was enlarged and made more comfortable. The grounds overflowed with flowers, fruits and trees, until it was known to their many friends as "Flowerland."

growth, and the Boy Scout Council programs put on in the rural communities on Sunday afternoon, by Harry Miller and his associates. When the first annual meeting of the Council was held in Ada in 1921, he said in an editorial: "It means something in the betterment of the coming manhood of Pontotoc County when 459 boys have taken the Scout oath." His Farm Column was eagerly watched for and read, not only by farm folk, but it was read faithfully by Ada residents; even by the many who had not grown up on the farm. His facts, simply told, were gleaned from authoritative home and farm journals and A. & M. College rural service publications.

A good Bible student, Byron Norrell had a Sunday School lesson each week in *The Ada News*, and instituted a Bible quotation to top his Sunday editorial column.⁸ W. D. Little commented in *The Ada News* (July 15, 1938):

"So far as I know, Byron started the practice, now rather common, of carrying an editorial on the Sunday School lesson each week. He did the best job of it, to my way of thinking, of any of them who now attempt the task. Having spent time in the study of the Bible, and much time in solitude, having been brought up in a religious home, he had as sane a slant on religious matters as any person I know."

In his address, "What Constitutes An Acceptable Weekly Paper," delivered at the annual meeting of the National Editorial Association in Los Angeles, July 2, 1926, he drew from his own experience as an editor of *The Ada Weekly News* when he said: "After the local news, a live editorial column dealing with community problems is as necessary as salt is to season food. The editor must keep himself in close touch with his readers and in sympathy with their strivings and aspirations." His short pithy paragraphs were widely quoted.

Byron Norrell represented the class of 1903 at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of Peabody College for Teachers, February 18-20, 1925. His address on "The Days Events and The Teacher" was published in *The Nashville Banner*, February 20, 1925. Mr. Justice Edward Terry Sanford presided. Notable speakers were on the program. Graduate delegates from the Alumni from 1877 to 1924 were present, and representatives from the leading colleges and universities. To quote from this address: "The classically educated man or woman who gets his amo or amas mixed but is wise to the importance of history that is in the making, is alive to the most progressive age the world has ever known." His addresses, Bible lessons,

⁸ When Byron Norrell was a boy, his father's double cousin gave him his own Bible autographed: "Benjamin C. Norrell—Book, July 11, 1885. Atlanta, Georgia." On the fly leaf was written the simple key to the study of the Bible, which he had used and in turn passed on to his young relative.

editorials and essays understandingly pieced together, as was said of Williams Allen White by David Hinshaw, would with clarity tell the story of a vital era in American life.⁹

Byron Norrell retired as editor and publisher of *The Ada News* in 1919, because of ill health. He and his wife bought a forty acre tract of land two miles south of Ada. Keeping their home in town, they moved to the country in August, 1919. The small farm house was remodeled, equipped with running water and bath, good barns erected, storehouses for fruit and vegetables, poultry houses constructed under the most scientific principles a small orchard, vineyard, berry patch planted, and the native trees along the creek bank were budded with pecans. Mrs. Norrell named the place "Hoot Owl Ranch." They raised Duroc-Jersey hogs, Rhode Island chickens and red Bourbon turkeys. Their stationery was printed in red ink, with a trade-mark cut of two large hoot owls. The ranch paid so well it was written up in *The Texas Farm and Ranch*," July 24, 1920.

Byron Norrell had three major hobbies: pecans, honey-bees, and walking. He was a veteran advocate of pecan culture in Pontotoc County, and developed a pecan farm of 100 acres at Fittstown. Three times he took the Federal Census in his district because it gave him an opportunity to walk, and visit with his readers. He did not drive an automobile. A near accident cured him of the habit of trying.

A re-purchase of stock in the Ada publishing concern was consummated and he came back to Ada in June, 1921, as the junior partner, and editor of *The Ada Weekly News* and *The Ada Evening News*. Wm. D. Little, the business manager since 1914 and now the senior partner and publisher, the two friends since bachelor days were working together again. The Norrells moved back to "Flowerland," their old home, in Ada, where Mrs. Norrell still lives (1948).¹⁰

Beyond the age limit for service in World War I, Norrell afterward wrote of this experience:

"The nearest to the smell of gunpowder that I got in any war was during the "Green Corn Rebellion," in August, 1917, when I shouldered a gun and a round of amunition, and went with a box car full of excited citizen-soldiers from Ada to Sasakwa, Oklahoma, where Sheriff Bob Duncan and his deputies were quelling some 1000 or more IWW whites, Indians, and

⁹ *The Ada Evening News*, July 17, 1938.

¹⁰ Mr. and Mrs. Norrell rented "Hoot Owl Ranch" just after World War I because experienced help could not be found to help carry on their extensive farm and ranch program. The President of East Central State Normal, J. Marcus Gordon, had resigned his position to accept the presidency of Henry Kendall College at Tulsa. Mr. Norrell accompanied Mr. Gordon to Tulsa in September, 1920, as Bursar of the College, and Mrs. Norrell, as Supervisor of the boys' dormitory and the dining hall.

Negroes who were camped in the Seminole hills and destroying railroad bridges, telephone wires, pipe lines, etc., in an armed protest against the Draft Act in the first World War."

After touring Colorado with his wife, and an editor friend and his wife from Stillwater, Oklahoma, two different years when the Colorado Press Association invited the Oklahoma Press Association to join with them in touring their state, and together with his wife traveling others years, to Washington, to the Northwest and Alaska, and to Mexico, his editorials were broader in outlook and more cosmopolitan in tone.

Byron Norrell was valuable to the world as an influence, he preached decency, manhood, courage and Christian chivalry in his writing. The men around him, especially the young men, breathed the spirit of the man, in what he said and in what he did. His keen delight in giving credit where credit was due endeared him to his associates in all walks of life. Many young men who are well known writers, editors, and publishers today, began their career or got their inspiration in the old *Democrat* or the *News* office under the direction of "Uncle Byron," as the news force called him in later years.¹¹

Byron Norrell died at his home July 15, 1938, after months of illness during which he looked forward to recovery. At the age of sixty-two, this progressive and beloved citizen of Ada since 1906, felt there was much service ahead for him to do, in friendliness, and helpfulness to others. When the end came scores of friends, relatives and associates gathered to pay a simple and final tribute to this man who was a messenger of good will, and a pioneer planter of culture in the soul of Pontotoc County.

In the flower-filled garden of his home, where a few days earlier they sat and talked with him, men now stood with bared heads. Mrs. Norrell, his only survivor, wanted him surrounded at the last with his friends and his trees and his flowers. They had talked it over beforehand, as they had done every problem since their marriage.

¹¹ Among those who received encouragement from Editor Norrell, in their early writing, were Paul Hughes, who attended Ada High School and afterward worked his way through college and graduated in 1936 from East Central State College, whose first book *Retreat From Moscow* was a national best seller; and Wellborn Hope, whose poem "The Home Town Paper," dedicated to *The Ada Evening News* and particularly to Byron Norrell, was published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, July 20, 1946, and later in *The Ada Evening News*. Among those who have said their life and work were influenced by their friendship with Mr. Norrell, are Ferdie Deering, Editor of *Oklahoma Farmer Stockman*; Joe Hensley, with Ada Hardin Printing and Office Supplies; and W. Burton Grindstaff, whose "Personal Column" appears in *The Hugo Daily News*. Those who were long associated in work with Byron Norrell and knew him well include Wm. D. Little, present Editor and Publisher of *The Ada Evening News*; Roy McKeown, City Editor; Bob Blanks, "The Pessimist"; Hugh Biles, Advertising Manager and News Caster; John Skinner, Foreman in the press room; Orville Emmons, T. W. Brydia, George Alletag, and George Goddard. These men and successors trained under them run the *News* today, keeping the high standards Byron Norrell set for his paper.

Women gathered within the house and the men stood outside, unmindful of the light rain which fell continuously while his pastor, the Reverend Mitchell E. Epperson read the comforting service, and his friend, L. A. Ellison, paid tribute from the Ada Masonic Lodge, A.F. & A.M. No. 119.

He was carried to his final resting place in Rosedale Cemetery, Ada, by six members of *The News* staff. Few who read it will forget W. D. Little's editorial the following Sunday morning. He began and ended his farewell to his friend and co-worker for twenty-two years with their accustomed words of parting at the end of the day: "So long, Byron—See you tomorrow."

Words written by a young man the night after his passing, were a fitting benediction for Byron Norrell:¹²

"BANNER—PAGE ONE"

The writer, tired and weary from his task,
Took his story once more
And carefully checked it to see if all was well
And then laid it down.

A beautiful story, filled with goodness
And parts that had been marked out
And then written again
Until it was completed.

The Great Editor has taken it now,
He has scanned it closely and finds it true.
And He'll take His pen and mark it
"Banner—Page one.

¹² Copass Routh, Night Editor, *The Ada Evening News*, July 16, 1938.

REPORT OF THE REVEREND R. M. LOUGHRIDGE
TO THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS
REGARDING THE CREEK MISSION

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The Reverend R. M. Loughridge, on February 17, 1841, sent an account of his trip to the Creek country from Eutaw, Alabama, to the Board of Foreign Missions. This article is largely written from a typescript in Grant Foreman's Collection.

Mr. Loughridge wrote that he arrived at the Choctaw Agency, about sixteen miles southwest of Fort Smith, on November 27, 1840. He was very kindly received and entertained by Major William Armstrong, the Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Western Territory. Armstrong appeared to be interested in the success of a mission among the Creeks and gave Mr. Loughridge letters to Colonel James Logan, their agent, and General Roly McIntosh, head chief of the nation, in which he warmly urged the importance of having missionaries and mission schools among them.

Logan was away from the agency but was expected soon. Loughridge awaited his arrival so that there would be no hitch in the establishment of the mission. He spent a few days very profitably at Dwight and Park Hill missions among the Cherokees, the missionaries giving him a hearty welcome and rejoicing that another effort was being made to carry the Gospel to these much neglected Indians. Loughridge's journal reads as follows:

Dec. 6, 1841. Creek Nation, six miles south-west of Fort Gibson. The agent still being absent, I concluded to visit the chiefs alone and see what could be effected in the establishment of the mission. Called upon Mr. Lewis, one of the chiefs, and also upon Mr. Benjamin Marshall, an Indian of considerable information, and of great influence in national affairs.¹ They appeared quite friendly, but gave me but little encouragement to hope for the success of the mission.

¹ Benjamin Marshall, one of the most prominent men in the Creek Nation, held the position of treasurer, without bond, for forty years. He was intrusted with treaty-making with the United States concerning the removal of his people from Alabama to the West. He probably owned more slaves than any other Creek. "He was a man of unblemished character and one of the most far-seeing statesmen the Creek people ever had, and one of the chief councilors of the nation." (D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* [New York, 1901], pp. 352-53). In 1835, Marshall brought a small party of the Creeks to the Verdigris, where 630, after a frightful winter journey, had arrived the year before.

Dec. 7. Proceeded to the house of General Roly McIntosh,² in company with Mr. Benjamin Marshall, who acted as my interpreter. He met very friendly and invited me into his house. I then made known to him the object of my visit, and read to him the letter addressed to the chiefs by the Board, and also the letter of Major Armstrong to himself. He appeared pleased with the sentiments of both; but declined giving an answer respecting the mission, without consulting the other chiefs; especially as they expected soon to hold a general council to receive the annuity from the government of the United States, when an opportunity would be given me to lay the subject before them.

He suggested, that in case the council consented to your proposition, a written agreement should be drawn up; so that all misunderstanding in the future should be avoided.

He appeared much interested for the welfare of his people, and stated that during the past year they had been much healthier than heretofore since their removal;—that they were scattering out more and selecting more healthy and convenient situations;— that they had good land, and hoped in future would have good health. He appeared particularly desirous to see them raising cotton and making their own cloth.

Dec. 8. North Canadian, forty miles south-west of McIntosh's. Being under the necessity of remaining several weeks for the meeting of the council, I continued to spend the time within the nation; and improve it to the best advantage, by becoming acquainted with the Indians, and especially the chiefs, and urging the importance of a mission amongst them.

With this end in view, I set out this morning from the Arkansas river, forty miles distant, to visit the chiefs of the Canadian. Passed over a vast prairie of about thirty-five miles in width, and interrupted only occasionally by a range of trees. It is said to extend west, almost or quite to the Rocky Mountains. . . .

Dec. 11. Tuckabatchee Council House,³ twelve miles southwest of N[orth] Fork. Met several of the principal chiefs of this part of the nation today, in accordance with a notice sent them yesterday. About thirty other Indians also attended. Our consultation was considerably protracted. No direct opposition was made, nor any opinion respecting the mission avowed; but from the manner in which the imprudence of one of their coloured preachers was spoken of, it was evident that one or two were at least not anxious to have missionaries amongst them.⁴ Some of the others, however, appeared very much in favour of it. The decision of the subject was, however, deferred to the meeting of the general council.

This part of the nation is the most desirable situation for a mission—that I have seen. It is well watered; the land is fertile, high, and rolling, and densely populated. It must be more healthy than that on the Arkansas, although not so conveniently situated in other respects.

² Roly McIntosh, head chief of the Lower Creeks, was the son of a Scotch trader and a Creek woman. He was a half brother of Gen. William McIntosh, and he married Susanna, his brother's widow. He occupied the position of head chief until 1859, a short time before his death in Texas where he had gone as a refugee during the Civil War. He was buried about four miles from Jefferson, Texas, on the Drew plantation.—Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 136, n. 30.

³ The town of Tuckabatchee was on the main Canadian River.

⁴ The Creeks had a very unhappy experience with their first missionaries and for years they refused to admit any more to their nation.

Dec. 15. Verdigris river; five miles south-west of Fort Gibson. Returned from the Canadian today. Met with the agent, Colonel Logan, who has just arrived at this place on a steam-boat, from New Orleans. He came prepared for the payment of the annuity; and the 5th Jan. next has been fixed upon for the meeting of council to receive it.

Dec. 17. Having now seen the principal chiefs, I shall be under the necessity of waiting patiently for the council. Dr. [W. M.] Anderson, who teaches the only school in the nation, has kindly invited me to make his house my home, during my stay.⁵ He is employed by the government, and appears well qualified for teaching. His school at this season of the year is generally small owing to bad weather, and the attention paid to Christmas holidays. I understand, however, that in the spring and summer seasons it is quite full. His usefulness among them appears very much circumscribed for want of house room.

Jan. 6th, 1842. The council met today, but owing to the absence of the principal chiefs on the Canadian, it will not be, properly speaking, a national council. I felt much disappointment on account of the absence of those chiefs, but, they were particular to send me word by their delegates, that they were pleased with my proposition of establishing a mission school. . . .

Jan. 11. Have been waiting several days to present the cause of missions to the council, but the business of their annuity engrosses their whole attention. Having now completed the distribution, however, they promise to give me a hearing tomorrow, and for that purpose have appointed a special meeting at the house of their agent.

The evils of intemperance are still to be seen in an alarming degree, notwithstanding the laudable efforts of our government to check them. The chiefs themselves have also passed very good laws on the subject,⁶ but they are not strictly enforced. I saw a considerable number of intoxicated Indians today, and understood that one was killed last evening in a drunken frolic.

⁵ Superintendent Armstrong reported to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian affairs, September 10, 1842: "The Creeks have but one school under treaty stipulation in their own country. This is taught by Dr. Anderson." According to Mr. Loughridge, "There was but one little day school in all the country, and it was a mere sham. Dr. Anderson, employed by the U. S. Agent, was nominally the teacher. . . . But it amounted to very little. It was, indeed, very much like the counterfeit money the Doctor afterwards made on a large scale and tried to pass off on the Indians, on account of which he was imprisoned at Little Rock, Ark."

Agent James L. Dawson reported in 1843 that the leading men of the Lower Creeks (General Roly McIntosh, Benjamin Marshall and others) had expressed a wish to have a preacher of some denomination among them. If they succeeded in enlarging their school fund Creek Agent Dawson thought it would be a decided advantage for the Creeks to establish a manual labor school, with a minister at the head of it.—*Report Commissioner Indian Affairs*, 1842, p. 505; *Ibid.*, 1843, p. 351.

⁶ The Creek country was inundated with liquor from Arkansas; this was contrary to the U. S. Intercourse Acts, but little effort was made to enforce them. The Indians resented that they were discriminated against in the matter of drinking since all white men, except the missionaries, considered liquor a necessity. Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), p. 122.

Jan. 12. Attended the trial of an Indian for murder. After considerable deliberation he was cleared, as it appeared he was not a quarrelsome man—had killed the other in self-defence, and the relatives of the deceased were willing for him to be released, which are the conditions of their written law on the subject.⁷

After the trial was over, the chiefs proceeded to the Creek agency, where we had a long intercourse respecting the establishment of a mission amongst them.

Mr. Loughridge gave an account of the agreement between the chiefs and himself, then proceeds:

Such are the conditions on which a mission may be established among the Creeks, and although the privileges granted are not as extensive as we could wish, yet considering the difficulties which have occurred amongst them on this subject, they are perhaps as extensive as could be expected; and I have no doubt, *more liberties* will be granted, and every barrier to the spread of the Gospel removed, as soon as the chiefs have confidence in the missionaries, and are convinced by their prudent and consistent course in every respect, that their sole aim is to benefit their people.

They do not wish many missionaries to come out at first, that they may see how they will like their proceedings; they therefore limit the mission to *four men and their wives*;⁸ but if the school should *need more* they will then admit others.

They are very anxious to have a *boarding school*, and in fact this is the only kind they seem to have under consideration, and the only kind too, I am persuaded, that will effect much good amongst them.

They also wanted to know if we would not find *clothing* for the *orphan* children that would come to us. They gave full permission to open and close the school with prayer, and to teach the Bible and whatever books the missionaries may think best.⁹

Mr. Loughridge, having been granted permission to establish a school by the National Council, selected a station at Coweta, the town of the old chief, Roley McIntosh. There he and his bride settled in a small cabin which he bought for ten dollars. He built a log house to use for school and church and his wife commenced to teach fifteen or twenty children. Mr. Loughridge named the station "Koweta Mission."

⁷ *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation* (Saint Louis, 1880), Article I, Section 4: "Where a person not engaged in an unlawful act, shall be in imminent danger of loss of life or bodily injury at the hands of another unlawfully, and shall, in self defense, be forced to kill or maim such person, such killing or maiming shall not be considered unlawful."

⁸ Teachers employed in the Creek Nation from 1841 to 1850 were: Rev. R. M. Loughridge, 1841-61; Mrs. Olivia D. Hills Loughridge, 1842-45; Mrs. Mary Avery Loughridge, 1846-50; Rev. Edmund McKinney, 1843; Mrs. McKinney, 1843; Miss Nancy Hoyt, 1849-50; Rev. John Limber, 1844-45.

⁹ *The Mission Chronicle*, New York, Vol. X, No. 6 (June, 1842), pp. 170-72.

On July 4, 1842, the Reverend Edmund McKinney and his family arrived at the station, having been sent by the Board, and they started house keeping in a small cabin. During the autumn and winter Loughridge built a large log house, one story and a half high, with seven rooms; some of the Creeks who lived at a distance induced the minister to take their children into the school as boarders and the parents promised to pay all expenses.

The Board also sent out the Reverend John Limber to assist in the work. He was a highly educated young man, a good preacher, and Loughridge said he had an amiable disposition. Limber becoming discouraged in the work among the Indians, removed to Texas. After several years he went to Kentucky where he married, and he and his bride started down the Mississippi aboard a steamboat bound for New Orleans. During a stop at that city the minister went uptown to buy some books and he was never heard of after he left the book shop. Mrs. Limber waited until all hope of finding her husband was given up, then she continued to Texas and taught the school her husband had been engaged to teach.

On January 5, 1845, a church was organized with three members, and on September 17 of that year Mrs. Loughridge died suddenly, leaving two young children. Miss Nancy Thompson, of the Cherokee Park Hill Mission, went to the rescue and cared for the babies until Elizabeth Loughridge, the sister of the missionary, arrived from Mississippi to take charge.

On December 4, 1846, Loughridge was married to Miss Mary Avery of Conway, Massachusetts, formerly a teacher at Park Hill Mission.

Walter Lowrie, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, visited Koweta Mission in April, 1847, and entered into an agreement with the Creek chiefs for the enlargement of the station from 29 pupils to 40 boarders to be sustained in part by the national school fund. It was also decided to build a larger mission, and a contract was made for the erection of a brick building at Tullahassee for the accommodation of eighty students, and in 1848 Loughridge was appointed the superintendent. He was replaced at Koweta by Hamilton Balentine. The next year Mr. Balentine and Miss Anna Hoyt, a granddaughter of George Lowrey, second chief of the nation, were married.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hamilton Balentine, a native of Pennsylvania, was educated at Princeton College. He arrived in the Creek Nation in 1844 and taught at Tullahassee Mission before going to Coweta. Later he taught in several schools in the Choctaw Nation and at Wapanucka in the Chickasaw Nation. After one year in charge of the Cherokee Female Seminary he died February 22, 1876.

Loughridge wrote his report to Agent Logan on August 28, 1848, saying that "the whole number of children, besides three missionary children, was *forty-nine*, twenty-two boys and twenty-seven girls. of whom forty-two boarded in the mission family." The teacher, Mr. J. Sibley, declared the children had advanced very fast; some of whom could not speak English had learned to read and cypher a little and most of them had been obedient and eager to learn.

J. Ross Ramsey, superintendent of Koweta Mission, made a voluminous report to Creek Agent Philip H. Raiford August 25, 1851, in which he stated that the school had been in operation eight years, having been commenced in 1843. Because of illness in the family the school did not open until November 11 and it had continued without intermission, except for two weeks' vacation in April, until the first of August. At the opening there were forty boarders and three day pupils, and at the close of the session there were forty-one boarders and four day students.

The *Old Testament*, the *New Testament*, *McGuffey's Readers*, *Hale's History of the United States*, *Smith's Geography*, and his *English Grammar* were used in the mission. The Reverend William H. Templeton, the teacher, showed great diligence and much of the success of the school was owing to his gaining the affections of the children. A Sabbath school was conducted by the superintendent, assisted by Miss Green and Mr. Templeton.

Ramsey considered that at the current stage of civilization among the Creeks farming should be stressed in Manual Training, as the Creeks had a fertile soil. He had "noticed that when you see a good farmer among the Creeks, you also see a good house; not a 'log cabin,' but a good log house. . . ."¹¹

Koweta Manual Labor School opened with thirty students in the fall of 1852, but because of the illness of some of the missionaries, in a few weeks the boarders were reduced to twenty-three and there were only a few day pupils, and thus the school was continued until the summer vacation.

The pupils were diligent, their conduct was good and they were willing to engage in manual labor; in fact, such work appeared to be more of a pleasure than a task. This report was sent by William H. Templeton to Creek Agent Garrett, August 24, 1853.

Agent William H. Garrett of Alabama served the Creeks from 1853 until his death in 1861. He was an honest man and a true friend of the Creeks.

¹¹ *Report Commissioner Indian affairs*, 1851, pp. 387-89.

An interesting description of Koweta, written in 1859 by Augustus Loomis, stated that it was eighteen miles west of Tullahassee and that the road passed over rolling prairies, crossing two or three streams which the rains sometimes swelled to impassable rivers.¹²

The Mission house was pleasantly located among great forest trees, but the building itself was not imposing; they were constructed of such materials as were at hand on the frontier. There was no sign of paint, or ornament, but they looked comfortable. There was a solid one-and-a-half hewed logs house, facing east, with a wide hall and two rooms on each side of it. As the school increased, a two story building was joined to the south end; it was also of logs, weather boarded with clap-boards split from oak, and covered with pine shingles. Along the front was an open shed with seats. Another building was added on the west side of the original house. No. 1 building was the girls' department; Number 2, the boys' and No. 3, the dining room, store-room and kitchen.

When Loughridge started the mission he and his bride occupied a small cabin which was later used for the mill house; in that small house he and his wife taught a little day school; some of the pupils afterward became teachers and interpreters and useful men and women in their nation.

The Reverend David Winslet, a native preacher, continued in charge of the mission until it was broken up by the Civil War. During the seventeen years the mission functioned the Board spent \$35,000 on it and three of the missionary women died and were buried in the Mission cemetery. Mrs. Mary Avery Loughridge died in 1850 and was buried in Coweta Cemetery.

¹² Augustus Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 41, ff. (The mission station was named "Koweta" by Mr. Loughridge when it was first established, the name of the school subsequently being reported in the official reports as "Koweta Manual Labor School." The name of Chief McIntosh's tribal town was "Coweta," which has been perpetuated in that of the present town of Coweta, in Wagoner County, Oklahoma.—Ed.)

“TALLAHASSEE MISSION”

*By Virginia E. Lauderdale**

In 1833 the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church established its first mission among the Weas,¹ a small band of Indians living in northeastern Oklahoma. Within a few years, the Society had established missions among many of the tribes in this same region and elsewhere. It was in 1850 that “Tallahassee Mission,” by far the most important school among the Creeks, was opened.²

Other denominations had earlier established missions among the Creeks, but because of unfavorable relations with the Indians, the chiefs had forced these missionaries to leave. Thus, the Creeks were without any such service and were dependent upon themselves for schools, so that following their removal west of the Mississippi, education in their nation lagged far behind that of their neighbors.

Such were the conditions when the Reverend Robert M. Loughridge made his trip to the Creek Nation in the winter of 1841, to ascertain the possibility of establishing a mission there as a project of the Western Foreign Missionary Society which had by then changed its name to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.³

The original home of Mr. Loughridge was Lawrenceville, South Carolina, where he was born in 1809, of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian parentage. In 1832 he joined the Presbyterian church in Mesopotamia, Georgia, and began the study of Latin and Greek with his pastor. Five years later he was graduated from Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and then studied for a year at Princeton.⁴

* Virginia E. Lauderdale was commissioned an ensign in the Supply Corps of the United States Navy, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant (junior grade) before her separation from the service. She was born at Pocasset, Oklahoma, and attended the public schools of Minco, Grady County, the Oklahoma College for Women at Chickasha, East Central State College at Ada, and received her master's degree from the University of Oklahoma. She is now teaching in Northern Oklahoma Junior College at Tonkawa.—Ed.

¹ John W. Lowrie, *A Manual of Missions* (New York, 1854), p. 16.

² The Reverend Robert M. Loughridge spelled the name of this place “Tallahassee.” The noted Creek school at Tallahassee was referred to in the early official reports as “Tallahassee Manual Labor Boarding School” or “Presbyterian Manual Labor Boarding School.” Variants of this name used commonly in referring to the institution included “Tallahassee Mission” and “Tallahassee Mission,” though it was a tribal boarding school supported largely by appropriations from the Creek educational funds, made by the National Council. The work of the superintendents and teachers in the institution was missionary, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.—Ed.

³ Lowrie, *op. cit.*

It was in response to a call from the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions that he came to the Creek Nation to establish a mission where he could teach and preach.⁵ On his arrival he found only one school among the Creeks and that was a rather poor one. It was later revealed that the man operating it was a counterfeiter.

The Indians had had unpleasant experiences with their former missionaries and would agree to a school but would allow no preaching because it interfered with some of their customs, including their dances and games. Loughridge told them that his primary purpose for coming to their country was to preach, so, if they would not allow preaching, there could be no school. The Indians at last agreed to let him preach but only at the mission station. A contract was made with the Creeks providing for a mission with a maximum of four missionaries at the beginning.⁶ It was clearly understood, however, that the missionaries were not to interfere with tribal affairs or government schools. The Indians on their part were to protect the mission and the missionaries, and the latter were given the right to use as much tribal land as they wished for fields and pastures.

Loughridge then returned to his home and in 1843 moved with his bride to the selected site of the new mission at Coweta. Log buildings were erected for their home and the school. Loughridge, assisted by his wife, was so successful in his work that in 1845 a boarding school with twenty pupils was begun and a church organized.⁷

In 1847 Walter Lowrie, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, visited Koweta Mission, near the present town of Coweta, in Wagoner County. He was favorably impressed with the work being done and made an agreement with the chiefs to establish another mission to accommodate eighty boarding pupils.⁸ Loughridge chose the site for the new school sixteen miles east of Koweta Mission and one-half mile north of the Arkansas River. The location was twelve miles from Fort Gibson.

The contract provided that the new school would be maintained jointly by funds from the Presbyterian Church and the Creek school

⁴ H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* (St. Louis, 1892), pp. 475-76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

⁶ Lowrie, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 477. (In early official reports the mission is referred to as "Koweta Mission," having been named thus by the Reverend R. M. Loughridge when he began his missionary labors here.—Ed.)



Tullahasse Mission, Original Building (destroyed by fire December 19, 1880)

fund. In 1845 the Creek Nation had made a new treaty with the United States government.⁹ One provision of this treaty was that the United States would annually appropriate \$3,000 for the education of Creek children. The expenses of the institution were shared by the Board of Foreign Missions, the Creek government, and the United States government.¹⁰ The Board chose the teachers and paid their salaries; the Creek government paid the general expenses and attended to the material needs of the school. The Creek Nation chose a board of five trustees who acted with the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Nation in managing the affairs of the school. One boy and one girl from each of the forty Creek towns were selected to attend the school, and for each student enrolled, the Creek Nation paid fifty dollars a year to the Mission.¹¹

The construction of Tallahassee was begun in 1848 under the supervision of Loughridge. The main building was a three-story brick structure measuring seventy-six by thirty-four feet, located in the midst of a grove of cedar, oak and hickory trees.¹² Wild life abounded in the woods nearby.

William Schenck Robertson came to Tallahassee as principal teacher, and Loughridge served as Superintendent of the two schools. Robertson, born January 11, 1820, was graduated from Union College, Schenectady, New York, in 1842, then completed two-thirds of a course in medicine. After teaching in various New York academies, he offered his services to the Board of Foreign Missions and was sent to Tallahassee as a teacher.¹³

On April 15, 1850, Mr. Robertson married Ann Eliza Worcester, the daughter of the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester, a missionary among the Cherokees. Mrs. Robertson was born at Brainerd Mission in the Cherokee Nation in Tennessee in 1826. She received her education at St. Johnsbury Academy in Vermont, and after gradua-

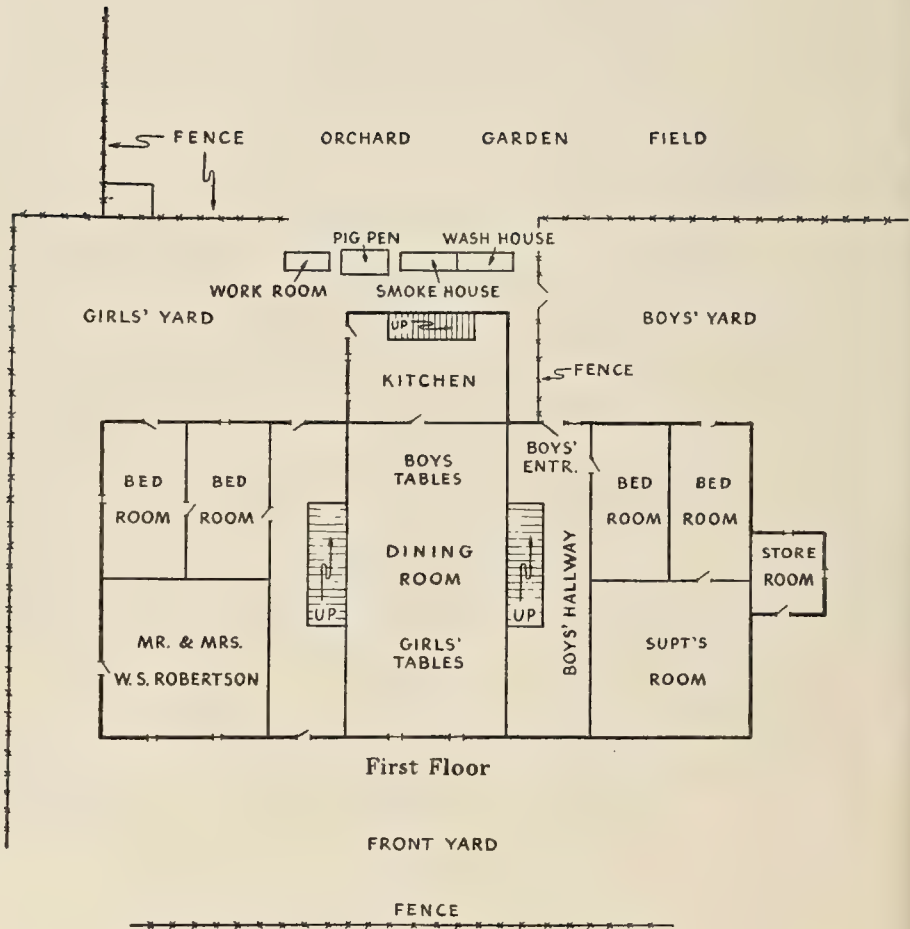
⁹ Charles J. Kappler, *Laws and Treaties, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1904) Vol. II, p. 408.

¹⁰ John H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West or Five Years in the Territories* (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 380. (None of the Creek tribal schools received direct support by appropriations from the Federal government. The \$3,000 to be paid annually by the United States for education of Creek children, under the terms of the Creek Treaty of 1845, was in lieu of just payment due the Creek Nation for the unsatisfactory settlement made by the United States in determining the boundary lines of the Creek country by the terms of the Treaty of 1833.—Ed.)

¹¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1869, p. 415.

¹² O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

¹³ Edward E. Dale, "William Schenck Robertson," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), Vol. XVI, p. 30.

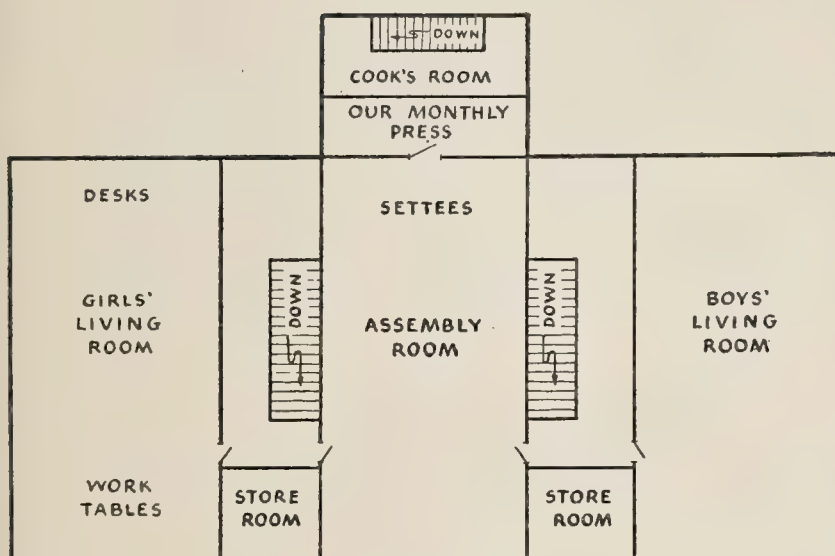


HIGHWAY TO KAS.

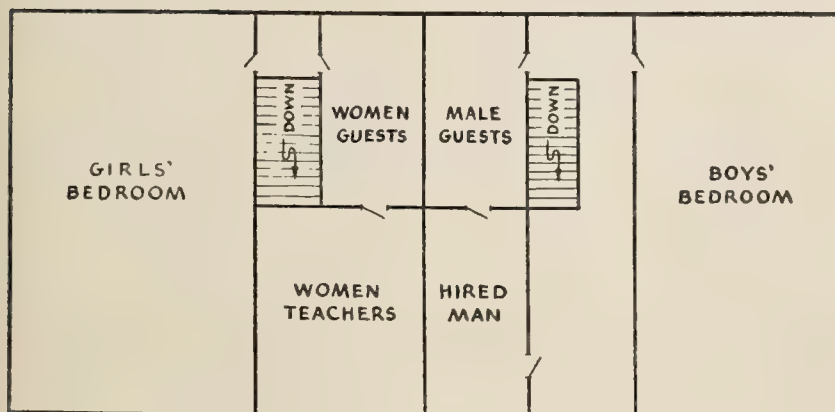
40 ACRE FIELD

(Frank Phillips Collection, O. U.)

Plan of Tullahassee Mission
From pencil sketch made by S. W. Robertson



Second Floor



Third Floor

Tallahassee Mission

tion in 1846, joined her family and became a teacher among the Cherokees in Indian Territory.¹⁴

Another interesting person in the mission work was Miss Nancy Thompson.¹⁵ Her missionary life began among the Cherokees in 1826. When the Cherokees moved west in 1839, she moved with them, and in 1849 joined Mr. Robertson at Tullahassee to aid him in his work. She continued her labors there until her death at the age of ninety-one.

Tullahassee was first opened as a day school on January 1, 1850, before the building was completed.¹⁶ On March 1, the boarding school received its first students. The number was limited to thirty because it was believed that the school would be more successful if begun with only a few pupils.

Since none of the teachers spoke the Creek language, it was necessary to use Creek children who spoke both languages as interpreters. The course of study was necessarily limited. Only reading, arithmetic, geography, English grammar and composition were taught the first year, but by 1858 the curriculum was expanded to include spelling, writing, algebra, natural philosophy, "Watts on the Mind," history, declamation, and Latin.¹⁷

The activities at Tullahassee were closely supervised. A bell, donated by the Board, "regulated all the exercises of the school and church."¹⁸ The school was conducted on the manual labor plan. Classroom activities occupied six hours of the day and two or three hours each day were spent on outside work. Mr. Loughridge described the activities at the school in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1851:¹⁹

The pupils rise, make their beds, wash and comb, sweep their rooms, &c. Then the boys engage in feeding the stock, drawing water, cutting fire-wood, &c. The girls assist about the breakfast, setting tables, sewing, knitting, attending to dairy, &c.

Breakfast about seven o'clock in winter, and earlier in summer. Immediately after breakfast we have family worship, consisting of reading the scriptures, singing and prayer; then work for about one hour and a half; recitation and study from 9 to 12; then dinner and recreation until 1 p.m.; then recitation and study again until 4 p.m., when all are required

¹⁴ James C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskogean Languages* (Washington, 1889), p. 78.

¹⁵ Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, "Mrs. Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson," in the Samuel W. Robertson Papers, Typed transcript, Frank Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 17-18. A description of Miss Thompson is also given in Augustus W. Loomis, *Scenes in the Indian Country* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 87-91.

¹⁶ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1851, p. 391.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 391; and *ibid.*, 1858, p. 150.

¹⁸ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

¹⁹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1851, p. 392.

to work again for one hour and a half. Supper about dark; immediately after supper the children and teachers each repeat a verse, or part of a verse, of Scripture; then family worship, as in the morning; then study until 8 or half past 8, then all retire to rest. On Sabbath we have Sunday school in the morning, and usually preaching at noon and night.

The first school year closed July 17, 1850, with a public examination which was attended by the principal and second chiefs, the board of trustees of the school, and the leading men of the district. The students were examined by the board of trustees; this and an address by Sear Hardage, one of the chiefs, were the principal features of the day.

Mr. Loughridge reported that by the end of the first session most of the students were no longer bothered by homesickness, but during the year "about seventy were attacked with measles, and afterwards thirty or thirty-five with dysentery."²⁰

The girls rose early to prepare breakfast. Loughridge wrote that the "children were provided with three good substantial meals a day,"²¹ but Samuel Worcester Robertson later suggested that they were not very palatable.²² Breakfast usually consisted of griddle cakes made of coarse corn meal with little shortening and flavored with New Orleans molasses, coffee, parched and ground by the girls, coarse corn bread made with too much soda, and occasionally, meat.

In 1854 Walter Lowrie wrote of the progress being made at the two schools:²³

These schools have proved a means of great good to the youth connected with them. A considerable number have become members of the church; "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord" have caused the hearts of the missionaries to rejoice in their work, many of their beloved scholars have sought and found the way of life. No one of the Indian missions of the Board has been more honored in the hopeful conversion of souls. Some of the converts, as well as the missionaries, have died in the triumphs of faith. Two young men, formerly pupils of the school, have been taken under the care of the Presbytery as candidates for the ministry. And the missionary work is still going on with marked encouragement and success.

This mission, according to the Report of this year, 1854, now consists of two stations, two ordained missionaries, nine male and female and two native assistant missionaries, fifty-five communicants, and one hundred and twenty scholars in boarding school.

In the years before the Civil War, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, working with Mr. Loughridge and other missionaries, began the task of translating the Holy Scriptures, hymns, stories from the Bible, a catechism, and other works into the Creek language. Before any

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

²¹ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

²² Samuel W. Robertson, "The Story of My Times," MS., Frank Phillips Collection, p. 22.

²³ Lowrie, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

translating could be done by the missionaries, the English alphabet had to be adapted to the Muskogee language. In 1856 the *Creek First Reader*, prepared by Mr. Robertson and David Winsett, a Creek who later became a minister, was published.²⁴ It is believed that the *Creek First Reader* contributed more toward the advancement of the Creeks than almost any other factor.²⁵

Then came the Civil War to interrupt the work at the mission. The Creek Nation split into two factions, and on July 10, 1861, the chiefs of the Nation took over the Presbyterian Manual Labor School at Tullahassee, then valued at \$12,270, and also Koweta Manual Labor School.²⁶ The division of the Nation even touched the people of the Mission. Loughridge, with southern sentiments, and Robertson, accused of being an ardent "Abolitionist," both left the Mission and never again did they combine their talents in the great task which they had begun.

The Robertsons spent the first winter of the war in Wisconsin—Mr. Robertson's original home. The rest of the time was spent in teaching in Mattoon and Centralia, Illinois, and the Indian Orphan Institute at Highland, Kansas. In 1866 Augusta, their oldest daughter, left for Dayton, Ohio, to attend Cooper Seminary.²⁷ At about the same time, the Robertsons were asked to return to Tullahassee to reopen the mission and school. They were eager to continue their work, and in 1867, set out for Indian Territory in a wagon drawn by a team of two horses and with what possessions they were able to take with them.

During the War the main building was used as a barracks and hospital. The larger rooms on the first floor were at times used as stables. Some of the bricks from the kitchen had been torn out and removed to Fort Gibson to be used to build a bakery. By the end of the war, the windows were without glass and the door casings and window frames had been torn out and used as fuel.²⁸ The rail fence around the grounds was no longer standing, and when the Robertsons arrived, they had to make their way through the tall dead weeds surrounding the building. To add to the desolate condition of the Mission, the nearby forest was overrun with wolves. The Robertsons tied their horses to posts in the yard. One of the horses accidentally hung himself one night, and was partly devoured by wolves.

²⁴ Pilling, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The *Creek Second Reader* was published in 1871.

²⁵ Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁶ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 479. (The school was officially referred to as "Koweta Manual Labor School.—Ed.)

²⁷ Carolyn T. Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935), p. 402.

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1869, p. 416. (Report signed by Leonard Worcester, Superintendent, Tullahassee Manual Labor School, appointed to the position by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the school having begun its second session in October, 1868, with 40 girls and 41 boys enrolled.—Ed.).



(Frank Phillips Collection, O. U.)

"David and Goliath," from *Creek Second Reader*,
published by William Schenck Robertson

Much of the original work of construction had to be done all over again. Mr. Robertson received permission to buy a set of buildings nearby but they were destroyed in a prairie fire on the day after the approval was received.²⁹ The institution had earlier acquired a saw which was still there. At once work was begun making tables, chairs and desks from native lumber, but doors, windows and other supplies had to be ordered from Cincinnati. These were shipped by water to the Verdigris landing where they were left to be hauled the remaining distance by wagon. By accident, much of the badly needed supplies of one of the shipments was soaked with the muddy river water, but Mr. Robertson accepted the goods (including bedding) from the insurance company, at reduced prices, thus saving money for other needs.³⁰

The work of rebuilding Tallahassee Mission continued. One good carpenter was hired to superintend the work. He was paid two dollars a day and keep. The other employees were local laborers who were paid from fifty to seventy-five cents a day. The rail fences had to be rebuilt. Although the smoke house and wash house were still standing, they needed repair. The grist mill had to be put in working order, the wells cleaned, the orchard and garden needed attention, and the forty acre field in front of the Mission had to be cleared and planted.

Tallahassee Mission was reopened on the same plan as had been used before the War. The boys and girls had separate classes as well as separate yards for play, and a third yard was fenced off for the missionary children.³¹ In the spring of 1868 a call was sent out for fifteen boys and fifteen girls to enter the school. Those who were sent to Tallahassee ranged in ages from twelve to twenty. Again many of them could not speak English. A primer, especially prepared to meet the needs of these pupils, was used to teach them to read Creek and English at the same time.³² It contained pictures under which there appeared words and short sentences in both languages.

In October the second session began with eighty-one students enrolled at the school.³³ Samuel Worcester Robertson was seven years old at the beginning of this session and has left an account of life at Tallahassee. The daily schedule was the same as before the War. Classes began at nine o'clock and dismissed at four-thirty. The boys were divided into companies under captains and worked at the different tasks about the Mission. Chopping wood and splitting

²⁹ Samuel W. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³³ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1869, p. 416.

rails for fences were their favorite tasks. The fences were supposedly "pigtight" but frequently proved to be otherwise. The work about the Mission was often long and tiresome. By the time the evening devotionals were finished everyone was usually ready for bed and the smaller children often had to be awakened and sent on their way.

Sunday and Monday were holidays from school.³⁴ On Sunday the children attended the church services and performed a minimum of daily tasks. Monday replaced Saturday because the morning was used for doing the laundry. Monday afternoon was set aside for play. The boys were allowed to wander in small groups and could hunt, or fish, or play as they chose, but the girls had to stay in one group and were always accompanied by a teacher. Their chief form of recreation was walking.

Christmas was the outstanding holiday of the year at the Tullahassee Mission.³⁵ Excitement increased as the day approached. Packages containing gifts for the children from missionary societies in the East were deposited at Verdigris landing and brought to the Mission where they were carefully hidden from the children. The chief worry of the missionaries was whether there would be enough gifts to go around. Appropriateness was secondary, for although the missionaries tried to distribute the gifts to the children for whom they were best fitted, it was an ideal situation for teaching the true spirit of Christmas giving: not the gift, but the spirit in which it is given.

Then just before Christmas two trees were cut and brought in, one for the boys' classroom and one for the girls'. A few selected students dipped candles, and decorated the trees with ornaments made by the children. Then the gifts were placed under the trees and no one was allowed to go into the rooms until Christmas Eve. The boys and girls then assembled in their respective classrooms for the Christmas program. Afterwards the gifts were distributed and each child was given one doughnut and a piece of mince pie, the only time of the year that such food was enjoyed at the boarding school.

S. W. Robertson's description of the lives of the boys at Tullahassee affords an interesting study.³⁶ Emphasis was placed on the educational and religious phase which continued throughout their years spent there. It was for the successful fulfillment of this that the Robertsons devoted their lives. Their sincerity and competence were shown in one of the experiences of Samuel Worcester Robertson who was more surprised than embarrassed when scolded by two visiting ministers. The two ministers brought their hunting dogs with them from Kansas, and while being driven to a meeting ten miles from the Mission by Samuel, they reprimanded him for going so fast that

³⁴ Samuel W. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

he frightened the birds "before their dogs had a chance to 'point them.'"³⁷

Other interests in recreation and work developed with the child. The youngest boys found great delight in fishing with the simplest of equipment. Their methods consisted of utilizing a bent pin as a hook or in stirring the water until the fish became so dizzy that they floated on top of the water where they were easily caught by the boys with their bare hands.

As the boys grew older they gave up fishing for hunting with clubs and bows and arrows. Accidents were not unknown. Samuel received a minor wound by standing between one of the Indian boys and an animal at which the boy was shooting. Rather than move and frighten the animal, he stood still and took a chance on being missed. The result was that the animal escaped unharmed, but Samuel was not so fortunate.

Then came the "pastoral stage" of life. After the Civil War, there were no fences in the country. Livestock ran loose. Calves were kept up so that the cows would return at night, but sometimes they strayed too far and could not find their way home. The boys loved to climb on the back of a pony and hunt the strays. Sometimes, whether at work or play, they could not resist the thrill of chasing the wild hogs that roamed through the woods and fields.

Another phase was also a part of the boys' education. It consisted of their agricultural tasks: work in the apple orchard, in the one acre garden, and the forty acre corn field and in the small flower beds in the yards. For implements they used crude hoes and plows made by former slaves, an old hay rake, and a mower. For beasts of burden they had horses, mules and oxen.

In 1870 the first issue of *Our Monthly*, the Mission paper, appeared.³⁸ There was only one copy and it was handwritten. Other issues appeared at irregular intervals. Late in 1872, the Mission acquired a printing press from the Creek government, and in January, 1873, there appeared the first printed copy of the paper. Although Mr. Robertson was the editor, Mrs. Robertson was the principal contributor.³⁹ Samuel was the chief printer and he was ably assisted by Augusta. The type was set by the boys who understood both Creek and English. The paper was almost wholly printed in the Muskogee language. It consisted of four pages, eight by eleven inches, each page containing three columns. The press printed two pages at a time and often an ink shortage prevented clear printing. The main features of the paper were lessons in English, hymns translated by

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁸ Pilling, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁹ Carolyn T. Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *op. cit.*, p. 404.

Mrs. Robertson, poems by Grace Robertson, and news of local interest.⁴⁰ In 1874, the Creek council appropriated one hundred dollars to be used to print one thousand copies of the paper to be distributed among the Indians free of charge.⁴¹ In addition to the paper, the press was used to print school programs, announcements, and sometimes advertisements for the local business men.

The history of *Our Monthly* is well recorded in two editorials of the paper. The first printed issue carried the following article:⁴²

A little more than two years ago, when the first number of "Our Monthly" was read as a part of our Christmas exercises, we said "The main object of our paper will be the moral and intellectual improvement of our Tullahassee boys and girls. We hope that the prospect of getting their compositions once a month into our paper will be a motive which will urge them on to greater painstaking in writing them." Nor were we disappointed. From month to month quite a number of very creditable compositions found their way into our little paper, and the interest increased, rather than diminished during the term.

But now that the nation has kindly given us the use of a press we have tried to enlarge the original design, and in some degree to remove the complaint among the Creeks that they have no paper.

We wish to try to interest and instruct our people, and to encourage all especially the young, to improve their minds and hearts, in order that they may be better fitted to assume the duties and responsibilities that will so soon devolve upon them.

In 1875 arrangements were made for publishing a weekly paper, the *Indian Journal*. The last issue of *Our Monthly* was printed in October of that year, and in it appeared a summary of the objectives attained by its publishers:⁴³

This number closes our contract and the Monthly ceases. During the short period in which it has been published we have not done all we hoped to do, yet we have done something.

We have established the National Alphabet, and have taught hundreds to read and write, and have improved the reading and writing of hundreds more. We have done much to create a love of reading, and excite thought.

We have given thousands many pages of choice reading; we have given many telling blows to the superstitions and vices of the country; have done something to elevate and enlighten the people.

The Creek columns of the coming weekly will draw out words that breathe and thoughts that burn—influences that will sway the nation as the wind does the willow—mold it as the potter does the clay. If it does not it will not be for want of readers, but because the men whom the Nation has educated are blind to their own interests, and recreant to their own duty.

⁴⁰ Samuel W. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴¹ Carolyn T. Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *op. cit.*, p. 404.

⁴² Samuel W. Robertson Papers, Frank Phillips Collection.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

One of the most interesting events at Tallahassee was the missionary meetings.⁴⁴ One Sunday evening each month the children and teachers and the people from the surrounding neighborhood met to offer prayers and raise funds for foreign missions among the heathen in Africa, Asia, and other foreign lands. Each of the Robertson children had to donate twenty-five cents to the cause. If they lacked the money, they made their contributions in the form of promissory notes that were later redeemed by Mr. Robertson. Sometimes he did not have the necessary funds and payment was delayed longer.

In the summer of 1870, Augusta returned to Tallahassee Mission to join the staff of teachers after completing her college education. Although Mrs. Robertson had not seen her daughter since the family's return to Indian Territory, she was quite put out with her because she made the last of the trip on the Sabbath.⁴⁵ Alice was attending Elmira College at this time and later taught at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, at the Indian training school. The Robertsons insisted that their children should receive a sound education. Grace attending Wheaton Seminary in Massachusetts, and Samuel chose St. Johnsbury Academy and Dartmouth.⁴⁶ The three girls became teachers in Indian mission schools, but Samuel became a teacher in the public schools. He felt that much of his parents' work was unappreciated. Mrs. Robertson was especially disappointed that he did not choose the mission field since she was the eighth generation of her family to follow that profession.

The winter of 1880 and 1881 was a time of tragedy for the people at Tallahassee. On December 19, a fire caused by a defective flue destroyed the school building.⁴⁷ The laundry was converted into a dining room and the work shop and wagon shed were used as classrooms and sleeping quarters, and school continued.⁴⁸ Alice Robertson, then at Carlisle, secured permission from the Indian Department for twenty-five of the students to enter that school.

Soon after the burning of the building, Miss Nancy Thompson died of pneumonia and in June Mr. Robertson died from overwork and anxiety.⁴⁹ After his death, Augusta was made temporary superintendent and principal, serving in this capacity until the school was rebuilt for a Negro school.

In January, 1881, Loughridge returned to the Indian Territory to assume the superintendency of Tallahassee,⁵⁰ but it was decided to build a new school south of the Arkansas to accommodate one hundred

⁴⁴ Samuel W. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Carolyn T. Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁴⁶ Samuel W. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

⁴⁸ Carolyn T. Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore," *op. cit.*, p. 406.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

students, and Mr. Loughridge devoted his time to the construction of this school. In March, 1881, the Creek council appropriated \$5,000 to rebuild Tullahassee for the education of the children of their Negro freedmen, the institution remaining in operation until 1907 when Oklahoma was admitted to the Union.⁵¹

"Tullahassee Mission" symbolizes the great genius of the many teachers, doctors and missionaries who devoted their lives, their labor and their love to the task of educating and civilizing the North American Indian. Most of the leaders of the Creek Nation attended the school, and many of its graduates became teachers and ministers among their own people.

Bette Major described the three types of service rendered by the tribal boarding schools in Indian Territory and by the people who labored there under the auspices of the mission boards.⁵² First was the work of translating religious works to the native tongue of the Indians. Second, the missions served as "centers of social service." Many orphans of the war were sent to the missions by the Indian governments. There they were cared for and taught the means of supporting themselves. Finally, they served as almost the only facilities for the education of Indians and whites during the period of white settlement.

The Robertsons were remarkable in their devotion and service to the Indians. Mr. Robertson served as teacher, superintendent, minister, and physician at Tullahassee Mission, and as missionary preacher to outlying districts. He and Mrs. Robertson and Augusta

⁵¹ Ora E. Reed, "The Averted Catastrophe," *Sturm's Statehood Magazine* (April, 1906), p. 89.

⁵² Louise Whitham, ed., "Educational History in and about Tulsa," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (March, 1940), p. 79.

Additional information concerning the missionaries and teachers who carried on the mission and school at Tullahassee may be found in the following articles in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*: Hugh T. Cunningham, "A History of the Cherokee Indians," Vol. VIII, No. 3 (1930); Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Journal of a Tour in the Indian Territory," Vol. X, No. 2 (1932); _____, "The Cherokee Gospel Tidings of Dwight Mission," Vol. XII, No. 4 (1934); _____, "New Hope Seminary," Vol. XXII, No. 3 (1944); Grant Foreman, "The Honorable Alice M. Robertson," Vol. X, No. 1 (1932); "Report of Grant Foreman, a Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to the Board," Vol. XIV, No. 1 (1936); "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society," Vol. XII, No. 1 (1934); "Minutes of the Oklahoma Historical Society Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Directors, April 23, 1933," Vol. XI, No. 2 (1933); "Minutes of the Oklahoma Historical Society Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Directors, October 26, 1933," Vol. XI, No. 4 (1933); Ohland Morton, "Early History of the Creek Indians," Vol. IX, No. 1 (1931); "Report of the Necrology Committee of the Oklahoma Press Association," Vol. XI, No. 2 (1933); Alice M. Robertson, "The Creek Council in Session," Vol. XI, No. 3 (1933); Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," Vol. XII, No. 4 (1934).

devoted much time to translating works into the Creek language and at the same time urged that the Indians prepare themselves for citizenship by learning the English language.

Mr. Robertson and Samuel Austin Worcester prepared an almanac for the Indians.⁵³ The two men saw a close connection between agriculture and religion, and the almanac contained Christian instruction as well as agricultural advice. Mr. Robertson was also a close friend of the entomologist, Asa Fitch, and sent him many specimens from the Indian Territory. In 1857 Mr. Fitch wrote Mr. Robertson that nearly half of his American collection was the result of his interest.⁵⁴

Mrs. Robertson did a great deal of work with the Smithsonian Institution concerning the languages of the Indians at the Mission. The translation of the new Testament, on which she spent many years, was published in 1887. During the years from 1860 to 1889 she produced an English and Creek vocabulary.⁵⁵ She was the first American woman to whom the honorary degree of doctor of philosophy was granted. Wooster University conferred the degree for "superior attainments especially in linguistic studies and of enlarged influence as a result of the studies and writings."⁵⁶

Samuel W. Robertson, in tribute to his father and mother, wrote the following description of them and their work:⁵⁷

My father was a wonderful man. How little I appreciated as a boy, his limitless kindness of heart; his complete devotion to the cause to which he had given his life; his sagacity in handling men; his all-around education and his ability to adapt his knowledge to the needs of the children he was teaching. When years later I myself was a teacher of New England youth, I found that methods used by my father in teaching Indians, were brought forward as something new.

My mother was of a different type from that of my father. She thought and lived a religious life based upon faith in the Presbyterian creed, the Bible as the literal word of God, and the prime necessity of giving to the Muskogee Indians a translation of the Bible, just as her father had done before her for the Cherokees. . . . Memory depicts her to me . . . struggling to find Muskogee words that could express the true meaning of the Greek version

Augusta, Alice and Grace were equally devoted to their work. Alice later served as United States Supervisor for Creek Schools, and was the first woman elected to represent the State of Oklahoma in Congress.

⁵³ Althea L. Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), p. 332.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

⁵⁵ Pilling, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵⁶ Samuel W. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 52; and Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 52.

The work of the Robertsons did not always run smoothly. Epidemics of colds and childhood diseases plagued the Mission. Some of their own children died there. The tragedy of war and fire brought discouragement and more work. Yet in spite of these adversities, they continued to give liberally of their talents and money to the Mission and outside interests, and managed a college education for their four children—all this on an annual salary of one hundred dollars.⁵⁸

After the destruction of Tullahassee and the death of Mr. Robertson, the sentiment of the people connected with the Mission was expressed by Grace Robertson Merriman in the following poem:⁵⁹

A TRIBUTE

Without,

A mass of ruined brick,
With here and there a stick
Of timber charred by fire,
Lies like a funeral pyre;
And those tall, crumbling walls
O'er which the starlight falls
Wondrously fair, arise
Like monuments, the ties
Which bind us to the past,
Whose mem'ries, only, last.

Within,

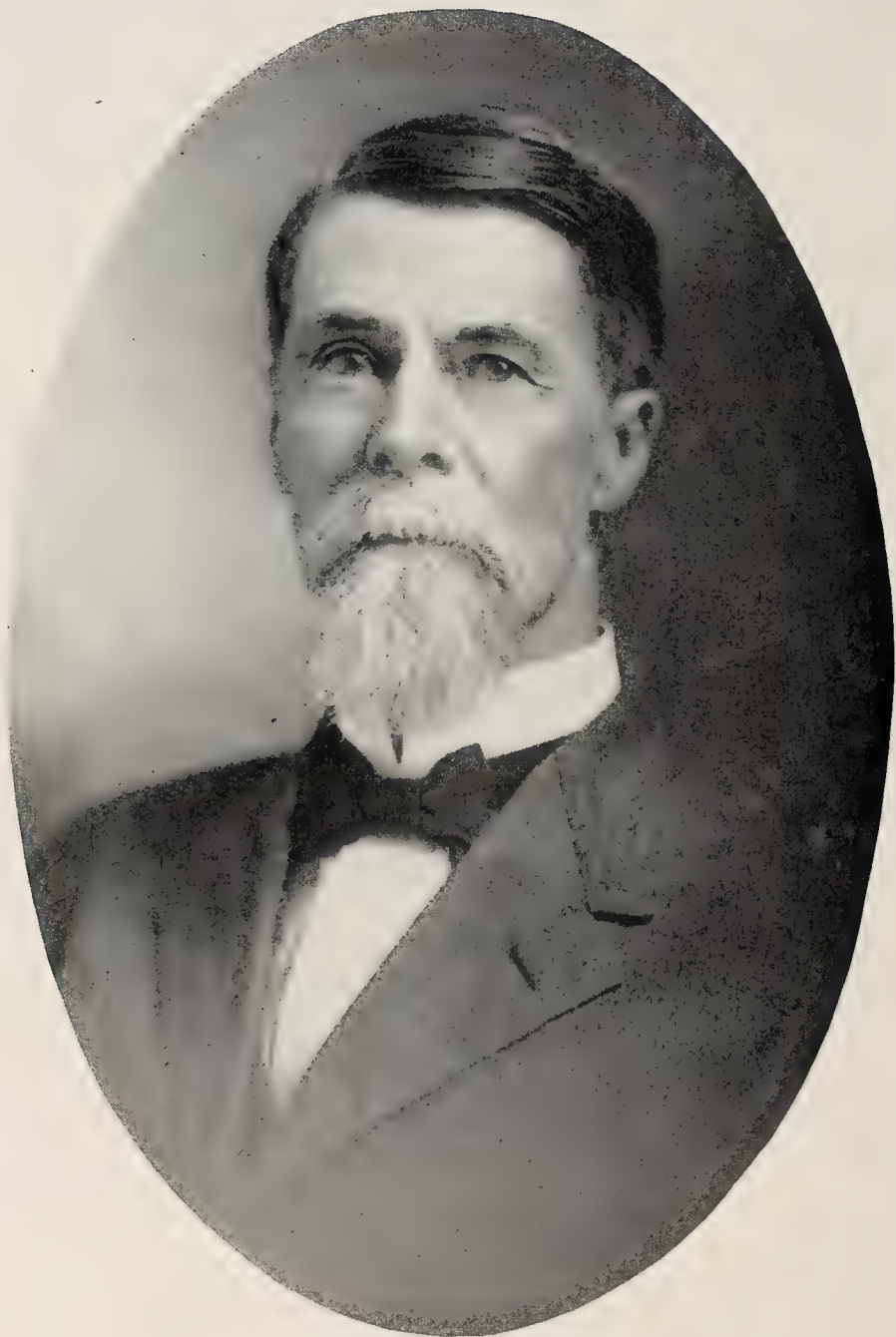
From fields all wet with dew,
The cool, south breeze blows through
The open windows, all
Is silent there, the call
Of a lone bird, away
In the dim woods, the sway
Of the slow pendulum
Are soundless, to the dumb,
Pale watcher with bowed head
Who kneels beside her dead.

Above,

Beyond the gleaming stars
Where nothing ever mars
The endless, painless rest,
Another soul is blest;
Earth's heavy cross laid down,
He wears the starry crown
That is to victors given.
His real home was in heaven:
We cannot wish him here
Who waits to greet us there.

⁵⁸ O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

⁵⁹ Grace Robertson Merriman, "A Tribute," Samuel W. Robertson MSS., Frank Phillips Collection.



WILLIAM BAY ROBE

THE ROBE FAMILY—MISSIONARIES

*By Ora Eddleman Reed**

To the devoted and earnest efforts of the Christian missionaries among the American Indians belongs the greater part of the credit for the development of the Red Man from primitive tribal life to the important place he occupies in the world today. The early missionaries began their work in the 17th and 18th centuries among the Indians of the New England colonies, and spread eventually to all tribes. The work of evangelizing the Indians continued through the years, and the story of these eager missionaries, their loving service, their sacrifices, and their inspirational influence upon the Indian race, are an outstanding and truly worthy chapter in the history of the white man's treatment of the original Americans.

Of the missionaries who came to Oklahoma, or Indian Territory, we sometimes find recorded in the annals of the early missionary schools the names of entire families devoting themselves to their chosen field of teaching and training in the tribes located here. One such family was that of William Bay Robe, who came to Indian Territory from Neoga, Illinois, in 1882.¹ Mr. Robe was commissioned by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions as Superintendent of the Choctaw Orphan School located at Old Spencer Academy, ten miles from the postoffice of Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation. Mr. Robe succeeded the Reverend John Jeremiah Read, who had been Superintendent of Spencer Academy at this place for five years.²

Old Spencer Academy was noted in the history of the Choctaw Nation in the education of boys but when the Reverend Robe was placed in charge, thirty orphan children, fifteen boys and fifteen girls ranging from ten to fifteen years, were to be enrolled, and the institution was officially known as the Choctaw Orphan School. An appropriation from tribal funds for the erection and establishment of Spencer as a national academy for boys had been made by an act of the Choctaw General Council in 1841, and the school had been opened for its first students in January, 1844, with a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Edmund McKinney, as Superintendent. A year later, the General Council enacted legislation placing the

* Ora Eddleman Reed, a former contributor to *The Chronicles*, was Editor of the pre-statehood magazine, *The Twin Territories*. In 1905, she began her work which she continued for a number of years as Editor of the Indian Department in *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*. Mrs. Reed and other members of her family are counted among the pioneer residents of Muskogee.—Ed.

¹ Special acknowledgment is due Orella Robe Dameron, of Tulsa, a granddaughter of William Bay Robe and Sarah Hunter Robe, for much family data and the photographs presented in this article.

² William B. Morrison, "Rev. J. J. Read," *Oklahoma Trails*, pp. 171-72.

Academy under the supervision of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to improve the disciplinary and religious control of the school. The Reverend James B. Ramsey was appointed by the Mission Board as Superintendent in May, 1846.³ Spencer Academy was continuously and successfully operated in the education of boys selected by the school trustees of the Choctaw Nation until the outbreak of the War between the States, the Reverend Alexander Reid serving as Superintendent from 1849 to 1861.⁴ After the War, one of the first considerations of the Choctaw government was given to education. In December, 1866, the General Council made provisions for the reopening of the neighborhood schools, and the Choctaw children were receiving instruction beginning January, 1867, after five years with no schools. A year later, the Choctaw Council made provisions for repairs at Spencer Academy, the buildings having served as a headquarters and hospital for the Confederate forces during the War between the States. The Academy was re-opened in 1871 with sixty boys in attendance, under the supervision of the Southern Presbyterian Church.⁵

To this place, then, came William B. Robe, to take over the duty of Superintendent. Came also his wife, Sarah Hunter Robe, four daughters, Lida, 21, Maria Frances, 13, Mary Belle, 7, and Julia, baby of the family, two sons, Robert Chalmers Robe, 18 years of age, and John M. Robe, ten. This interesting family, arriving in a strange unsettled country, had no fear of the tasks that lay ahead of them, but, filled with the zeal of all true missionary teachers, went to work with a will. Their household goods and personal belongings had been shipped to Paris, Texas, and had to be conveyed overland across a very rough country, on a trail road, with no bridges across streams. Miss Frances Robe described the trip from Paris, Texas, to the Academy:⁶

" . . . Paris, Texas, (nearest trading point) was fifty miles distant. The trip was made in a large wagon with spring seat, bows and canvas to use in case of rain. Red River was crossed on a ferry boat, but the treacherous Kiamichi river and numerous creeks without bridges were dangerous, especially in the season of high water. . . . Three days were required for the trip from Paris to Old Spencer. One was obliged to spend two nights camping by the roadside, feeding mosquitos, or in the home of an Indian family. Voices of wolves howling in the distance were not conducive to sleep, especially to those unaccustomed to such sounds. However, bright fires kept them from coming too near."

Old Spencer Academy consisted at that time of five large two-story log buildings surrounding a court, with a never-ceasing spring of water. The buildings were in fair condition, but the whole place

³ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I, pp. 199, 224.

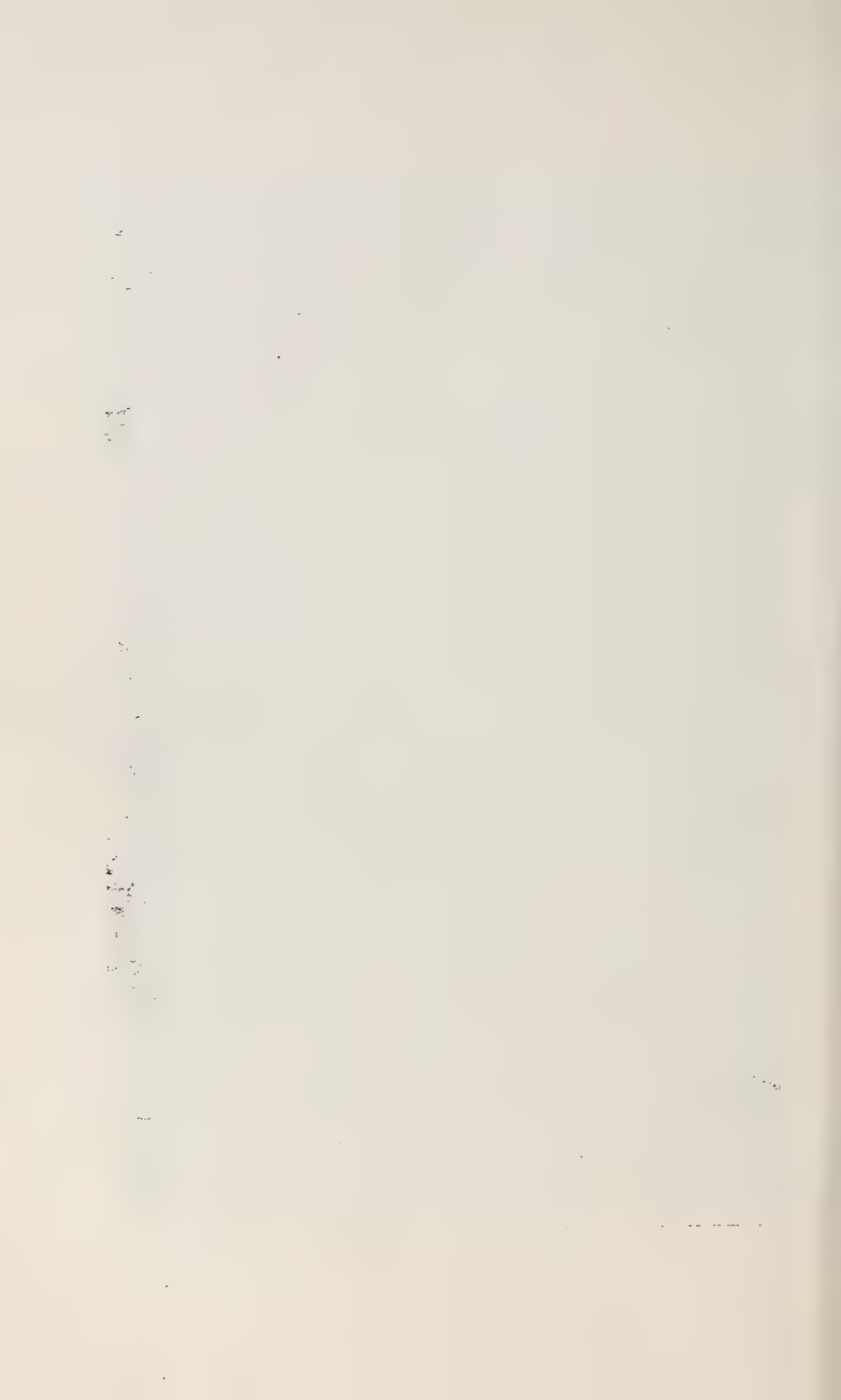
⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁵ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1869 and 1871.

⁶ Letter to the Oklahoma Historical Society from M. Frances Robe, May 6, 1937.



SARAH HUNTER ROBE



had been sadly neglected.⁷ Mr. Robe assumed his new duties as Superintendent with great enthusiasm. Mrs. Robe was general matron. Lida Robe, eldest daughter, was class room teacher. Robert Chalmers Robe took charge of a neighborhood school, and John M. Robe, the lad of ten, was the "postman", riding a pony and carrying mail to and from the postoffice at Doaksville twice a week. Mrs. Robe arranged the girls in groups to do the industrial work. She taught them lessons in personal cleanliness and inaugurated a systematic school day program. The girls were instructed in sewing, cooking, laundry and general housework before and after classes each day. The boys furnished the wood supply, attended the stock and kept the premises in order. Besides regular classroom work, the Bible was a daily text book; Sunday school and Catechism classes part of every Sunday program.

Thus, willingly and uncomplainingly, did the Robe family carry on for months. Later, the staff at the school was re-inforced by the appointment of Miss Alice Young, also from Neoga, Illinois, and Charles Dugan came as an assistant.

Old Spencer Academy or the Choctaw Orphan School, as it was officially known in Superintendent Robe's administration, was abandoned by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in 1884, the buildings having seen nearly forty-three years of continuous service. The boys were moved to Armstrong Academy, and the girls to Wheelock Academy. Armstrong Academy had been established in 1844, by special appropriation of the Choctaw Council, the school to be in charge of missionaries of the Baptist Convention; it was continued under the supervision of the Baptist Home Mission Board until 1855, at which time it was transferred to the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, under whose auspices it continued until the beginning of the War between the States.⁸ In 1863, the capital

⁷ The buildings at Old Spencer Academy were declared unfit for continuation of the school, by a special Choctaw committee, and a new location was selected about seven miles north of the present Soper, in Choctaw County, where the buildings for "New Spencer Academy" were erected at a cost of \$13,555 out of the \$15,000 appropriated for the purpose by the General Council. The buildings were erected in 1882, and the Reverend O. P. Stark served as Superintendent at Spencer Academy in 1882-83. He was followed in this position by the Reverend H. R. Schermerhorn. The buildings at Old Spencer were sold at public auction to the highest bidder on September 8, 1885, by order of the Choctaw General Council. New Spencer Academy continued in successful operation until October 6, 1896, when the main buildings were accidentally destroyed by fire.—Ed.

⁸ *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 214. (The Choctaw national boarding schools were supported by annual appropriation made by the General Council from the Choctaw school funds, supplemented by an amount from the mission boards that had supervision of the various institutions. The work of the superintendents and his assistants was purely missionary, their selection and support being made by the mission boards. The general arrangement for the maintenance of each boarding school was made on the annual basis of three-fourths of the sum needed to be supplied by the Choctaw Nation and one-fourth by the Mission Board. In the maintenance of Armstrong and Spencer academies, the total amount allowed each compared favorably with the support given similar schools in the United States at the time.—Ed.)

of the Choctaw Nation was located at Armstrong Academy where it remained for twenty years until the Council ordered the buildings repaired and made ready for the boys from the Choctaw Orphan School.

Wheelock Female Seminary was established in 1842 by the Choctaw General Council. The Reverend Alfred Wright, among the most prominent of the missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions to the Choctaws, had founded mission work and instruction at Wheelock in 1832. He was ordained as an evangelist in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1819, and soon thereafter received an appointment from the American Board as a missionary among the Choctaws in Mississippi. On September 14, 1832, he was assigned to Wheelock in the Indian Territory where he remained until his death, March 31, 1853. His grave is located in the old Wheelock church yard, near Millerton, Oklahoma.⁹

The War Between the States stopped all school and mission work and Wheelock was among the later ones in resuming. In 1883 the Choctaw General Council provided for the reopening of the school and for the erection of new buildings. To this new work the Robe family was assigned in 1884.

The new buildings included a suite of rooms for the Superintendent and family, a large kitchen and dining room for the school and separate class room building. Mr. Robe and his family moved to Wheelock in 1884. Quoting again from Miss Frances Robe's letter relative to their move to Wheelock:

Plans were drawn by Mr. Robe and he was appointed to oversee the work of building. * * * Accommodations were provided for fifty pupils but sixty-five were often admitted, because there were many applicants with always a waiting list.

The pupils, being orphans, remained in the school during the summer. While there was a vacation from class-room work, extra time and attention were given to industrial training and outside programs. In the fall of 1884 all were transferred from Old Spencer to Wheelock. * * * It was then in charge of the Rev. John Edwards, descendant of the Rev. Johnathan Edwards, the great D. D. Mr. Edwards afterward returned as pastor of the only church in Wheelock community. He was well acquainted with the Choctaw language and worked with others in translation of the Bible into Choctaw. He occupied a home nearby and took meals in the school dining room.

The writer remembers a very dilapidated log building in which Rev. Edwards conducted church services. On one Sunday morning during preaching hour there was an unusual disturbance and looking toward the door we saw two rough white men attempting to ride their horses into the house of worship. Mr. Robe and an Indian man turned them back, inviting them to tie their horses outside and come in.

⁹ *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People, op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 214-15, fn. 78 and 79.

The old stone church having been destroyed by fire many years previous, was soon rebuilt and being but a short distance from the school was regularly attended by the Indians as well as by white and colored people of the community. Gifts from members of Wheelock school faculty, from natives and from Presbyterian friends in the states, made it possible to furnish the church beautifully and modernly. * * * *

Railroad points for Wheelock were Goodland, thirty-five miles West, and Clarksville, Texas, thirty miles South.

Enrolling more students called for more staff members. Consequently the Board of Missions commissioned Misses Constance Hunter, of Ohio, Jeanie Thompson, of Illinois, Mary Lane of Missouri and Anna Laughlin, of Ohio.

In those days duties of missionaries were varied. Mr. Robe, having been reared in the home of a cabinet maker, was able to direct the making of pieces of furniture for the poorly furnished rooms. He kept a supply of black velveteen and white cotton for covering and lining caskets which he and his assistants made when needed, for Indians and White people of the community. Silvered handles and screws were used.

Teachers were often asked to make burial clothes for neighbors, to go into homes at night to doctor the sick; pneumonia cases, a man bitten by rattlesnake, etc., or to take comfort to a home where the father and husband had been murdered.

Upon completion of the new buildings at Wheelock, William B. Robe had a foundry in the East cast a bell with the inscription *Defend the poor and fatherless*, Psalms 82:3.¹⁰ In a Bible of W. B. Robe, written at the bottom of the page on which is the 82nd Psalm, is the following notation in his own handwriting: "Inscription on Bell at Wheelock, Indian Territory, cast by order of W. B. Robe, Supt., 1884."

The task of a school missionary superintendent is shown in the annual report, dated September 21, 1887, of W. B. Robe, as follows:¹¹

Wheelock, I. T., Sept. 21, 1887.

Rev. J. P. Turnbull,
Supt. Schools, C. N.
Sir:

I herewith transmit to you my annual statement of funds received and expended by me as Supt. of Wheelock Seminary.

In explanation of the large balance (\$1771.35) I would say that there are several satisfactory reasons for the same: (1) Owing to the large amount of clothing previously sent us by Missionary Societies the outlay the last year for clothing was very light, which will be evident on examination of the items in my financial statement; (2) The reduced prices of nearly all

¹⁰ Report of W. B. Robe, Superintendent of Choctaw Orphan School, approved October 12, 1883, by Charles Winston, Acting Principal Chief Choctaw Nation—*Laws of the Choctaw Nation, Regular Session, 1883*, in file entitled "Choctaw National Council," No. 18356, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹¹ File "Choctaw-Wheelock Seminary," Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society. (The writer is indebted to Rella Looney, Clerk-Archivist, for the copy of Supt. Robe's report of 1887 in the Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.)

goods and groceries etc. We purchase almost exclusively in St. Louis at wholesale prices, and so get a discount of from 10 to 70 percent from ordinary or list prices; (3) Last year we bought our supply of flour in August for the whole year, and this, with the cost of hauling, amounted to about \$325.00.

By reference to articles purchased the past year, it will be seen that our tables were supplied with every necessary article of food, and also with many luxuries among which may be named more than thirty-five bushels of blackberries, and besides, all other fruits of this region in their season.

It is a certainty that the cost of supporting this school will be much greater the coming year, owing to the increase in prices of groceries, provisions (excepting flour), and dry goods.

It is absolutely necessary that we have a large balance of funds at the close of the school year, since we are obliged to buy a considerable part of our supplies in September, and long before anything is received from the National Treasurer, or else be obliged to haul the supplies (which amount to about 30,000 lbs. every year), over very bad roads. For the two previous years I have been compelled to use hundreds of dollars of my own funds and also to borrow from others in order to purchase supplies before the roads became so heavy.

Several small improvements are much needed, (1) a bath room for the children with suitable bath-tubs, etc.; (2) A smoke house for curing and storing bacon and other meat; (3) A shop where the tools can be properly kept, and where necessary mechanical work can be done; (4) at least 100 or 160 acres more pasture should be enclosed with wire fence. It is impossible to get sufficient number of rails here.

During the last year sixty pupils have been in attendance at this seminary, and all have made encouraging progress in their studies. In reading, geography, spelling and writing all do well, but in arithmetic the progress of most is quite slow. A large majority are excellent readers in second, third, fourth and fifth readers. The singing of the pupils is a pleasure to all visitors. Six have learned to play quite well on the organ, and others are now beginning to take music lessons. Every pupil understands ordinary English, and all can converse with their teachers in that language, no other being used about the school.

Especial attention is given to the moral training of the children, so they may have a due understanding of right and wrong, and act from principle and not from fear or selfishness. Many who were filthy in act and conversation, who would lie and steal, are now delicate (modest) chaste, truthful and trusty.

In washing, ironing, cooking, sewing and in general housekeeping the girls are doing well, and when their school days are ended they will gladden and make cheerful many Choctaw homes and as teachers and as wives and mothers—will do far more to elevate and benefit their people than twice the number of the opposite sex.

I would most earnestly urge upon your attention the importance of the act of the last Council concerning pupils of the orphan schools going home to their friends in vacation; that said act be so changed as to leave it to the discretion of the superintendents as to what pupils shall be permitted to leave during vacation. Of those who went to their friends during this vacation, from our school, three were sick much of the time while absent, and two returned covered with vermin which spread to nearly all the

pupils although every means and precaution were used to destroy and confine them. In some cases we would not object, in the least, to friends taking the children in vacation, but think it is an advantage to the pupils, but in other cases it is an injury to all concerned. Since the teachers of the orphan schools are obliged to remain at these places the whole year without additional compensation, while the teachers of boarding schools are free for two months of the year, surely Council does not intentionally desire to increase the discomfort and labor of these orphan-school teachers.

In March, April and May we had forty cases of roseola and thirty cases of measles and from all this sickness but three deaths, for which we are truly grateful. School for the new year has begun most hopefully.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) W. B. Robe, Supt. Wheelock Sem'y.

Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Robe retired from Wheelock in 1890 and returned to Illinois for a furlough, and in 1891 Mr. Robe was assigned as Superintendent of Goodwill Mission, a boarding school at Sisseton Agency for Sioux Indians in South Dakota. Mr. and Mrs. Robe witnessed the opening of the Sisseton Reservation to white people during their stay there.

September 6th, 1892, William B. Robe assumed the office of Superintendent of Nuyaka Mission, a Presbyterian boarding school near Okmulgee, and again we find this wonderful family banded together in mission work. Mrs. Robe was appointed matron at this mission and a daughter, M. Frances Robe, a Missionary teacher. Six members of the Robe family were active in the Nuyaka Mission in 1897 as follows: W. B. Robe, Superintendent; Mrs. W. B. Robe, general Matron; Miss L. A. Robe, Principal; Miss Mary B. Robe, primary and Music; Miss M. Frances Robe, Matron large girls cotage; Mr. J. M. Robe, disciplinarian and Industrial teacher.

Mrs. Augusta P. Moore, first superintendent at Nuyaka, finding it necessary to retire, suggested to the Board of Home Missions that W. B. Robe become "stepfather" to succeed her. In submitting her report of Nuyaka for the school year 1891-1892 Mrs. Moore wrote:¹²

"In all human probability, this is the last report I shall ever make to the Creek Council, as on account of family reasons, I have been obliged to lay down my school work. I have been succeeded by W. B. Robe, a man of long and successful work in Indian Boarding Schools, and I hope he will receive the hearty cooperation of all former friends of the school."

From the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society records the following is in part the first annual report of William B. Robe as superintendent of Nuyaka Indian Boarding School:

¹² Augusta P. Moore's *Report of Nuyaka Manual Labor School, 1891-92*, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society (copy typed by Rella Looney, Clerk-Archivist, OHS).

NUYAKA INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL
PRES. BOARD HOME MISSIONS
R. R. STATION AND EXPRESS OFFICE
RED FORK, IND TER. (Red Fork being the nearest Ry Point.)

W. B. ROBE, SUPT.
MRS. W. B. ROBE, MATEON

Okmulgee P. O., I. T.
Oct. 15, 1893.

Rev. Thos. Perryman,
Pres. Board School Trustees, Muskogee Nation.

I have the honor of presenting to you the report of Nuyaka Mission School for the year ending Sept. 30, 1893. * * *

The school opened on Sept. 28, 1892, but the full number of pupils was not in attendance till the term was well advanced, which was owing, perhaps, to the change in the management of the school, but after a considerable time more than the full number of pupils came in and many applicants for places were necessarily refused, since there were no rooms or beds for them to occupy. * * * The whole number enrolled during the year was 97, while much of the time there were 90 in attendance, 48 boys and 42 girls, with an average for the year of 39 boys and 36 girls.

Reasonable progress was made in school work and manual labor, the girls, especially, learning much that was new to them in embroidery and in other fancy and useful work.

The general deportment of the pupils was excellent. The boys and a large majority of the girls merit commendation for their faithfulness in performing the duties assigned them. * * *

I would ask your earnest attention to the need of * * * a building suitable for carpenter and blacksmith shops. These shops can be built and furnished for \$500.00 and the dining room and kitchen for \$1,300.00. The rooms now used for kitchen and dining rooms, could be used, in part, for dormitories for more pupils, who are denied the great advantages of this school for the want of room.

A large number of the boys are anxious to learn the use of tools, and it would be much benefit to them to be able to do at least ordinary repairs of farm implements and common blacksmithing. But many with proper opportunities for instruction and training would become skilled mechanics, able to build respectable houses, make useful farm tools or repair them, thus increasing their chances for making a comfortable living and of being useful to their neighbors. * * *

Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Robe retired from Nuyaka in 1898 and moved to Muskogee where Mr. Robe was for a time connected with Henry Kendall College, now Tulsa University, as business manager and was also active as deacon in the First Presbyterian Church.

After a few years of failing health William B. Robe died in January, 1911. Mrs. Robe occupied the home in Muskogee until her death in October, 1917.

The two sons and three of the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. William B. Robe continued to be active in missionary school work. (The youngest daughter, Julia, died in Muskogee, August 18, 1908.) Lida

M. Robe, was, from the time the family came to Indian Territory in 1882, actively engaged in missionary work among the Choctaw and Creek Indians. In all the schools where her father and mother served she held some responsible teacher position, a total of twenty-five years. She continued in church and Sunday school work after the home in Muskogee was built, where she died Oct. 22, 1932.

Maria Frances Robe was commissioned by the Board as Missionary teacher in 1895. She was matron of the older girl's cottage at Nuyaka during the time her parents were in charge there. She served as teacher at Nuyaka for fifteen years, and was transferred to similar work in New Mexico where she remained fourteen years; thence to Los Angeles and North Fork, California, totalling thirty four years of service among Indians and Spanish-speaking people. She then retired to the family home in Muskogee where she lived quietly for several years, working faithfully in the Presbyterian church. She died April 30, 1945.

Mary Belle Robe taught music and in primary class rooms at Nuyaka for a number of years. She also taught at Henry Kendall College (now Tulsa University). She married C. R. Hughes, who had been on the faculty at Nuyaka, in 1903. They made their home in Kensington, Maryland, where Mrs. Hughes died on January 2, 1948. Their children are: Edith Hughes Sherman, Panama City, Florida; Carl Robe Hughes, W. Raymond Hughes, John Chapman Hughes and Margaret Hughes Lewis.

Robert Chalmers Robe was only eighteen years of age when he began teaching a neighborhood school in the Choctaw Nation in 1882. About a year later he returned to Illinois and completed his college education with the addition of one year in Rush Medical School. Returning to Wheelock, in 1888 he married Miss Anna Laughlin, a missionary teacher. His father and mother, having been granted a leave of absence, returned to their old home in Illinois for a much needed rest, and R. C. Robe assumed the duties of superintendent of Wheelock, and his wife was matron. A post office was established at Wheelock, with R. C. Robe as postmaster, thus saving a twenty-mile ride to the post office each week. He was also U. S. Notary Public. The nearest doctor being thirty miles distant, R. C. Robe was given the title of doctor by the natives who often insisted upon his services.

In Miss Frances Robe's letter to the Oklahoma Historical Society, she continues her reminiscences of those days:

A little son, John Faris, born to Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Robe, died at the age of three years. The teachers caring for the little body wanted a pretty white casket, but had no material. Miss Lane gave the white dress in which she had been graduated a few years before. It made a beautiful casket. After services, conducted by Rev. Edwards, the little one was placed in Wheelock Cemetery beside missionaries who had passed away half a century before.

In 1893 Mr. R. C. Robe and wife resigned, that he might complete his medical course. They later resided at Pueblo, Colorado, where he practiced as a physician and surgeon for more than forty-three years. His death occurred April 1, 1939. Children of Dr. and Mrs. Robe are: Lidablanche Robe McLeod and Anna C. Robe, of Pueblo, Colorado, and Robert Robe, New York City.

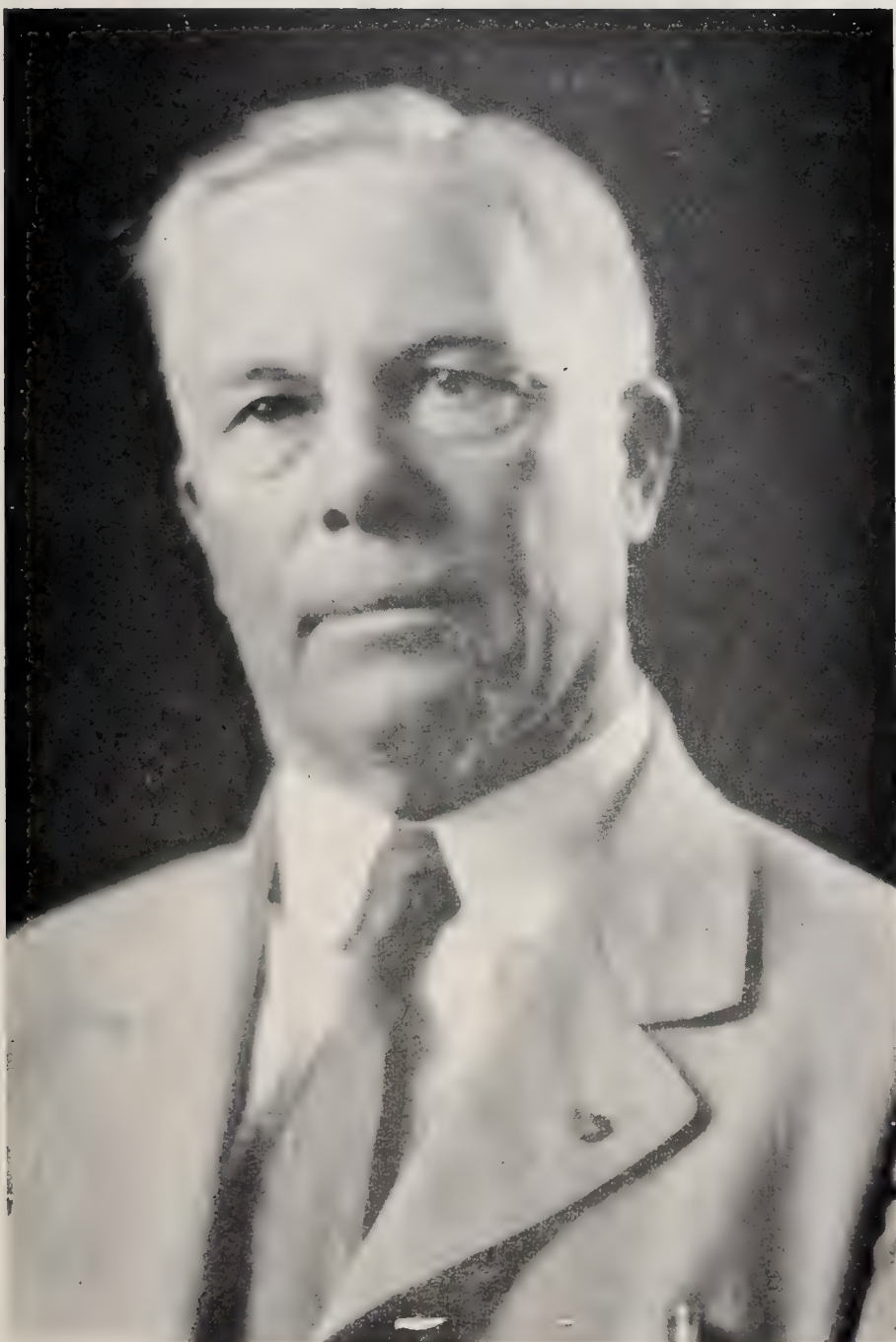
John M. Robe, youngest son of William B. and Sarah Robe (two sons, Samuel and David, had died in childhood, before the family came to Indian Territory) was only ten years of age when his parents took charge of old Spencer Academy, but he served in minor capacities there and later at Wheelock. He was sent back to Illinois to complete his education. Returning to Indian Territory, he married Miss Blanche Laughlin, a sister of Anna Laughlin Robe, wife of Dr. R. C. Robe.

After the retirement of the elder Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Robe, John M. Robe and his wife were asked to become superintendent and executive secretary of Nuyaka Mission. They with other workers composing a faculty of fourteen, continued as teachers of the Creek young people for fifteen years. Indian pupils were prepared for higher education and many went from Nuyaka to Oswego College, Kansas, Park College, Missouri, Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, and other advanced schools. Later, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Robe were sent by the Board of Missions of New York to take charge of the Mission school at Escuela (Tucson) Arizona, among Pima and Papago Indians. They remained there two and one-half years when they were urged to accept appointment to Dwight Mission, Marble City, Oklahoma, a co-educational boarding school for Oklahoma Indians. During their time at Dwight, 1912-1920, new class room and office building and dining hall were erected. High school work was included in the curriculum. Improvement among the pupils was most pronounced and results encouraging.

On January 12, 1918, fire destroyed the Boys' Dormitory at Dwight, and in spite of all efforts to save them, thirteen of the younger Indian boys lost their lives.¹³

Twenty five years John M. Robe and Mrs. Robe taught and worked among the Indians. In 1920 they retired to a home they had previously established in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, where Mr. Robe engaged in the Insurance business. He was elected county school superintendent in Okmulgee County and was a member of the Okmulgee city school board for several terms. He died in Okmulgee, April 14, 1937. Mrs. John Robe lives in Oklahoma City, and is still

¹³ *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, January 12, 1918.



JOHN M. ROBE

active in church and missionary work.¹⁴ The children of Mr. and Mrs. John M. Robe are: Ross Laughlin Robe, Oklahoma City; Ralph William Robe, of Tulsa; Orella Robe Dameron, also of Tulsa, and Donald Wells Robe of Corpus Christi, Texas.

Well may the Robes, a family of missionaries, be accorded a prominent and well-deserved place in the annals of Oklahoma. Their influence was felt by the native Indians and all who knew them over a period of more than fifty years. Their pupils became good citizens, many of them outstanding as teachers, ministers, Sunday school workers, professional men. Best of all, Christian principles were upheld, and few who went out from the mission schools failed to give evidence that their eyes were "toward the mark for the prize."

ADDENDA

From the Notes by Mrs. John M. Robe on her Visit
to the Site of Old Spencer Academy.

About eleven years ago, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Robe visited the site of Old Spencer Academy near the present village of Spencerville, in Choctaw County. During the visit, Mr. Robe gave a vivid description of the school buildings as he remembered them from boyhood, five large log buildings in line on three sides of a square courtyard. Three of the two-story log buildings were still standing, and there was the ever-flowing spring of clear, cold water where milk and butter were kept cool and fresh in the old days. The old cemetery was in the middle of a corn field, unfenced and uncared for. Some of the gravestone markers were cracked and others broken, marking this notable spot in the history of early Indian Territory. Inscriptions on three of the markers were as follows:

IN
Memory of
a beloved wife and child,
daughter of Nathan and Isaiah Peck
of New York City
and wife of the Rev. Jas. B. Ramsey
Missionary of the Presbyterian Board of
Foreign Missions to the Choctaws,
Who died at Spencer Academy
July 17th, 1849
aged 31 years 7 months
Also of
Nathan William Ramsey
aged 17 months 12 days
"And I heard a voice from Heaven saying,
Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."

¹⁴ Mrs. John M. Robe (née Blanche Laughlin) is an active member of the First Presbyterian Church, Oklahoma City, especially among young people. She gave much time and effort to work in U.S.O. during World War II, and is sponsor of *Froli Club*, a civic group of young people. She is deeply interested in her work as a member of the Board for the Salvation Army in Oklahoma City, and is personally interested in the writing of poetry. Her notes taken during a visit to the site of Old Spencer Academy about eleven years ago will be found in the *Addenda* that follows.

CHARLES WELLS

the son of

C.H. and L.M. Gardner

Died Dec. 4, 1848

Aged 17 months

Wherefore should a single doubt arise,
That our sweet bud has blown to Paradise.

IN

Memory of

Mrs. Susan B. Morrison

Missionary Teacher in Spencer Academy
and wife of

Samuel Morrison

Born Tarrytown, New York, Nov. 15, 1815

Died suddenly at

Pine Ridge Choctaw Nation, Feb. 4th, 1851

After three hours of intense suffering on the
roadside between Spencer Academy and that place.

(Two verses of Scripture follow here

Luke 12:43 & John 11:25)

There is a world above;

A long eternity of love

Formed for the good alone.

And faith behold the dying here

Translated to that glorious sphere.



Cattlemen at "round up" on Wicker Brothers' ranch, Hackberry Creek, Day County, Oklahoma Territory, August, 1898.

EARLY DAYS IN DAY COUNTY

By O. H. Richards*

When I left Oklahoma Territory in the winter of 1892, I thought then that I would never return, but through a trend of circumstances, I found myself on December, 1897, in Day County, Oklahoma, seeking a location to go into the cattle business.

With its luxuriant buffalo and bunch grass, and many streams, Day County was a Stockman's paradise. Settlers were few and far between, being located along the streams. The principal industry was stock raising. The cow man was supreme. Each cattleman located along a stream—he placed his land filing so that he would control the water. He then fenced off enough government land adjoining his water rights to supply his needs.

Among the early day cow-men were M. F. Word, whose range extended from Red Bluff to the sand hills; Walck Brothers on the Canadian River; George "Boss" Griffis and John Griffis on Little Robe; Charlie Rynearson, southwest of Littlerobe on the Canadian River; Wicker Brothers on Hackberry; George Carr on Turkey Creek. South of the Canadian River were John Dunn, Alec Crawford, John McQuigg, and Will Williams, whose ranges were along the Canadian River, Washita River and Quartermaster River. There were others of course, but their names escape my memory.

Grand was the County seat. It was a sleepy little village, nestling by a beautiful grove. This grove was known as Robinson Springs, and was famous for its fine water. Grand had a court house—a one story building about forty feet by forty feet. There was a general store, with Frank Burnett as proprietor; a post office and hotel, with Adam Walck serving as postmaster and proprietor of the hotel; a blacksmith shop; and a newspaper "The Day County Tribune" with John Dean as Editor and proprietor. Then there was the White Elephant Saloon, the main civic center, and headquarters for entertainment, with John Weaver as proprietor. The class of refreshments served by Mr. Weaver were highly potent and exhilarating. For instance, Mr. Weaver served a customer a drink of whiskey, which he solemnly declared was twenty-one years old. The customer drank, coughed and strangled. After catching his breath, he leaned over the bar and said, "John, if that there likker had been one year older it would have burned my lights out."

* O. H. Richards, a pioneer of Day County, now living near Arnett, Ellis County, Oklahoma, contributed the article, "Memories of an 89'er," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1948).—Ed.

The County government was in charge of H. I. Walck, County Clerk; O. E. Null, Deputy; Ed Downing, County Treasurer; Jake Bull, Sheriff; and Della Cann, Superintendent.

Grand did not have a lawyer or doctor. Every man respected the rights of others. Personal difficulties were settled in primitive fashion. Petty thievery was unknown. No one ever locked his doors when he left home. There was no rush, no bickering or envying, or crowding there. It was Grand and well named. The Law had not yet arrived.

There was a firm and deep set opinion in the minds of the first settlers in Day County, that this section of Oklahoma would never be a farming country. This opinion was pronounced. I remember that Hi Walck and I were hunting stray cattle in the region about where Arnett now stands, in the summer of 1898. We startled a bunch of antelope. As they disappeared over a distant rise we regretted that we had not brought along our rifles so that we could have bagged a couple of them.

Mile upon mile before our eyes stretched an undulating sea of grass, broken only by small groups of cattle grazing in the distance. As we rode along, I recall a prophecy Hi made. Hi said "Ote, do you know that the day will come when every quarter section of this country will have on it a white house, a red barn and a wind mill, and all of this grass will be plowed under?"

I also remember my answer, "Hi of all the darn fool predictions I ever heard! This one is the limit! I don't believe it, and I don't think you do either."

Hi qualified his statement by saying, "It might be a long time before these events take place, perhaps not in our lifetime, but that time will surely come."

How little we know of the future! His was the voice of prophecy. In less than three years from that date there was hardly a vacant quarter section of land in Day County, or Western Oklahoma for that matter.

The "Man With the Hoe" had arrived. The "Man With the Hoe," the Law and Medicine all arrived about the same time. The Law was represented by Mr. Charles Swindall, a tall, serious young man just out of law school from his native state of Texas. There

being a vacancy in the office of County Attorney, Mr. Swindall was appointed to that position.¹

There was a session of District Court held in Grand that fall, with Federal Judge John L. McAtee from Enid presiding. There were three murder cases on the docket. Here it was that Charlie received his first introduction as a prosecuting attorney. There was a grand jury, a petit jury, and the whole legal works. The law had arrived with a vengeance.

It has been my pleasure to see that young, untried lawyer go from a prosecuting attorney in Day County, to District Judge, on to Congressman and at last to a term on the Supreme Court Bench of Oklahoma before he passed away.

Medicine arrived in the person of a youthful, quiet spoken, gentleman named Dr. O. C. Newman, from Ohio. He was just out of medical school and looking for a location. We gave the Doctor a hearty welcome, told him that no one ever got sick out here, but that the way settlers were coming, it might be a good idea to "stick around." The Doctor "stuck" around and soon his practice extended from the state line on the west to Turkey Creek on the east, to the Washita River on the South.

His chief method of transportation was a cow pony named Frog. Frog was a genuine misanthrope. He had a mean eye, and a sour disposition. He could buck and do the "sun fish" with the most accomplished cow ponies. Many were the painful sessions the Doctor had with Frog before he conquered, and took his degree as a brone buster.

At that time, all the young doctor hoped to be was just a good country doctor. If he could have, by some necromancy, gazed far into the future he would have been amazed! Little did he think then that he would be at the head of one of the finest and best equipped hospitals in Oklahoma. He is, however, at the head of his own hospital at Shattuck, Oklahoma, assisted by his three sons, Roy, Floyd and Haskell. Each one is a specialist in some field of the medical profession. He is a member of the American College of Surgeons—the highest honor granted any physician, and an honored member

¹ Charles Swindall was born February 13, 1876, at Terrell, Texas. After his graduation from Cumberland University (Tennessee) in 1897, he came to Woodward, Oklahoma Territory, and thence to Day County. He served as County Attorney of Day County from 1898 to 1900, with the distinction of having begun his duties as the youngest County Attorney in the Territory. He practiced law at Woodward and was prosecutor for the Texas Cattle Raisers Association from 1900 to 1907. Active in politics, he was Republican State Committeeman from 1912, and delegate to the National Convention in 1916. He served out the unexpired term of Hon. Dick T. Morgan, in the 66th Congress, 8th Congressional District in Oklahoma. He was elected and served as District Judge, 20th Judicial District, 1924-29; and as Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, 1929-35. He died on June 19, 1939, survived by his wife, Emma Endres Swindall, who resides in Oklahoma City.—Ed.

of the Oklahoma Hall of Fame, an organization that did not even exist at the time he was a doctor in Day County. But little as he may have dreamed it, such is a fact. That young doctor has come a long way since he located in Grand, and his only means of transportation was an evil minded cow pony named Frog. The Horatio Alger of fiction was just a "piker" compared to the hardships, and poverty surmounted by Dr. O. C. Newman, in gaining his present pinnacle of success.

And thus the old order changeth. Day County passed from the hands of the cowman to that of the homesteader and Hi Walck's prophecies came true.² Grand began to put on airs with the arrival of the "Man with the Hoe," the Law, and Medicine.

An organizer for the Woodmen of the World came to town, and all the boys "fell over" each other to join—it being a fraternal as well as an insurance organization. Its members felt themselves exclusive from the common herd. How proud we were of our W. O. W. buttons! How punctilious we greeted a brother with the sign and grip of a Woodman.

The order first met in the court house. O. E. Null was the first consul commander, and has been the mainstay of the order ever since. The lodge gained in membership and soon they erected a two story building of their own. It was dedicated with a grand ball. Every Woodman was present, arrayed in his best suit of clothes, accompanied by his wife or sweetheart. Never in Grand's history was there assembled as many white collars and clean shaves as on this eventful night. The dancing continued until the early morning hours and not until then was sounded "Home Sweet Home" on the violins and guitar, and the weary musicians put away their instruments and crept out into the dawn.

From that time on, the Woodman lodge was the arbiter of everything social in Grand. Their socials and dances will always be remembered by the few of that gallant band that still remain. Over forty years have passed since the dedication of that old Woodman hall, but the memories of that night linger on—some of life's immortells that never fade.

² References to the history of Day County, Oklahoma Territory, were given by M. A. Ranck in "Some Remnants of Frontier Journalism," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (December, 1930), in which the following statement appears on the organization of the County when the surplus lands of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation were opened to white settlement on April 19, 1892 (p. 378): "The northwest corner of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country was first designated as 'E' County. Soon afterward it was named Day County and the location for a county seat was called Ioland. Here the first court house was built and county government was organized. . . ." By order of the County Commissioners, the county seat was changed from Ioland to Grand on November 13, 1893. On Monday of that date, the county officials and their office records and equipment were moved to the new location at Grand "where a large tent was awaiting occupancy in a fine grove of timber, and was soon converted into a court house." (*ibid.*, p. 381.)—Ed.

After Arnett became the County seat, the hall was moved to Arnett. The membership was transferred there, also. In Grand we thought it was quite a structure, it being the only two story structure in town. In Arnett it seemed to shrink and become smaller, but every one of those old time Woodmen looked upon it with a tender eye as they recalled the gay parties and dances held within its halloved walls.

In 1902 the Masons organized a lodge at Grand under the direction of the late William H. Suthers. Mr. Suthers was a thirty-second degree Knight Templar. He had made the study of Masonry, its symbolism and traditions a life work. He had served as deputy Grand Master in his native state of Virginia, and had organized numerous subordinate lodges in that state.

When it was decided to organize a lodge at Grand, we were fortunate in having a Masonic scholar with the attainments of Mr. Suthers to lead us in our work. At first there were not enough members of the fraternity in the vicinity of Grand to organize a lodge. A number of citizens in and around Grand who wished to become members petitioned for membership in the Texmo lodge, the nearest lodge to Grand.

Texmo was in the extreme Southeast part of the county, and was composed of a general store with a Masonic hall above—Mr. Pleas Tackett was the proprietor of the store, Post Master and Master of the Lodge. It was an all day drive over the roughest roads I ever traveled to get to Texmo. Among the number who petitioned the Texmo Lodge and received their degrees were G. A. Bigelow, Frank Burnett, Bob Oates, W. M. Hale, A. S. Buran, Joseph L. (Doc) Smith, Dr. O. C. Newman, L. A. Walek, and O. H. Richards.

There were no hotel accommodations at Texmo, so it was necessary to take along our bedding and camp equipment. How well I remember the first night we spent in Texmo! We arrived about sundown, tired, dusty and hungry—pilgrims in the search of Masonic light. We were heartily welcomed by Mr. Tackett and given the freedom of the city, which meant the store building and the lodge hall above. We prepared our supper over the heating stove in the store. We boiled coffee, fried bacon and eggs, and sampled each variety of canned fruit that Mr. Tackett had in stock.

By the time we had finished supper, the members of the Texmo lodge had begun to arrive. Soon the lodge was opened and preparation made to receive candidates for the Entered Apprentice degree from Grand. It was long after midnight before the degree work was finished. Worn out and exhausted we spread our blankets on the lodge-room floor and slept until the sun was high in the East.



Map showing counties in Oklahoma Territory, 1901-07. Day County, originally designated as "County E," comprised 30 townships in the northwestern corner of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation opened to white settlement on April 19, 1892.)

We cooked our breakfast over the stove in the store again. Then we started on the long trek to Grand,—I might say that the roads were just as rough as when we came down.

It required two more trips to Texmo under about the same conditions before we received our masters' degrees. Upon receiving our degrees from Texmo Lodge, we asked for and received our dimits. We proceeded at once to the organization of St. Albans Lodge No. 81 Grand, under dispensation. The first officers were William H. Suthers, Worshipful Master; Albert S. Burran, Senior Warden; Otis H. Richards, Junior Warden; David Hogg, Treasurer; Oscar C. Newman, Secretary; Edward E. Shirley, Senior Deacon; Leonard A. Walck, Junior Deacon; Wm. M. Hale, Senior Stewart; Joseph L. Smith; Junior Stewart; and Grandville A. Bigelow, Tyler. The lodge met in the Woodman hall that being the only building in town suitable for lodge purposes. The lodge flourished from the start. The night was never so cold or rainy as to prevent a full attendance at the meetings. Judge W. R. Brown, grand lecturer for the A. F. & A. M. in Oklahoma territory paid St. Albans Lodge the compliment of being one of the livest lodges in the Territory, and our master W. H. Suthers one of the most brilliant Masons he ever met.

After statehood the Grand Jurisdiction of A. F. & A. M. Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were consolidated and St. Albans Lodge No. 81 was transferred to Arnett and became St. Albans Lodge, 192. A large number of those pioneer Masons have passed on; their rugged souls have gone out on the night wind to meet in the celestial lodge above; among them are W. H. Suthers, G. A. Bigelow, David Hogg, Joseph L. Smith, W. M. Hale, F. M. Carmichel, Samuel A. Miller, Frank M. Sandford, and R. A. Hutchinson.³

When Day County passed from the hands of the cow man to that of the homesteader, a lot of readjusting took place. The cattle men that remained, cut down their herds to the land they owned or controlled or else moved out.

There was another readjustment that the settler had to make, one that did not appear on the surface but one that was pronounced, and far reaching, and that was the merging of the sectionalism of the south with the prejudices of the north.

³ With the adoption of the State Constitution, Day County was organized as parts of Ellis and of Roger Mills counties, Oklahoma. Ellis County was named after Albert H. Ellis, Vice President of the Constitutional Convention, at Guthrie in 1906. Mr. Ellis with the committee on county boundaries paid this section a visit to decide on the boundary lines of the new county. The late "Cap" Mitchell, Editor of the *Shattuck Monitor* and a friend of Mr. Ellis, gave a party at the hotel for Mr. Ellis and the Committee. It was decided there to call the new county "Ellis." (Roger Mills County was named for Roger Q. Mills who was then U. S. Senator from Texas.—Ed.)

The Kansas homesteader had as a neighbor a homesteader from Texas. There was nothing in common in their political and social back ground, a back-wash of the Civil war, and the latter days of the trail herds from Texas, in their fights with the Kansas nesters. Before the Kansas and Texas homesteader met they each had a very low opinion of the other.

When one has neighbors, one should try to get along with them. It was not long until the Kansas man called on the Texas man to borrow his saddle; and the Texas man called on the Kansas man for the use of his breaking plow. The ice was broken. They exchanged views on the best crops to raise. The Texas man thought that cotton was the best crop, the Kansas man was sure that wheat would do well here. The men exchanged ideas; they met on common ground both trying to wrest a living from the soil, they became friends and even "joshed" each other on their respective political views; each man respected the other. There was a readjustment of ideas all around. In this blending of the north with the south, the early settlers in Day County were the most cosmopolitan to be found in the union.

In the matter of experimenting with crops the A. & M. College at Stillwater had nothing on the early settlers of Day County. They planted corn, wheat, cotton, broom corn, oats cowpeas, alfalfa, millet. In fact everything that was grown in Texas, or Kansas was tried out in Day County. Broom corn became the principal crop the first few years as this crop was especially adapted to sod. Shattuck at that time was known as the broomcorn capital of the west, owing to the amount shipped from that point.

The first settlers believed in education. Their school houses were rather humble structures, they were built of sod, rawhide lumber (cottonwood) and even dugouts, but they became the civic centers of the community. It was in these school houses, the settlers met for church, Sunday school, pie socials, literaries and at these gatherings you can be sure there was always a full attendance; then there were the picnics at Walck's Grove. Everyone came and everyone enjoyed himself. For entertainment they had ball games, pony races and dancing—don't forget the dancing, for believe me they danced in those days.

One thing that struck a person was the optimism of the first settlers. Each settler believed he had the best claim, the best horses, and best milk cow to be had. I recall an amusing incident on this line in which there was a fly in the ointment. A bunch of us were taking dinner at the Walck hotel. Gathered around the table were men from all parts of the county. All strangers to each other. Talk drifted from the herd law question, the main one at the time to the respective merits of each others claims, horses, cows, and so forth.



Grand, Day County, 1904—(1) Dr. O. C. Newman, Residence; (2) School House; (3) S. A. Miller, Residence; (4) Hi Walck, Residence & (5) Barn; (7) Jail; (9) Judge Alcorn, Residence; (10) Null & Wright, Office; (11) Court House; (12) Sam Culp, Store; (13) Bank; (15) Shannon McCray, Residence; (16) Howlett Store; (17) Woodman's Hall, other buildings unidentified.

In all the conversation there was a trend of satisfaction and well being in their possessions, hopefulness and contentment. Adam Walck at the head of the table was listening to all the conversation in smiling approval. Being somewhat of a philosopher, he gave out from his vast experience the following observation: "In my experience as a pioneer in several states I have noticed that the pioneers as a rule are always satisfied in their possessions; each settler believes he has the best claim, the finest horses, the most prolific milk cows, the most attractive wife and smartest children of any of his neighbors. It is a happy condition."

There was a gentleman present who had not taken part in the conversation. He had evidently been partaking of some of John Weaver's white mule, but he aroused at the conclusion of Mr. Walck's speech, and delivered the following: "Got the best claim in Day County. Got team horses, that kin out pull any you fellows' horses, for money, marbles or chalk. Got a cow that gives tub of milk every day, but say Mister," and here he pointed an accusing finger at Mr. Walck, "I want you to know I've seen lots of women I'd rather have than my wife."

The Herd Law issue at one time was the dominant one in Day County. I for one never got wrought up over the Herd Law issue.

When the cow man found his pastures all taken he was bewildered. It was something new. This was a cow country. This was no farming country. Whoever heard of anyone trying to farm this far west? Didn't have enough rainfall. This was strictly a cow country. The idea of making this a farming country was ridiculous. Thus reasoned the cattleman.

When the settlers began farming, there was some conflict and in instances, cattle destroyed the settler's crop, but in most cases where the settler who was unable to fence his crop, the cattleman did it for him. It was these isolated cases that gave rise to the Herd Law issue. A bunch of designing lads said here was an issue they could use to ride into public office. They called meetings. They made speeches. They denounced the cattleman in the most violent language. He was an outcast, a menace to society. He had to go. As a result of these meetings the county was divided into nine herd law districts, and elections held to determine whether the respective districts would be Free Range or Herd Law. The result of the elections, about one-half voted free range and the other half voted herd law. In one district the election was contested, and I don't remember the outcome.

That fall the settlers called a convention and organized the Citizens Herd Law Party and placed a full county ticket in the field in opposition to the Independent county ticket.

The Herd Law Party held their convention on Packsaddle Creek, and was always referred to thereafter as the Packsaddle convention. After that convention the fireworks started. There were meetings, and picnics held galore, and the way those Herd Law candidates blistered the cow men and the Independent candidates was a sight. It was something fierce.

A cow man attended one of their meetings in which one of the speakers denounced the cattlemen in the most vituperative language. After the meeting the cowman remarked: "You know I am going to discard my Stetson hat, boots and spurs, get me a straw hat, overalls, and plow shoes and make 'em think I am a granger. I didn't know I was such a degraded cuss."

After the election, the vote showed the Herd Law ticket carried the county with the excepting of Sheriff. The Independents won that office, with Joseph L. (Doc) Smith.

I have frequently been asked to account for the rapid settlement of Day County and Western Oklahoma when for a period of eight years, these lands were open for any one who chose to come. One of the major causes was the passage of the Free Home Bill sponsored by Dennis Flynn, our delegate to Congress.

The old law required the settler on government land, to reside on his claim for a period of five years and pay \$1.25 per acre. The new law—Free Home Bill—only required five years residence to obtain title. Western Oklahoma was the last frontier. It was the last chance to get a free home.

At the end of five years, when the settler had completed his residence on his homestead, and was able to perfect his title, and obtain a patent from the government, another change began. The mortgage loan companies and their agents arrived. Every town in Western Oklahoma had from three to four loan agents. Grand had four at one time, all eager for business. The rate of interest charged was usually 7 per cent, and 3 per cent commission, and ran from 5 to 7 years.

The 3 per cent commission, went to the agent, and was secured by a second mortgage on the lands. Those settlers who were located on the poorest claims, least adapted to farming, were the first to secure loans. The average loan on this class of land was from \$500.00 to \$600.00. With the proceeds of the loan a large number of these settlers quit the country and let their land revert to the loan company or else sold it to some cattle man for grazing purposes.

Those settlers who were fortunate enough to settle on the level or rolling land stayed on and improved their claims, built better homes, better barns, better school houses. By trial and error the homesteader found out for himself the land that was best adapted for

farming and that best adapted for grazing. When you ride across that range southeast of Arnett, now known as the Davison pasture, with its wide sweep of grass land, stretching away in the distance, no human habitation in sight with its grazing cattle, and lonely wind-mills it is hard to realize that once there was a claim shack and settler on every quarter.

George E. Davison was the first large cattle operator to grasp the opportunity of blocking these homesteads together into one large holding. In 1910 Mr. Davison began securing title or lease to these lands and inside of four years he had acquired over eighty sections, making it perhaps the largest ranch in Oklahoma.

About this time there appeared a bunch of land speculators whose stay was short and in which the general public had very little knowledge. Their *modus operandi* was about as follows: As an example there appeared in the Register of Deeds office a transfer of 320 acres of sand hill land in which the consideration was named as \$5,000.00. In a short time another transfer of this land would show up in which the consideration was given as \$12,000.00 in which the purchaser paid \$6,000.00 cash and a mortgage on the land for the remaining \$6,000.00. There was something phoney about the deal, because the land in the first place could have been bought for \$1,000.00. There were a number of transactions similar to the above taking place, and the land was always the poorest in quality.

About a year after these transactions took place, there appeared a gentleman in the Register of Deeds office, inquiring about the land described in the \$12,000.00 deal. He told the Register that he was the holder of the mortgage on the land, that no interest had been paid, that all his letters to the mortgagor had been returned, and that he thought he had better come out and see what was wrong. He said he was from Iowa and a dentist by profession.

After the Register had checked the various transfers, and mortgage assignments, on the land, he turned to the dentist and asked him if he paid face value for the mortgage. To this question, the dentist said he paid \$5,000.00 for the mortgage. "I thought I was getting a bargain. The holder claimed to be cramped for money, and offered to shave the price \$1,000.00 if I would buy it. What would this land be worth," he inquired of the Register, "if I have to foreclose?"

"I would say about \$1,000.00," was the reply, "but you had better go and see the land for yourself."

Getting directions the dentist drove out to look at the land. On his return he came into the Registers office looking sad and crestfallen.

"What did you find out?" the Register inquired.

“Well I found out you placed too high a valuation on the land, and another thing, no one around here ever heard of those fellows named in the various transfers. I guess I’ve been taken for a ride. I will have to fill a lot of teeth to make up for my loss in that land deal.”

In conclusion I will say that Grand today is but a memory. The buildings have long since been removed. Its streets have gone back to grass, and are now in a cow pasture. The old Walck hotel still remains but has passed in alien hands. They have a lake up at the grove fed by the springs, which makes an ideal spot for summer picnics and swimming.

Once a year the pioneers of old Day county hold their annual picnic at Walck’s Grove, and what a foregathering it is. Those old boys and old girls live again those glamorous care free days of the long ago. And one of the favorite expressions you hear when two or three of them get together is “Say do you remember when?” The ranks of the Old Guard that settled in Day County are growing less each year, but in the last gathering they will have, and the last thing said will be “Say, do you remember when?”

EARLY PUBLICATIONS OF THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Angie Debo

Oklahomans interested in their history have learned to rely on the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* as the official publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and the better libraries have complete files, from the initial number launched in 1921 down to the last volume sent to the bindery. But it is not so generally known that the Society had at least two magazines antedating the *Chronicles*; and one may search in vain for a complete file of these early periodicals. Both owed their existence to the enthusiasm of William P. Campbell, custodian of the Society, who published them on his own initiative without grace of editorial committee or financial backing.

Born in Missouri, reared in several states, active in newspaper work in Nebraska, Illinois, and various towns in Kansas, Campbell had come to the new Oklahoma frontier in 1892, where he became register of deeds in Kingfisher County. In Kansas he had been interested in the state historical society; now as a newspaper man he saw the importance of preserving a contemporary record of Oklahoma's beginnings. When the Oklahoma Press Association met at Kingfisher in 1893 he introduced a resolution to organize a historical society. The result is well known: in the old Central Hotel on May 26 the editors established the Oklahoma Historical Society,¹ with the avowed purpose of preserving current newspapers and any other material of historical interest, and elected Campbell as custodian of the collection.²

A circular was sent out at once giving the aims of the society, and inviting editors to contribute their publications. Then to stimulate interest Campbell launched a small four-page weekly called *Mistletoe Leaves*. The first issue bears the date, August 5, 1893; the last was published some time—probably late fall—in 1895. In very small print it carried historical items, literary touches, personals, and some political comment.³ Campbell was the editor, possibly even the printer, and certainly the financial backer; but as custodian he spoke for the Society.

¹ This is the date now accepted by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Campbell himself gave May 27. —*Historia*, September 15, 1909. See also *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 3 (June, 1923), p. 279.

² Mary Hays Marable and Elaine Boylan, *A Handbook of Oklahoma Writers* (Norman, 1939), pp. 109-10.

³ *Historia*, December 15, 1911; April 1, 1917; April 1, 1920; Hazel E. Beaty and Angie Debo, February, 1948.

One can be sure that much of the space was given to recording accessions—with appropriate recognition of the donors—for Campbell was an indefatigable collector. It is to him more than any other man that the state owes the great newspaper collection that now rests in the Historical Building. But characteristically—for Campbell was not a scholar; he only sensed the importance of scholarship—he did not think to preserve the Society's own publication. In after years he tried vainly to build up a file. At present only the issues of August 5, August 12, and September 2, 1893 are known to be in possession of the Society. As for other files, the magazine is not even mentioned in the *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada*.

For these two years Campbell served without pay, keeping the collection in the register of deeds' office at the Kingfisher County courthouse. Then the territorial legislature made the Society an agency of the government and began making small annual appropriations for its support.⁴ The collection was placed in the new building that housed the territorial university, thus moving it away from its volunteer custodian. Next in 1901 it was given quarters in the Carnegie Library in Oklahoma City. Here in 1904 Campbell was employed as curator—this time on salary—and he removed to Oklahoma City and gave his full time to the work. In 1917 the tons of material the Society had accumulated mainly through his efforts was placed in the recently completed capitol, where Campbell remained in charge until his death in 1924.⁵

Campbell launched a second magazine, *Historia*, September 15, 1909. It was a quarterly, running from four to eight or even sixteen pages. The subscription price was twenty-five cents a year, but it was sent free to Society members and to all donors to the collection, including newspaper editors who regularly sent in their publications. Campbell paid all the expenses from his own pocket: apparently he hoped enough quarter-dollars might come in to reimburse him; otherwise he would take his pay in the satisfaction of furthering the interests of the Society.

The whole aim of the quarterly was to augment the collection. It was given mainly to descriptive lists of accessions, with personal data about the donors written in the friendly, breezy style of a small town newspaper. Some real history may be glimpsed in this writing, but—as Campbell frankly stated—the historical interest was secondary: to stimulate donations he had “drawn upon history to such extent as to make *Historia* more readable than would the mere routine items.”⁶ And to him newspapers *was* history. When John Franklin

⁴ *Historia*, July 1, 1914.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1917; Marable and Boylan, *Hankbook*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Historia*, October 1, 1920.

Jameson of the *American Historical Review* wrote in 1912 to ask of the activities of the Society, expressing particular interest in manuscript material, he replied airily that this "feature so far has not been stressed." It might have been important in past ages, he explained, but now it "is greatly minimized through the present era of print"; and in a state like Oklahoma where "the printing press was the day star and flaming torch" of progress, every phase of development "is of record" in the newspapers. Eight years later he quoted this letter under the heading, "STILL STANDS GOOD."⁷

Occasionally he published the reminiscences of some Oklahoman who had joined the Boomers, or had pioneered in the land openings, or had been a citizen of one of the Indian republics. Some of these are important enough to reward the historian who explores the files of the magazine.⁸ Sometimes in spite of his expressed indifference to the written word, he published a letter or other document from his collection.⁹ For he could grasp the importance of manuscript material when it was called to his attention. He succeeded in rescuing a trunkful of David L. Payne's letters that had knocked around for years;¹⁰ and when he learned that the governmental documents of the Five Civilized Tribes had been removed from the capitol and dumped in the United States agency at Muskogee, he made a valiant if unsuccessful effort to obtain them for the Historical Society.¹¹ And although his own experience had all been with the white man's frontier of the land rushes, he sensed from the very beginning the influence of Indian culture and achievements in the history of Oklahoma; his magazine always stressed the importance of ethnological studies and the collection of Indian material.¹²

Too much of his space, however, was given to trivia—the sort of material a country editor uses to fill his pages when news is scarce. There were literary efforts not very literary. There were sententious paragraphs on a variety of subjects—"Don't be an ezymark. Demand all you are entitled to." There was humor such as the following: "Speaking of a goat eating show posters and the like [,] Oklahoma can go it more than one better [.] For instance in one Oklahoma town a Coweta Times and Courier; over in Love [Okmulgee] County Henrietta [*sic.*] whole Record; over in Okmulgee [Love] County Maryetta [*sic.*] News."¹³

But although the historical content is not impressive, the magazine accomplished its purpose of building up the Society's collections. The

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1920.

⁸ For ex., *Ibid.*, December 15, 1909.

⁹ For ex., *Ibid.*, June 15, 1910.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1916.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1911.

¹² For ex., *Ibid.*, December 15, 1909; July 1, 1915; January 1, 1919.

¹³ *Ibid.*, September 15 and December 15, 1909.

list of accessions bears overwhelming testimony to the value of the material that was coming in. One must conclude that this man, who was not a historian, who did not even understand how history is written, has made the supreme contribution of all time to the historiography of this state.

Eventually, of course, the Society outgrew his intellectual concepts. At the annual meeting early in 1920 he was given a loving cup commemorating his services as the founder and builder of the organization;¹⁴ but when the directors met in May they decided to start a formal historical magazine. James S. Buchanan and Edward Everett Dale of the history department of the University of Oklahoma were chosen as editors, and the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* was launched the following January.¹⁵ Thus for the first time the Oklahoma Historical Society had an official publication, authorized by the directors, supported by Society funds, edited by trained historians and carrying scholarly articles, and controlled by a publication committee.

Campbell was able to rise above personal bitterness, but his disappointment is apparent. While the work on the new magazine was in progress, he published a restrained and dignified editorial showing the usefulness of *Historia* for the eleven years of its life; inquiring, "Who would blot it out, force its surrender, even though so seemingly weak, imperfect and perhaps narrow in its scope?"; and concluding, "Time solves every problem."¹⁶ Thus he struggled along until July 1, 1922. In that issue he made an attempt to continue by raising his subscription price to fifty cents, and he launched what was to be a series of articles to prove that a wandering adventurer who had ended his life in Enid was John Wilkes Booth, the murderer of Abraham Lincoln.¹⁷ But both these expedients failed, for his magazine died with that issue.

The Historical Society has a complete bound file of *Historia*.¹⁸ So far as the writer knows, no other copies were preserved in Oklahoma. Stray numbers may be found in various out of state collections, and both the Kansas Historical Society and the New York Public Library have complete files.¹⁹ Recently the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College library obtained a microfilm copy from the last of these sources. The magazine is of great interest, not for what it consciously tells of the State's history, but for what it reveals of the educational limitations and creative aims of the founders. Truly they built better than they knew.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1920.

¹⁵ *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1921), pp. 3-4.

¹⁶ *Historia*, October 1, 1920.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1922.

¹⁸ Hazel E. Beaty, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ *Union List of Serials*.

DAMS ON THE GRAND RIVER*

By W. R. Holway

Almost ever since men first realized that electric power could be produced from the streams and rivers of our country, the imagination of Oklahoma builders has been attracted to the waters of the Grand River as a source of power. The stream's constant flow, its descending slope from the confluence of the Spring and the Neosho Rivers to the Arkansas, and the many suitable dam sites along its course have kept this possibility alive through the years.

Forty years ago, in January, 1907, C. S. Avery and others obtained a charter from the United States District Court in Indian Territory for the forming of a corporation to develop hydroelectric power on the Grand River. However, this corporation did not make any engineering investigations or perform any of the preliminaries of such development. In October, 1913 the Grand River Power and Electric Company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$5,000. This was a company fostered by Henry C. Holderman and certain interests connected with the K. O. & G. Railroad. In 1914, bonds were issued and preliminary surveys were started. The first World War intervened to stop the work. In 1934 the charter of this company was canceled by the Oklahoma Tax Commission for nonpayment of the license fee.

In August, 1917, the Grand River Hydro-Electric Company was incorporated, capital stock of \$10,000. Incorporators were Henry C. Holderman, C. H. Fenstermacher, J. H. Rothhammer, C. D. Swem, and W. C. Garlington. New interest had been aroused in the project by Royal D. Salisbury, an engineer from Denver, Colorado, who was the vice-president and general manager of the new company. Henry C. Holderman was president; C. H. Fenstermacher secretary; Major W. B. Collins (Ketchum) treasurer; Dr. T. L. Rippey (Dallas) field finance representative; and Byron Kirkpatrick and Judge Thomas L. Brown attorneys. Offices were opened in the Mayo Building in Tulsa, options were taken on land, and reconnaissance surveys were conducted. In 1920 an estimate of cost for this project was announced as \$23,900,000, but efforts to enlist Eastern capital were not successful. In June, 1922, this company filed an application with the State Engineer for a permit to appropriate the entire flow of the river at approximately the present Pensacola Dam site, for the purpose of generating electric power, to be produced at a dam to be

* This paper was read by Mrs. W. R. Holway as a part of the program at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society held at Pryor, Oklahoma, on May 26, 1947.—Ed.

known as Dam No. 1. The permit was issued in September of that year. In June, 1923, the company filed applications on Dams No's. 2, 3, and 4, and these were approved by the State Engineer on July 1, 1924. Mr. Salisbury was still the engineer for the company. A considerable number of land condemnation suits were started at this time but never pushed to completion. In March, 1923, the rights of the Grand River Hydro-Electric Company had been transferred to the Oklahoma Hydro-Electric Company, incorporated by Abram Stanfield, M.S. Schull, and Tracey Wilkerson, with capital stock of \$10,000. These men were owners of land near and on the site of the proposed dam.

At this time Mr. J. B. Robinson of Miami, Oklahoma, one of the large mining operators in the Tri-state District became interested in the project, primarily because it could furnish cheap power for the mining area. In March, 1926, Mr. Robinson filed an application with the Oklahoma Conservation Commission for the construction of four dams on the Grand River. This application was approved in October of that year, but Mr. Robinson had by then assigned his rights to Wash E. Hudson of Tulsa, who, in turn, assigned them to a new corporation, Grand-Hydro, organized under the laws of Oklahoma on November 6, 1929. This company had a capital stock of \$500,000 and was incorporated by P.D.C. Ball of St. Louis (whom Mr. Robinson had interested in the project), B. F. Lyons of Chicago, W. H. Calvin of Chicago, S. E. Wolff of Sand Springs, and R. D. Hudson, Wash E. Hudson, and D. Vensel of Tulsa. The Fargo Engineering Company of Jackson, Michigan, was employed to make new surveys and prepare plans for a dam and power plant on the Grand River. During 1929 and 1930 approximately 2100 acres of land were acquired by the Grand-Hydro for the dam and the reservoir.

In July, 1931, the Grand-Hydro filed its application with the Oklahoma Conservation Commission for a permit to construct a 50-foot dam on the river at what is known as the "Tynan Bluff Site", six or seven miles above the Pensacola Site, and for a 14-foot equalizing dam near the present Pensacola site. This application was approved in August, 1931, but no construction was undertaken by the Grand-Hydro or any use made of the waters of the river by that company.

About this time the interest of public agencies in this project was begun. In 1932, the Congress of the United States authorized the U. S. Army Engineers to study and report on the Grand River, as part of a report on flood control in the Mississippi Valley. Early in 1935 this report was made to Congress in House Document 308, a report on the Arkansas River and its tributaries, which recommended "that there be no participation by the United States in the control of floods in the Grand (Neosho) watershed."

The following paragraphs, quoted from this report, indicate the conclusions of the U. S. Army Engineers which led to this recommendation:

"The flood problem is of local interest and no Federal interest seems to be involved. . . .

"There is no plan for flood control in the river below the mouth of Spring River that is practical from both an engineering and an economic standpoint. Furthermore, if this reach of the river is used to its best advantage for the ultimate development of the water resources of the watershed, it will be used for the development of water power and will have no flood problems, as practically the entire reach will be occupied by water-power reservoirs."

Another recommendation made herein was that "This report, with all tables, maps, and appendices be printed for the benefit of those interested in the future development of the water resources of this watershed."

The Fifteenth Oklahoma Legislature, on April 26, 1935, passed an Enabling Act, creating a "conservation and reclamation district" consisting of fourteen counties in northeast Oklahoma, in which was set up the Grand River Dam Authority to administer this district, granting to this Authority the right to appropriate the waters of Grand River for the purposes as set forth in the Act, among which were the development of hydroelectric power and control of floods. In August of 1935 the first Board of Directors was appointed, nine men, with J. Howard Langley of Pryor as the chairman. For two years a group of young men from the District carried on public meetings, and went to Washington, and put forth ingenious publicity to keep the project before the attention of the public, the Public Works Administration of the Federal Government, and the President of the United States. Wesley E. Disney in the House and Senator Elmer Thomas in the Senate worked with this group for the project. The public works program of the Government offered an opportunity to finance the first structures of the project, at least.

The original bill in the Oklahoma Legislature had attached to it the so-called Kirkpatrick amendment, which provided that all the power from this project was to be sold to the utilities at the switchboard. But before the Public Works Administration would approve an allocation and the President would allocate the money, they imposed the condition that this amendment must be repealed. The 1937 Legislature therefore repealed this restriction on the sale of power, considerable public pressure being also exercised to bring this about.

In August, 1937, President Roosevelt made the offer of a loan and grant to the Authority for the construction of the Pensacola Dam and power plant and appurtenant structures, \$11,563,000 as loan and \$8,437,000 as grant. The offer was accepted by the Authority on September 16th, and the loan and grant agreement was signed in

October of 1937. The Supreme Court of Oklahoma, on February 1, 1938, upheld the validity of the Enabling Act, and on the next day the first construction contracts for the project were let, and in July of that year the main contracts for the dam and power house were let.

These contracts provided for the construction of the longest multiple-arch dam in the world,—one mile long and 150 feet high, with solid concrete spillway section capable of discharging 525,000 cubic feet per second of flood waters. The dam creates a lake of 45,000 acres at normal pool level. The power house at the west end of the dam has five 15,000-kilowatt generators with provision for the installation of a sixth unit at some future time. The building of the project necessitated the elevation of five miles of the Frisco tracks and the building of a new railroad bridge over the river; the relocation of seven miles of the K.O. & G. Railroad, including a concrete bridge over Horse Creek; a highway bridge approximately one-half mile long over a narrow portion of the lake midway in its fifty-mile length; new waterworks intakes for the city of Vinita and the town of Grove; the relocation of pipelines, highways, and telegraph, telephone, and power lines; and the clearing of 17,750 acres of reservoir area. The building of transmission lines and substations followed the completion of the power plant, and was greatly extended because of the war needs.

The quantities of excavation in the project were 2,870,000 cubic yards of earth and 590,000 cubic yards of rock, approximately half this work performed in the construction of the dam. Material quantities were 655,000 barrels of cement (5,000 carloads), 625,000 barrels in the dam; 535,000 cubic yards of concrete (510,000 in the dam); and 30,000,000 pounds of steel (600 carloads). The total cost of the project is \$27,000,000.

The gates of the dam were closed and the storage of water began in March, 1940; the first generation of power was early in 1941.

The six largest floods of record in the Grand River occurred in 1895, 1927, one in the spring of 1941 and one later in that year, one in 1943, and one in 1944. The largest flood of record is the one of May, 1943, when the discharge at the dam was 315,000 cubic feet per second. It is interesting to note that of the six largest floods, four occurred in the first three years of operation; and that also the dryest period on record for the river was in 1939-40, during the peak of construction. During the first five years of operation there was discharged over the spillways 27,600,000 acre-feet of water, or twelve and one-half times the capacity of the reservoir when filled to Elevation 755, the full flood level. In addition, another six times the reservoir capacity was discharged through the turbines.

In November, 1941, the project was taken over by the Federal Government, to utilize its full power production for the war effort.

For five years various war plants were served and the plant produced approximately 350,000,000 kilowatt-hours of power per year. On September 1, 1946, by contract approved by an Act of Congress, the project was returned to the Grand River Dam Authority and the State of Oklahoma. The flood control features of the reservoir continue under the control of the War Department.

The 1935 Enabling Act authorized the full development of the Grand River. Subsequent sessions of the Legislature authorized issuance of bonds for the construction of the Markham Ferry and Fort Gibson Dams. These two dams have also been authorized by Congress, to be constructed by the U. S. Corps of Engineers, in 1935 recommended that the Federal Government should not build these dams. Some money has been appropriated for the Fort Gibson Dam construction and the Corps of Engineers has started its building. No funds have been appropriated for the Markham Ferry Dam, and the Grand River Dam Authority still hopes to build this dam as a part of the Grand River Project, owned and operated by the State of Oklahoma.

There has been considerable controversy with the U. S. Army Engineers as to the flood control problem on the Grand River. On the reservoir created by the Pensacola Dam the Army has urged that the capacity above Elevation 735 should be used for flood water storage; the Grand River Dam Authority has contended that the flood control burden of the Pensacola reservoir should be above Elevation 745. The Federal Power Commission agreed with the Authority and the license reads to that effect. If the pool level were lowered to Elevation 735, the power production would be cut by twenty per cent (20%), at least. But when the water reaches Elevation 745 it is entirely under the control of the War Department and the Army Engineers are the only ones who say, in time of flood, when the gates shall be opened and closed. Of course it is true that the Army is interested in the effect of floods on the Mississippi perhaps more than on the Grand, and the gates are often controlled in the light of that interest.

The Authority has contended that since this project is a state project and the Grand a state river, and since no other state in this area is proposing to control the floods on their rivers, Oklahoma should not be asked to contribute so large a benefit to the flood control of the lower Arkansas Valley and the Mississippi River as the Engineers contemplate. The control of the water below Elevation 745 for power production by the Authority and the control between 745 and 755 by the War Department for flood control, seems to the Authority to produce a maximum benefit of the combined resources of the river,—power production, flood control, and recreation. If control were exercised as the Army Engineers wish, the recreational benefits would be very small because of the alternate flooding and

drying of lakeshore areas, producing an unattractive and unsightly shoreline. Under the Army's plan twenty per cent of the power possibilities would be lost; but the only advantage lost by the Authority's plan is the additional volume of flood control storage, benefiting Oklahoma very little, if at all. If every major stream contributing to the Arkansas and Mississippi River floods would reduce their peak flows by as much as the Pensacola Reservoir does, there would be almost no serious floods in those rivers in the future.

The same problem arises in the construction of the Markham Ferry and Fort Gibson Dams. The Engineer Corps plan to build these two dams as combination flood control and power dams. It is the opinion of the Grand River Dam Authority that the State of Oklahoma should build these other two dams, ignoring entirely the small amount of benefit that would be gained for flood control, at the expense of destroying the larger part of a beautiful valley. If these two dams are built as power dams only, letting the Pensacola Reservoir carry the flood control burden as it is now, the lakes behind the lower dams will have a constant level and will be attractive and valuable from a recreational standpoint, as well as for the power they will enable the river to produce. If the flood control features are added, they will be worthless as recreational lakes, due to the wide variation in water level between flood times and ordinary seasons. Oklahoma's rivers are among her most valuable resources. They should be developed for the greatest good to the greatest number of her citizens, and become possessions of which any State might well be proud.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DR. EMMA ESTILL-HARBOR, PRESIDENT BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the death of Ex-Governor R. L. Williams, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society lost its president. Judge Williams had served as a director and a leader in the work of this institution for a quarter of a century. It was fitting and it would have pleased him very much to know that his successor would be found in Doctor Emma Estill-Harbour whose name he had placed before the Board to be chosen as a member many years before. Doctor Harbour had served as First Vice-President for several years and upon the passing of Judge Williams, she was under the By-laws elevated to the presidency. This strategic position upon the Board of Directors has fallen into worthy and capable hands.

Dr. Harbour was born in Liberty Missouri, and came to Oklahoma in the first decade of the 20th Century. Her education has been broad and liberal. Receiving her A.B. degree at the Oklahoma College for Women in 1915, she took her college M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in the University of Oklahoma in 1923 and 1933 respectively. She has had post-graduate work in Columbia University, University of Colorado and Chicago University. Her home address is: 302 East Sixth Street, Edmond, Oklahoma.

She is an honored member of many educational and professional societies including the American Association of University Women, of which she was State President in 1930-32; Delta Kappa Gamma, of which she was State Founder and once State Treasurer; and the National League of American Pen Women. She was elected by the Oklahoma Memorial Association to the "Hall of Fame" in 1935.

For her patriotic leadership she was appointed to serve as a director on character training at Neuf Chateau, France, during World War I. Her travels have taken her three times to Europe, to South America, Mexico, Central American countries, Cuba, Hawaii, Alaska, the Canal Zone, and Canada.

She was elected to a splendid position in the History Department of Central State College in 1912 and she possesses one of the longest tenures of teaching in that Institution of any teacher of the State—thirty-six years of service and still a member of the faculty.

C. E.

SOME JOHN A. SIMPSON—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LETTERS
ON THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION 1932-33

The following Simpson—Roosevelt letters have been annotated by Dr. Gilbert C. Fite, Department of History, the University of Oklahoma, and contributed for publication in *The Chronicles*. He is the author of "The Nonpartisan League in Oklahoma," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), in which some of John A. Simpson's activities in Oklahoma were received.—Editor

Introduction

As the election of 1932 approached, one of the most critical problems facing the presidential candidates, and the entire country, was the agricultural depression. For ten years farmers had experienced chronic hard times and by 1932 they seemingly had sunk to the depths of bankruptcy and poverty. Many solutions for the farm problems were forthcoming. Among the foremost campaigners for agricultural relief was John A. Simpson of Oklahoma, president of the National Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union.

From 1917 until his death in 1934, Simpson was one of the nation's most aggressive farm leaders. After a career of school teaching, banking, and farming he was elected president of the state Farmers' Union in 1917. When Simpson assumed command, the organization was weak and of little consequence with only 231 dues-paying members.¹ For the next fourteen years he staged an intensive drive to build up a farmers class movement in Oklahoma. During that period, Simpson developed one of the strongest state Farmers' Union organizations in the United States.

His outstanding record in organizing Oklahoma farmers naturally placed him in the national limelight in farm circles, and put him in a strong position to bid for the national presidency of his organization. When the Farmers' Union held its national convention in St. Paul in November, 1930, Simpson was elected president by a large majority.²

After his election as national president, Simpson left his office in Oklahoma City and spent most of his time in Washington seeking national farm relief legislation. He served as an adviser and agricultural lobbyist. His counsel was frequently sought, not only because of his official position, but because of his long and successful experience with farm organizations. Many people, some of them in Oklahoma, viewed Simpson as radical and visionary, and had no faith in his farm relief schemes which included marked monetary inflation and a federal farm program that would guarantee farmers the cost of production, plus a reasonable profit. Nevertheless, he continued to advocate them with such vigor and persistency that

¹ The Oklahoma Union Farmer, January 1, 1926.

² Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth National Convention, Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America (Red Lodge, Montana, 1930). A pamphlet.

even his opponents respected his sincerity and good faith, if not his judgment.

In March, 1932, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote to Simpson asking for information and advice, presumably on the agricultural situation. From that time until Simpson's death, he endeavored to sell Roosevelt on his farm relief ideas. The following letters give a running account of Simpson's effort to convert Roosevelt to a program of inflation and legislation guaranteeing farmers the cost of production. Roosevelt did not commit himself in writing to any phase of Simpson's policies, although Simpson seemed to have believed that Roosevelt intended to launch out upon an inflationary sea as a means of saving agriculture.

—Gilbert C. Fite.

March 7, 1932

My dear Mr. Simpson:

I have been seeing so many people who have been talking and working with you of late that I wish much that I could meet you personally and talk with you about many matters on which I need information and advice at first hand.

Is there any chance of your coming to Albany in the course of the next month or six weeks? It would be fine if you could run up here and stay with us over night so that we could have a good talk. I expect to be here practically all of the time except March thirteenth and fourteenth and an occasionally Sunday at home at Hyde Park.³

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

March 10, 1932

Dear Governor:

I thank you for your invitation to visit you in Albany.

I think I can make this visit about the last of this month or the first of next. I will let you know in ample time to notify me if the time I select is satisfactory to you.

Under separate cover, I am mailing you a copy of a radio talk I made in January. Also, under further separate cover, I am sending you a copy of a radio talk I made in February.⁴ These two talks, in a large measure, present the National Farmers' Union program.

Very sincerely yours,
John A. Simpson

April 11, 1932

Dear Governor:

I was mighty glad to hear you say, a week ago Sunday when I visited you, that you would be willing for a plank to be placed in the National

³ The Simpson-Roosevelt correspondence is in the Simpson MS collection deposited in the University of Oklahoma library at Norman.

⁴ In this speech Simpson sharply criticized the Federal Farm Board, calling it a complete failure. He castigated the "international bankers," and advocated liberal inflation and stabilization of the dollar's purchasing power.

Democratic platform promising the farmers such legislation as would secure to them cost of production for that part of their crops used in this country.

I was also pleased when you said you were in favor of a plank asking for an international conference on the silver question. However, I believe this nation will have to remonetize silver regardless of what other nations do. The gold standard is the set-up of big bankers and is the condition most favorable for their control of the volume of money and credits of the country. Remonetization of silver, will, to a large degree, take that control away from them. A gold standard makes it easy for other nations to sell their products in our country, but hinders their buying our products to take back home with them. We are now fearfully handicapped that way.

If you visit Washington in the near future I would like to know of it so I may have the pleasure of at least a further brief conference.

Sincerely yours,
John A. Simpson

July 28, 1932

My dear Mr. Simpson:

I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July seventeenth and to thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your address for delivery over the NBC network on Saturday, July twenty-third.

I appreciate very much the kind words you used concerning me in your speech and I sincerely hope that you have the opportunity and the strength to make many more.⁵

With cordial personal regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

August 27, 1932

Dear John Simpson:

That was a fine letter you wrote me just after the convention, and if my good intentions had been carried into action, I should have immediately acknowledged it. I am sure, however, that you realize the pressure under which I have been working during the past few weeks.

I need not tell you how much your offer of active personal service means to me. You will hear from us again as our plans for the summer are formulated.⁶

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

August 27, 1932

Dear Governor:

I have been intending to write ever since I returned from Columbus, Ohio. I have been addressing very large audiences here in South Dakota

⁵ In this speech Simpson called the Democratic plank on agriculture "very satisfactory." He praised Roosevelt and said he believed the New York Governor would interpret the agricultural and unemployment planks "very liberally in behalf of the common people of the country." Simpson MS.

⁶ Soon after the National Democratic Convention, Simpson offered his services to Roosevelt's campaign.

all week. I am sure I have had an average audience at each meeting of, at least, five thousand. I spoke to fifteen thousand in Huron [South Dakota] last night. I have been having two meetings a day. They are using me on Sundays even. I will speak tomorrow, Sunday, at a point in this state and at another point in Minnesota.

I am enclosing a copy of an explanation of the Farmers' Union Marketing plan. I hope you will find time to read it carefully.

In a word, our plan is for the government to do for agriculture what it has done for transportation. The government for twenty-five years has regulated the marketing of transportation on a basis of cost including interest on investment. We want the government to regulate the marketing of farm crops on the same basis.

The money plank of the National Democrat Platform is the most embarrassing one I meet. I feel that you should state publicly that you believe we must have a cheaper dollar. The present dollar is the highest price in the history of this nation. It takes ten bushels of oats to buy one dollar. It takes three bushels of wheat to buy one dollar. Remember, three bushels of wheat makes almost two hundred pound loaves of bread. It takes fifteen pounds of cotton to purchase a dollar. It will draw thousands of votes to you, here in the Republican states, if you will just say that the dollar we have is too high priced. Europe cheapened the value of their money units from one-fourth to one-fifth their former value. This helped the debtors to pay the creditors. We have made it impossible for our citizens to ever pay their debts. . . .

It [the United States monetary system] is damnable. It was invented to satisfy the greed of the big bankers of this nation. To call such a system sound is a disgrace to our Democrat Party.

I am over intensely interested in seeing you overwhelmingly elected and then after you are elected I want you to be in a position to start a new deal in this country. I want you to say just enough on this money question to justify you in doing what should be done after you are elected. I do not want you to say enough to drive votes from you. I think you understand.

Remember, in your speech at Topeka, that the National Democrat platform pledges to see that farmers are refinanced at lower rates of interest and more favorable terms. This amounts to an endorsement of the Frazier Bill.⁷ Also remember, that the agricultural plank of our platform agrees that we will do everything under the Constitution to get cost of production for agricultural products. This was intended as an endorsement of the Farmers' Union Marketing Plan.

I am sure if in your speech you will make it plain that you intend to see that farmers are financed on as reasonable terms as the government finances the shipping interests and on as easy terms as they have made to the peoples of Europe and if you will let the farmers know that you approve of the government regulating the marketing of farm crops just like they regulate the marketing of transportation, then all over this Nation the farmers will rise up like they did one hundred years ago, go to the polls and support you as they did Andrew Jackson in 1832.

Yours sincerely,
John A. Simpson

⁷ Senator Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota introduced a bill providing for refinancing farm mortgages at one and one-half per cent interest, plus a payment of one and one-half per cent of the principal each year. To finance this plan he urged that the government issue non-interest bearing notes.

September 6, 1932

Dear Governor:

I have had a wonderful series of meetings the last four weeks,—Farmers' Union picnics, Holiday Strike meetings⁸ and yesterday a Labor Day meeting in Madison, this state. [Wisconsin] I have been in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota and will be here all this week. In the four weeks I have held thirty-four meetings besides broadcasting in Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota. Only two of the meetings have had less than one thousand present and several of them have had more than ten thousand. I am sure in the thirty-four meetings I have talked to one hundred and fifty thousand people. Hundreds have told me, "I voted for Hoover in '28, but I will not vote for him this time." Not one person has ever told me, "I did not vote for him in '28, but will this time." To make it short, it just looks like this midwest country is going to give you a big majority.

I have a letter from one of the farm leaders in which he says the Wilson Allotment Plan is being presented to you.⁹ The Farmers' Union, the Grange and the Farm Bureau all opposed the Wilson Allotment Plan in the last session of Congress. It is a United States Chamber of Commerce scheme to muddy the waters. The President of the United States Chamber of Commerce was present when the plan was formulated and big business financed Wilson and others to lobby for it in Washington.

My suggestion is that in your speech on agriculture you stick to the plank in the National Democrat Platform which pledges farmers everything will be done under the constitution to secure to them cost of production for their products. I suggest you call attention to the fact that the government does that for railroads under the Interstate Commerce Law. I also call your attention to the fact that the government does not attempt to control the companies exportable surplus. They only control that part of transportation service used by the people in this country. . . .

The National Democrat Platform also pledges farmers refinancing at low rates of interest and on the amortization plan. I suggest you elaborate on this plank in a way that makes it clear to the farmers that you endorse the principles of the Frazier Bill without mentioning it. . . .

My meetings continue up to election day and will take me, after this week, into Iowa, North Dakota, Montana, Utah, Colorado and the last week before election in my own state, Oklahoma.

Yours truly,
John A. Simpson

October 4, 1932

My dear Mr. Simpson:

It is always good to get your reports on conditions, as you find them, and the suggestions you make are very helpful. In some manner, your letter didn't reach my desk at Albany until after I had started west and it has been held by my secretary for my return. . . .

⁸ The Farmers' Holiday program called for withholding farm products from the market until prices advanced.

⁹ M. L. Wilson of Montana State College was one of the leading advocates of the domestic-allotment program. There were several modifications of this plan but Simpson was referring to the version which provided cash-benefit payments to farmers who limited their production. Simpson opposed this plan because it did not aim at providing cost of production, and he was against restricting acreage by law.

The result in Maine is very gratifying and the reports of the progress of the campaign through the west make me feel that the chances are very bright for a sweeping victory. Regardless of whether I am able to acknowledge all of your letters, I know that I may depend on you to continue writing me.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

October 29, 1932

Dear Simpson:

I wish you could see the mountain of correspondence that awaits me on my return from my recent trip to the south and west. Certainly if letters are any indication, it will be a sweeping victory in November. . . .

I shall hope to hear from you at least once more before Election Day.

With my thanks for all you have done, and my warm personal regards,
I am

Yours very sincerely,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

Be sure to come in and see me when you come East.

December 17, 1932

Dear Mr. President-Elect:

I am glad you sent Mr. Henry Morgenthau Jr. to represent you in the conferences held here [Washington] by leaders of farm organizations and near farm organizations.¹⁰

Mr. Morgenthau very definitely made known that we should not build any marketing program around the Farm Board. This policy harmonizes with the Farmers' Union one hundred per cent.

Numerous Farm Board set-ups were represented in this conference. It was quite evident they were trying to save the Farm Board. Attempt was made shortly after Mr. Morgenthau left to have the conference indorse the activities of the Farm Board and ask that it be retained as an institution. I made successful, emphatic, objection.

I am sure the Farm Board is the most unpopular government institution that exists here in Washington. Ninety per cent of the farmers have no faith or confidence in the personnel or the policies of this board.

Do not let those who are borrowing large sums of money for their institutions from the Farm Board and drawing big salaries from these Farm Board set-ups deceive you into changing your policies in this matter.

I believe you should get rid of the Farm Board at the earliest possible moment, of course, giving them fair time in which to arrange transfer of their affairs to such department as may be provided.

Yours truly,
John A. Simpson

¹⁰ From December 12 to 14 representatives of the leading farm organizations met in Washington to develop a united program that could be presented at the next session of Congress.

April 3, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

Since the Fourth of March I am sure you have faced more and bigger problems than any other President of the United States in the first thirty days of his administration.

There are many of these problems still facing you. Among them the money question. The money question is the biggest and most important problem you will have to solve. All other measures will fail until such time as our monetary system has been intelligently revised.

You can not balance the budget. You can not make farm relief legislation work. You can not save the banks, the railroads, the insurance companies and other commercial and industrial enterprises with a dollar that buys four bushels of wheat from a Kansas farmer, ten bushels of corn from a Nebraska farmer or twenty pounds of cotton from a Texas farmer.

I recall, with pleasure, that you called me over the telephone from Albany during the National Democrat Convention in Chicago. I remember you told me, when I complained of the money plank that had been adopted by the Convention, that you would interpret it liberally and by liberally you said you meant we must have a dollar with less purchasing power.

In the legislation passed so far there is nothing that cheapens the dollar. It still has its extortionate purchasing power. . . .

I respectfully urge the immediate consideration and quick action on the question of monetary reform to the end that the people of this Nation may have a dollar that will pay debts and constructs instead of a dollar that brings destruction and repudiation.

Very respectfully,
John A. Simpson

April 6, 1933

Dear Mr. Simpson:

Thank you for your letter of April third. Please let me assure you that I am just as anxious as you are to give the dollar less purchasing power and farm products more purchasing power.

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

May 6, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

A very important matter has reached a place where I feel it my duty to present to you the farmers' side of the question. The question is Senate amendment to H. R. 3835, known as Part 3 or Cost of Production.

You will recall that on the afternoon of March 6 Mr. Brenckman representing the Grange, Mr. Ogg representing the Farm Bureau and I had a conference with you. Among other things, I told you I was billed for a series of meetings that would take me as far west as Omaha, Nebraska. That if I made these meetings I must start the next day. That I would cancel them if the Congress you had called into special session for the ninth would take up the matter of farm legislation. You told me that the Congress would only be in session three or four days,—just long enough to take care of the bank situation. Then they would recess for about three

weeks. With this information I made my meetings in the west returning the eighteenth of March. In a few days after I left Secretary Wallace called a conference and the farm bill [Agricultural Adjustment Act] was written. I had no opportunity to take part in its construction.

I filed a brief with the Senate Agricultural Committee stating these facts. The Committee granted an open hearing. The hearing lasted four days. The Committee placed the amendment asked for in the bill [cost of production amendment]. Later the Senate voted to keep the amendment in the bill.

When the bill went back to the House, the House refused to concur in this particular Senate amendment and it went to a conference. The conference has failed to agree.

Secretary Wallace filed with the conference the Department of Agriculture's protest against the Cost of Production Amendment. . . .

I have shown this remarkable protest of the Secretary's to a number of farmers. Their verdict has been unanimously that it has more inconsistencies than they ever read in a like number of words.

The first thing in Secretary Wallace's protest to which I call your attention, he says the amendment is economically unsound. Such a statement is a reflection on the platform upon which you ran. That platform promised farmers everything possible would be done to secure to them cost of production for their products. I helped write the plank long before the National Democrat Convention. . . . With the understanding that the plank was satisfactory to you the Platform Committee adopted it. I was there; a delegate from my state. Upon the basis of the promise in that plank I went before the farmers of the Nation in one hundred and eight meetings in twelve states; many times broadcasting over nationwide hook-ups. I was in good faith in presenting that plank in every meeting I held. I think the Democrat Party was. I believe you were. But I believe there are those who have kept the facts from you and that is the reason I am writing this letter. We did not consider cost of production economically unsound in the campaign. I can see no reason for doing it now.

The next thing in this remarkable paragraph of the Secretary's to which I call your attention is contained in the same sentence. He says the Cost of Production Amendment would depress rather than increase farm prices. Then a little later on in a sentence he says cost of production would back farm commodities up on the farm. In other words, would make prices so high no one would buy farm products. Absolutely inconsistent and the farmers who saw it caught it at once.

Another inconsistency, he states there is no legislative standard for determining cost of production. In the next sentence he tells about the cost of production figures of the Department. As inconsistent as it is possible for a statement to be. Of course, the Department of Agriculture has a cost accounting department. It has operated for twenty years. Has spent millions of dollars.

So far as I am personally concerned it makes no difference to me. My only object in writing this letter is to do my full duty to you, to the farmers of the Nation and to the political party they have trusted. I am a firm believer in the principles of the Democrat Party as expounded by Jefferson and Jackson, and I hope to always be found doing my part to preserve its integrity.

Very respectfully,
John A. Simpson

May 20, 1933

Dear John:

I have not had an opportunity before this to thank you for your letter of May 6th. I hope you will realize that on Monday, March 6th, I acted in entirely good faith in telling you that probably Congress would be in session only three or four days. Things moved so fast, as you know, that during the next two days it became obvious that other matters had to be taken up to meet the financial and economic crisis.

On the evening of March 8th we tried to locate you, Mr. Taber and Mr. O'Neal. The next day, because many long distance telephones failed to locate you, we asked Congressman Lambertson, the Vice President of the Farmers' Union, to come to the meeting on March 10th, understanding that he was authorized to act in your absence. The Congressman has all these facts.

Very sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

June 5, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

In the last few weeks I have held meetings in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and here in my home state, Oklahoma.

Out of my contact with various groups and interest at these meetings I am convinced there is some improvement in the farm situation. I am also convinced that the thought of inflation is ninety per cent of the cause of this improvement. However, it is my firm belief that unless there is real inflation, instead of just fear of it, improvement will cease and we may even lose the advances we have made. . . .

Your letter to the fifty-four nations, your proclamation putting us off the gold standard and your request for legislation asking for abrogation of the clause in contracts providing for gold payment met with almost unanimous favor among the thinking people of the country. Never recede from these positions you have taken.

Yours respectfully,
John A. Simpson

June 15, 1933

Dear John:

Many thanks for your note.

We are, as you know, having a bad time during the closing days of Congress.

When I get back from my little trip, I hope you will run in and see me.

Sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt

After Roosevelt had been in office six months, Simpson was thoroughly disgusted with the New Deal. In a five page open letter to the President he sharply criticized the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the National Recovery Act, and the lack of what he considered adequate inflation. He also attacked Roosevelt's "brain trust", and the "international bankers." A sense of disappointment char-

acterized this letter of September 14, 1933. The last letter written to Roosevelt by Simpson, at least the last of which there is a copy in the Simpson files, was written about three and one-half months before Simpson died. Until the end he insisted that liberal inflation was the only real way to restore farm prosperity. This letter of November 28, 1933, reads:

Dear Mr. President:

I thank you for your letter of November 15.

I expect to be in Washington the twenty-third of December. When I arrive, shall call your office, and shall be glad to make you a visit.

I just returned from the annual convention of the National Farmers' Union held in Omaha, Nebraska, November 20, 21, and 22. There were members there from thirty-one states. . . .

I heard Governor [Charles] Bryan tell our convention that he took the advice of government agents and shipped one hundred and seventy-five pigs on the theory that this would raise the price of his two hundred pound hogs. He has kept the two hundred pound hogs for the price to raise. Instead of raising, it is one dollar and ten cents per hundred pounds less, and four hundred pound hogs are a second grade hog.

The wolves I am trying to keep off your back are your pretended friends who pat you on your back and tell you things are lovely.

There will never be permanent prosperity in this country until there is a restoration of the volume of a medium of exchange. There is really, at least, fifty billion dollars less of medium of exchange to do business with to-day as compared with May, 1920 when the big bankers ordered deflation.¹¹ Bank deposits are thirty billion less. Money available from building and loan associations is ten billion less. Money available from life insurance companies is ten billion less. Besides in May, 1920, farmers and business men could go to their local banks any day and borrow. This credit they had was a medium of exchange. It has entirely disappeared.

You could do no better thing than to cease issuing interest-bearing bonds, and instead issue full legal tender non-interest-bearing currency when the government needs money.

Mr. President, I assure you there is no man in the United States more anxious to have your administration be a success than I am.

Yours respectfully,
John A. Simpson

JEREMIAH CURTIN IN INDIAN TERRITORY

The portion relating to the Indian Territory in *The Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin*, Joseph Schafer, Editor, has been annotated by Carolyn Thomas Foreman and contributed for publication in *The*

¹¹ Simpson was among the many farm leaders who believed that the Federal Reserve Banks had purposely and maliciously restricted credit in 1920 to the detriment of agriculture.

Chronicles of Oklahoma, through the gracious consent of Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—Editor

Introduction

Jeremiah Curtin, the celebrated linguist and philologist, was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1840; graduated from Harvard in 1863, he became secretary of the United States Legation the following year and acting consul general in Russia from 1865-66. He was actively associated with the Bureau of American Ethnology from 1883 to 1891. He traveled extensively in far parts of the world and is said to have spoken seventy languages. He was a prolific writer and is well known for his translations from the Polish of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* and eight other works. His home was in Bristol, Vermont, and he died in 1906.

The Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin, edited by Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was issued at Madison in 1940, and it would be difficult to find a more fascinating book. Few citizens of Oklahoma know that this distinguished scholar spent some time in the Indian Territory in 1883-84. He went from St. Louis to Muskogee and wrote first of this Creek town, continuing the description of his journey from there.

—Carolyn Thomas Foreman

"Muskogee. . . . at that time was an untidy, tumble-down place. There were no sidewalks and only a few comfortable residences. Mr. Tufts,¹ our Indian agent, lived in a two-story building, but most of the buildings were only one-story high. Among the population were many negroes.

"From Muskogee I went to Okmulgee, the capital of the Creek nation. I made the journey in 'the stage,' a canvas-covered conveyance resembling an emigrant wagon. The ride of forty miles was over an uncultivated plain varied here and there by the bed of a dry creek skirted on either side by a scant growth of timber. In the rainy season a rapid stream runs over these beds. But for these infrequent breaks the whole country would be one vast plain covered with tall, dry grass. Only in three or four places did I see any cultivation.²

"The Half-way house, a three-roomed, log structure, was kept by a negro. The dinner was served in a room which had but one window, and that was very small. The room was usually lighted from the open door, but on this occasion the door was closed, for the wind was blowing; we had to eat in the semi-darkness. But the dinner was good, and in spite of drawbacks, such as darkness, canned milk, and no butter, we enjoyed it.

"In Okmulgee there were two comfortable hotels: the Perryman house and the Coon. I stopped at the Perryman house. The council house of the Creek nation was a large brick building with a bell tower, and a bell to call together the warriors and the kings, the two branches of the government. I went to Okmulgee because council was in session, and it was a good time to get acquainted with the leading politicians of the

¹ John Q. Tufts.

² If Mr. Curtin had made the trip in the spring or early summer he would have seen great varieties of exquisite wild flowers of all colors.

nation. Before we reached the hotel, I met two of my Washington acquaintances, Mr. [George W.] Grayson³—an Indian with only a few drops of Indian blood—and Mr. [Legus C.] Perryman;⁴ and was introduced to Captain [Frederick B.] Sever[s], the leading merchant of the town. Fifteen years earlier he had come from Arkansas, a poor man, with only a few dollars to pay his way. He was now the owner of a big ranch, the largest store in town, and more than half a million of dollars. To become a land-owner he had married an Indian woman.⁵

³ Captain George Washington Grayson, born in 1843 near Eufaula, Oklahoma, was a son of James Grayson and Jennie Wynn, a half-blood Creek Indian. It is claimed that the original name of Grayson was Grierson, which became changed in an unaccountable way. The original member of the Grierson family in this country was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, who married a woman of the Hillabee Town in the Creek Nation; one of their children became grand parent of George W. Grayson. This lad attended Asbury Manual Labor School, near Eufaula, and he was such a brilliant pupil that he was sent by the Creek Nation to Arkansas College at Fayetteville, Arkansas. He enlisted as a private in the Second Creek Volunteers at the beginning of the Civil War, and at nineteen years of age he was captain of Company K which he commanded until the end of the war.

Captain Grayson married Miss Georgiana Stidham, a daughter of George Washington Stidham, one of the most progressive and highly esteemed citizens of the Creek Nation. Grayson served as treasurer of the nation, secretary of the International Council of the tribes, member of the House of Warriors, and delegate many times to Washington.

⁴ Legus [Liguest] Chouteau Perryman, the most influential member of the family, was born at Sodom, in the Creek Nation, March 1, 1838. He was a son of Lewis and Ellen Winslett Perryman, who both emigrated from the eastern nation in Alabama in 1828. Educated at Tullahassee Mission, under the Rev. William Schenck Robertson, Legus was of great assistance in translating the Bible and many hymns into his language. He wrote articles in his language for the *Indian Journal* of Muskogee in 1879, on "Creek finances," "Muskokee's land," which he signed "Lekase." In the same paper in 1881, he published "Book teacher," an article concerning the Rev. W. S. Robertson, who was called by the Creeks "The Teacher." In 1881 he translated the laws of the Creek Nation which were issued in Creek and English by the *Indian Journal*. The most important work done by Legus Perryman was the comprehensive code of the Creek laws in English and Creek, published in 1880.

Legus was twice elected chief of his nation, in 1887 and 1891; according to Dr. Angie Debo in *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), Legus was an able executive. "He had energy, decisiveness, and a keen and logical mind; he wrote his own letters and directed his own administration. . . ." (H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory, Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* [St. Louis, 1892] pp. 105-07; James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskogean Languages* [Washington, 1889], pp. 67, 68.)

⁵ Frederick B. Severs, a native of Washington County, Arkansas, was born August 13, 1835. He was a son of Charles J. Severs of Tennessee and Basima T. Ballard of South Carolina. He received his education at Cane Hill College in Arkansas and worked as a salesman in the store of W. C. Dickson at Fort Gibson before becoming a teacher in the Creek Nation at Asbury Manual Labor School near Eufaula.

Later he engaged in business with H. Shields on the Deep Fork of the Canadian River until the Civil War when he joined Captain Samuel Checote's company as first lieutenant in the Confederate service. In 1863 he was granted citizenship in the Creek tribe, a privilege bestowed on less than half a dozen white men. On September 8, 1869, Captain Severs was married to Miss Annie Anderson, daughter of George Anderson, king (town-chief) of Concharty. He owned a large store in Shieldsville which he later moved to Okmulgee, and in 1884 he opened a store in Muskogee, where he had a home; he also owned a large ranch and a farm where there was a commodious house in a grove of fine trees.

"The following day I spent at the council house where I made the most of my time, for on the morrow the council was to adjourn. A quarrel had arisen, and Grayson and his party had withdrawn to have the dispute settled in Washington. It was a famous day for me. The heated discussions carried on by the Indians and negroes—there were almost as many negro as Indian members in the house of warriors—were immensely interesting. That evening Roberts, an editor from Muskogee,⁶ described to me the conduct of the government and the childish way in which this latest struggle for chief had been conducted. Perryman had been made chief, but he could not keep the office for the majority became dissatisfied and reconsidered the question.⁷

"With the assistance of Grayson and another Creek delegate to Washington, I had learned more or less of the Creek language. I now began to study it seriously. My wife,⁸ and I spent Christmas and New Year's in Okmulgee. At Christmas time the weather was perfect, but the New Year came in with a cold wave, and with wind the Indians said came 'straight from Dakota.' Fortunately, there was plenty of wood. . . . I spent New Year's day burning up wood and reading Creek. . . .

"As soon as a warm day came, I improved it by hiring a team and a driver to take me to Wealaka.⁹ The team, the best the town afforded, was an old two-seated wagon, drawn by a pair of work horses, their harness tied here and there with rags and ropes. . . . During the entire day I saw but six houses. Most of them were off near the horizon, not one was directly on the road. The scenery was monotonous—broad plains with here and there what is called 'bottom,' a dry creek; or, perhaps a little riverlet with timber growing on either bank. Far off a low ridge of hills was visible. There were birds of many kinds and prairie chickens and quails without number. A few miles from Wealaka the road led through a forest of small timber.

"When near the town, it seemed to consist of an imposing brick structure built on a hill, a store at the foot of the hill, and off, almost hidden

⁶ Myron P. Roberts, who was born in Chatham, Columbia County, New York, April 18, 1832, came to the Indian Territory as the correspondent of a Chicago newspaper. In May, 1876, he published the first issue of the *Indian Journal* in Muskogee; on March 15, 1877, the paper was moved to Eufaula after the Muskogee plant had been totally destroyed by fire in December, 1876. Roberts died December 4, 1882, and the printing was carried on by his sons Renfrew M. and Loren H. Roberts.

⁷ In 1894 Perryman was impeached by the House of Warriors. (For further reference, see John Bartlett Meserve, "The Perrymans," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 2, [June, 1937], pp. 166-84.)

⁸ Alma Cardell Curtin.

⁹ Wealaka Mission was established in 1882 when the boarding school was removed from Tullahassee Mission by the Reverend R. M. Loughridge and his wife. The school was housed in a large brick building, was very prosperous and was filled to capacity. There was a church at Wealaka at that time in connection with the mission. In 1883 the Reverend Jeremiah N. Diament and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob P. Whitehead were in charge of the mission (*Historical Sketches of the Missions under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* [Philadelphia, 1886], pp. 25, 26, 33, 36, 37).

by a clump of trees, an unfinished house. We drove to the brick building—the mission school. I introduced myself to the superintendent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Lockridge,¹⁰ and was invited to remain at the mission while in Wealaka. We had supper at the 'family table' with a hundred or more Indian children and their teachers, eleven in number.

"That night I slept on a regulation bed, not even one degree softer than a rock. I did not want to eat breakfast at daylight, as the principal and his teachers did, so in the morning I went to look up a boarding place. The only possible one was at the unfinished house in the clump of trees, the home of Sam Brown, a half-breed Yuchi.¹¹ Both Brown and his wife had been educated at the mission; they spoke English, and he was willing

¹⁰ The Reverend Robert McGill Loughridge was born at Laurensville, South Carolina, December 24, 1809. He was educated at Mesopotamia Academy in Alabama, Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, from which he was graduated in 1837. After which he spent a year at Princeton Theological Seminary, being licensed to preach April 9, 1841. In the autumn of 1841 he was sent by the Presbyterian Board to investigate the situation in the Creek Nation at the request of the Creek agent. He was a recent graduate of Princeton and he rode his horse 600 miles to present a proposition to the Creek council to establish a mission. These Indians were utterly opposed to missions, as they interfered with their dances, ball plays and busks, but young Loughridge prevailed upon the chiefs to allow him to establish a school, provided he confined his preaching to the mission buildings.

Loughridge returned to Alabama and the following February 5, 1843, he returned by steamer with his young bride to the Verdigris Landing in the Creek Nation; they started work in a log cabin in the Coweta settlement. In 1846 the missionary persuaded the Indians to lift the band on his preaching. Loughridge was transferred to the Tullahassee Mission, the largest school in the nation. The principal of this school was the Reverend William Schenck Robertson, who had recently married Ann Eliza Worcester, eldest daughter of the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester of Park Hill Mission. Loughridge and Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson revived John Fleming's language studies and published portions of the Bible, tracts and readers in the Creek language.

Loughridge went to Texas during the Civil War. He was recalled in 1882 to take charge of Wealaka Mission which had a capacity of one hundred pupils. Two years later the missionary resigned to devote himself to preaching and preparing books in the Creek language (Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, [Norman, 1941], pp. 119-121, 147, 308; Pilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-57).

Mr. Loughridge compiled a Creek and English dictionary from various sources while at Wealaka in 1882. The first part, Creek and English, contained about 10,000 words. The English-Creek section contained about 6,500 words (James Constantine Pilling, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

¹¹ Samuel W. Brown, chief of Euchee Town and district judge, was born at Van Buren, Arkansas, in June, 1843. He was the eldest son of S. W. Williams, an officer in the U. S. Army; his mother was a granddaughter of Cussine Barnett, one of the most prominent members of the Euchee tribe of Indians. Mr. Brown took his name from one of the trustees of the school which he attended. He was a student of Tullahassee Mission for six or seven years. After a trip to New Mexico for his health he returned home in 1862 and joined the Union army. In 1866, on his return to the Creek Nation, he married Miss Neosho Porter.

Brown served in the House of Warriors and the House of Kings for many years and in 1882 he became treasurer of the nation. In 1881 he started a mercantile business at Wealaka and carried it on until 1891, when he sold it to Isparhecher (O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89).

to assist me in learning Yuchi. The Yuchi tribe¹² live about six miles from Wealaka. Mr. Brown sent for an old man reputed to be wise, and before evening I had the creation story of the Yuchis, the children of the Sun. As the house was unfinished, the rooms were cold and untidy. At times as many as a dozen Indians sat huddled around the little stove in my room, an unkempt crowd: only love for my work made it possible for me to endure their presence.

"Our nights were made miserable by the squealing of pigs in the open pen just back of the house. The weather was cold, and each one of twenty pigs was trying to get into a warm corner. To this noise was added the howling of Touzer, a poor, mangy dog, whose home was under the house....

"I stayed about a month at Wealaka. I took down a large vocabulary, studied out the grammar, and obtained a few valuable myths. When ready to leave, I found considerable trouble in getting started. There was no stage; the mail was brought either in a light wagon, or by a man on horseback. At last I hired an American, by the name of Kinney, to take us to Muskogee in his freight wagon. In an Indian country all the traveling is done on horseback. The distance from Wealaka to Muskogee is fifty-five miles; we were obliged to spend a night at the Half-way house which was kept by Beams, an old negro.¹³ In the 'sitting room' of the Half-way house was a fireplace where four logs were blazing. There was a bed in the room, a small table, and an organ.

"Overhead were rough, smoke-blackened rafters, but the house was clean and tidy. Beams had been a slave. A few years before the Civil war he arranged to buy his freedom of his master. He was to pay \$1,200. When emancipation came, he had already paid \$600. He knew then that he was free but he was so conscientious that he worked till he paid the last dollar of the twelve hundred. My driver had described the man and place to me so I counted on having an interesting conversation with my colored host. When I entered the sitting room, to my surprise, I saw a white woman sitting by the fire. She rose, introduced herself as Mrs. Carlton, and said that she was glad to see white faces. She told me that she was a missionary, and, with another lady, Mrs. Thorn, was trying to establish a school

¹² The Yuchi have been known by many names and have lived in many places. They are said to have lived on both sides of the Savannah River. Bartram, in 1792, wrote of their relations with the Creek confederacy. He stated that because of their numbers and strength they excited the jealousy of the Muscogulge confederacy, but they were shrewd enough to unite against a common enemy. In 1799 Benjamin Hawkins wrote that the Yuchi "are more civil and orderly than their neighbors, and the women are more chaste, and the men better hunters." In 1836 these Indians were removed with the Creeks to Oklahoma (*Handbook of American Indians*, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., [Washington, 1912], Part 2, pp. 1003-07).

¹³ Abraham Beams, a free Negro living near Fort Towson, Indian Territory, was shot and killed in the spring of 1840, by W. H. Fowler and a party of other white men who crossed the Red River and seized a number of free Negroes. They "carried off seven men, women, and children, all known as the Beams family, some of whom they took from the Creek country." These people had belonged to a man named Beams who went to Illinois and set them free, but John B. Davis of Mississippi claimed them, and Fowler, acting for him, took some of them down Red River. Years of litigation followed and in 1855 testimony was taken in Illinois before Green B. Raum covering the Negroes as far back as 1823. The case had become of great importance and at two terms of court in 1856 judgments for freedom upon the verdicts of juries were rendered in the cases of four of the Negroes, and in February, 1857, a similar judgment was rendered in the case of the remainder of the Beams (Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, [Norman, 1933], pp. 160-62).

in the neighborhood. They had spent several weeks at the Half-way house and had secured the promise of forty colored pupils. Our host had agreed to build a school house for the teachers.

"During the evening Mrs. Thorn played, and the old negro sang several church songs which, with rich voice and queer negro pronunciation, pleased me immensely. I remember with what power of lungs he brought out the words, 'Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing' and 'Tis the Old Ship Zion.' Though a devout church member he had the superstitions of his race. . . .

"To add to the entertainment of the evening, Kinney, my driver, gave a sketch of his life. From the time he was ten years old till he was sixteen he worked as cabin boy on a vessel which plied between New York and South American ports. When seventeen, his grandfather died and left him a fortune. Then came the Civil war, and his guardian invested the money in army supplies. When he was of age, he received \$75,000. He went to Chicago, invested the money in a wholesale clothing store and succeeded. He married a niece of Bob Ingersoll and expected soon to become a millionaire. Then came the great fire, and everything he had was consumed. The company he was insured in paid only a few cents on the dollar. His wife died. He wandered around for a few years, then married again, and came to the Indian Territory. He did not like the country and did not prosper. (A year later while hunting, Kinney accidentally shot and killed his only son, whom he almost idolized.)

"Early the next morning we were jogging along in the freight wagon. In traveling through that beautiful country the mystery was where the people lived, for there were very few houses to be seen. In riding a hundred and twenty miles we did not pass a dozen teams although we were all the time on the highway between Muskogee and Okmulgee. We reached Muskogee late in the afternoon. The wind was so cold and the journeys with horses were so long and wearisome that I decided to go to Seneca, [Newton County] Missouri, and work with the Choctaw [?] and Modoc Indians¹⁴ living on the Quapaw reservation near that town and return to the heart of the territory when the weather was more favorable.

"On the way to Seneca I spent a day at Burn's hotel in Vinita. Though the best hotel in the town, the rooms were so small that I had to get into my sleeping room and sit down on the bed in order to shut the door; the 'sitting room' was parlor, sitting room, and wash room all in one. In Seneca 'the best hotel in town' was so wretchedly dirty, flies were so plentiful, and food so poor that after a few days I secured board at the agency farm and a room in the house of Mr. Watson, a Quaker missionary.¹⁵

"Mr. Dyer,¹⁶ the agent, was away, but Mr. Williams,¹⁷ his assistant, went for Indians supposed to know a good deal 'about the old time.' Scar Face

¹⁴ The Modoc Indians were moved to Indian Territory in 1873 from their former home in southwestern Oregon.

¹⁵ John M. Watson and his wife Eliza were missionaries of the Society of Friends. In 1886 they were at the Hillside Mission, and in 1887 they were teaching at the Modoc School. (Floyd E. Miller, "Hillside Mission," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926), p. 226.)

¹⁶ D. B. Dyer served as Indian agent at the Quapaw, Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies. He was a native of Illinois and was appointed from Kansas.

¹⁷ Gilbert D. Williams was born in New York and appointed clerk at the Quapaw Agency on August 13, 1880.

Charley¹⁸ and Anna Long-John came. I decided that there were myths to be had, but the first thing was to get a vocabulary and a working knowledge of the language. I discovered at once that harmony was lacking in the official circle. This situation was decidedly unpleasant. I found it was best to see as little as possible of the government officials, then I could not be accused of favoring either party.

"There were 26 Modoc families on the reservation, in all 102 souls. The older ones, those supposed to have been connected with the murder of General [E. R. S.] Canby¹⁹ and Dr. [Eleazar] Thomas²⁰ in 1873, had been brought to the Quapaw agency in chains. They were discontented and homesick; they wanted to go back to Oregon, 'to the place where the world was created.' I had been on the reservation only a few days when I found among this exiled remnant of the Modoc tribe, a most remarkable person; Ko-a-lak'-ak-a (Hard Working Woman), a woman who had in her mind all the lore her people possessed a hundred years ago. She was the daughter and granddaughter of a chief and when a child her grandfather taught her the wisdom of the Modocs. She had a wonderful memory. Though she was no longer young and her health was poor, she was willing to give me the myths and beliefs of her tribe. She had more stories in her head than I dreamed it possible for any one to learn and keep without aid of books.

"Ko-a-lak'-ak-a and Norel-putis, a Wintu Indian,²¹ I consider the most remarkable persons I have ever met. Both possessed mental power of the first quality. All the lore of the Wintus would have been lost had I not met Norel-putis in the autumn of 1884. Very little of the Modoc mythology would have been saved had I not found Ko-a-lak'-ak-a. Both were of the old-time Indians; neither one of them spoke English.

"I spent thirty days, from seven in the morning till six in the afternoon, taking down what Ko-a-lak'-ak-a told me. My evenings were occupied in learning the Modoc language, studying out its construction, and getting a vocabulary. Meanwhile I had to endure many hardships which could have been easily avoided had the agency been under the control of the proper officials. But I counted hardships as nothing compared with the treasure which I was obtaining. The Modocs were at that time quiet, and for Indians, they were industrious. They tried, however, to keep up their customs and in that way caused the agent annoyance.

¹⁸ Scarface Charley, a celebrated Modoc warrior known as a connection of Captain Jack, or Kintpuash. He was run over by a mail stage when a child and received the injuries which caused his name. It has been said that he was a Rogue River Indian and that he joined Captain Jack prior to the war of 1873, when he was twenty-two years old. The Reverend Thomas, who was killed in the peace commission massacre, called Scarface Charley the "Leonidas of the lava-beds." He was never known to commit any act not authorized by the laws of legitimate warfare. He was sent with the Modoc prisoners of war to the Quapaw agency where he died about December 3, 1896.

¹⁹ General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby, a native of Kentucky, was appointed to the Military Academy in 1835 and was graduated in 1839. He had a distinguished career in the Mexican War where he was brevetted for gallantry and meritorious conduct at Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco and Belen Gate of Mexico City. He served all through the Civil War and was wounded by guerrillas on White River, Arkansas, November 4, 1864. While engaged in a peace conference near Van Bremmer's ranch in California he was murdered by Modocs on April 11, 1873.

²⁰ Eleazar Thomas, D. D., of the California Conference, was Presiding Elder of the Methodist Church in Petaluma, California, circuit.

²¹ Wintum, one of the two divisions of the Copen family of Indians. Their territory was in northern California. They were called the most interesting of the California Indians.

"The summer before I was there a woman died, and, following a Modoc custom, her family burned all of her clothing and several blankets. When winter came and the blankets were needed, the agent was forced to draw on government for new ones. The Modocs still shave and tar their heads when a relative dies. From change of climate deaths are frequent. They mourn for their 'own country' (near the lave beds of Oregon) where each mountain, valley, and lake has a story and is connected with the religion and mythology of their tribe.

"Toward the end of March I went to Tulsa, Indian Territory. In that little out-of-the-way town I met a Russian from Moscow and had the pleasure of again speaking and hearing a language which, for me, is one of the most melodious in the world. . . .

"On my second arrival in Wealaka, Mr. Porter,²² an educated Creek Indian (two-thirds [sic!] white), said if I would spend a few days at his house, he would read Creek with me and explain, as well as he could, its grammatical construction. This I was glad to do. Porter owned a large tract of land. While I was at his house, he set fire to the dry grass of the previous summer to make ready for fresh grass. I think that he and I enjoyed that burning as much as we would had we been boys. One evening we set fire to the grass around a belt of timber which he wished to fell. It was a fine sight to watch the fire creep to the top of the trees, to see it blaze, and to hear it crackle. . . .

"After my pleasant visit at Mr. Porter's house, I went to Yuchi to finish a vocabulary of the Yuchi language and get as many myths and traditions

²² Pleasant Porter, the most distinguished member of the Creek tribe, was born September 26, 1840, about twelve miles from Muskogee where Clarksville is now located. He was the son of Benjamin Edward Porter and Phoebe, a daughter of Tha-lo-pee Tust-e-nuk-kee. His grandfather was Captain John Snodgrass Porter of Norristown, Pennsylvania. During a dark period of the Muskogean Confederation Captain Porter proved such a true friend of the Indians that they made him a member of the tribe. He had acted as mediator after the massacre of Fort Mimms and saved a great part of the tribe from a bloody reprisal. Captain Porter entered the regular army in 1799 and was honorably discharged June 1, 1802.

Thomas S. Woodward, in his *Reminiscences*, wrote that Captain "John S. Porter . . . with a few Creeks of the McIntosh party in Arkansas, visited California and went up the Pacific coast to the Columbia river, and returned by the way of Salt Lake. . . ." On his return he wrote Woodward that on the head waters of the Colorado of the West, he found a small remnant of the original Musqua. They spoke mostly a broken Spanish dialect, but still retained much of their old language and old family customs. They gave much the same account of being driven from their homes that Woodward had learned from the Creeks.

At the age of ten Pleasant Porter entered Tullahassee Mission where he remained five or six years. At the outbreak of the Civil War young Porter enlisted and he was mustered out at the close of the conflict as a first lieutenant. He was school superintendent of his nation and served twelve years on the Creek council; for four years he was presiding officer of the Upper House. During thirteen sessions of congress Porter was a delegate to Washington and during serious trouble among the Creeks when adjustment was made to a different form of government he was always active.

"Mr. Porter was commissioned a general by the council, and to him largely belongs the merit of putting down these insurrections with but little bloodshed." General Porter was remarkably well read and had great ability as an orator. In September, 1899, he was elected chief of his nation; he died at Vinita September 3, 1907 (Pilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72; O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-64; D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* [New York, 1901], pp. 203-06; John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Pleasant Porter," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 3 [September, 1931], pp. 318-34).

as possible.²³ There was no hotel. The only room I could find was in the house of one Thomas Crow. The weather was fine, and we could work outside, but at night five persons shared our room. The first morning a hen insisted on coming in. I wondered at her tameness, but it was explained when Crow put a nest egg on each bed. During the morning three hens laid in turn, an egg on the bed I had occupied the preceding night. I was glad, however, to learn that the Yuchis living on Pole-Cat creek knew more about the old time than did those around Yuchi.

"The Pole-Cat Yuchis lived near the highway between Yuchi and the Sac and Fox agency; the nearest town was thirty miles away. I stopped at the Half-way house. It was the best place to send for Indians or go to them, and it was also the only place for miles around where I could get lodging and board. The house belonged to Tiger Jack, a Yuchi. He owned a large tract of excellent land and might have been rich had he not been lazy and intemperate.²⁴

"The 'hotel with accommodations for man and beast,' I found to be two log houses chinked with mud; each house a small unplastered room. In one was a fireplace where all the cooking was done. There was a bed in the room, a table of home manufacture, four or five trunks—piled one upon another, and a cupboard. At night a piece of braided cloth in a saucer of liquid lard served for a light. The other house contained a bed, a stove, a small table, an oil lamp, and a few chairs, which three times a day were carried to the kitchen. We occupied the second house but not alone. At night several persons slept on the floor near our bed. It was a broad bed, and on it was a tick in which there was a small quantity of straw. We spent several nights at Tiger Jack's house but we did not undress, nor did we sleep much, for there were rats in the room, and occasionally one jumped onto the bed. I stayed to finish a vocabulary and to take down some valuable myths.

"One afternoon I went to the Yuchi planting festival, a ball game, in which women as well as men take part, and a night dance in the open air. The ball game and the dance were both interesting. The dancing began after dark. A great fire was built, and the Indians threw off their blankets and, almost naked, danced around the fire. It was a weird sight. The dancers got so excited, and so many of them had been drinking that their wild whoops made us somewhat uneasy, especially as one of the younger Indians had suggested that I might be a government spy. At the end of the dance we had an alarming experience.

"Tiger Jack drove us to the dance in a lumber wagon drawn by two spirited horses. His wife, and the teacher of the Yuchi school, Mrs. Curtin, and myself were passengers. The ride was pleasant. We forded a large river and then went on through the quiet country, the horses hoofs making

²³ Yuchi or Euchee. Although the Yuchi form a part of the Creek Nation they are the remnant of a dispersed or conquered tribe. Their language is entirely different from the Creek or any other on the Western Continent. Many of the Yuchis have grey eyes, and their complexion is several shades lighter than full bloods of other nations. Some of the women are noted for their beauty.

According to Albert Gallatin the Euchee language is "the most guttural, uncouth, and difficult to express with the English alphabet of any known tongue among the American Indians. Even the Creeks cannot learn it, although the Eucheas speak the Creek language with apparent readiness." (Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* [Edinburgh, 1934], Vol. 3, p. 77; O'Beirne, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

²⁴ Tiger Jack's farm was ten miles northwest of Sapulpa. He owned another farm two miles southwest of Kellyville.

almost no noise on the soft road. I enjoyed the ball game and the dance. About ten o'clock in the evening, I had seen what I wished to. I had talked with many of the Indians and was ready to go home. Tiger Jack's wife and the teacher were also ready, but Jack had been drinking and was unwilling to leave congenial company. For two hours we used our persuasive powers to induce him to change his mind, but in vain.

"At last I suggested taking the horses and letting him remain until morning. This roused him, and he decided to drive his own team; so we started. Everything went well for a time, then Jack began to urge the horses. Soon they were going through the woods and across the prairie at a full gallop, and we had to hold to the sides of the wagon to keep from being bounced out. We were afraid of hitting a tree, stump, or rock, and being thrown from the wagon and killed. No matter what we said, the drunken driver was deaf to our words. We feared the river for we thought there was danger of being thrown into the water and drowned. Down the bank we went into the river at full speed, Out, and up the bank! On we raced. Several times I tried to get the reins from the crazed man but could not. When at last the horses reached the house, they stopped so suddenly that the jolt was terrific.

"The key to the house was in Jack's pocket, but for more than an hour he hunted for it. His wife dare not speak to him for fear he would strike her. The wind was blowing, and the night air was very chilly. Just when we had determined to break in the door, Jack found the key, and I was fortunate enough to induce him to let me try it in the lock, to see if it was really the right key.

"April 18. After a long ride over hills, through brooks, and across prairies I reached the Sac and Fox agency.²⁵ It was quite a little village; there was a hotel, a store, and a mission school, as well as a church. The agent occupied a large brick house. The Indians lived outside the agency from 3 to 15 miles. It was about 60 miles to the railroad; a stage line went to Kansas City, 140 miles away.

"In this cattle country there was never any fresh meat used; the taste of beef, veal, and mutton was unknown—the cattle were sold and driven away. No one had energy to fatten cattle. Salt meat, mainly pork, was the 'staff of life' there. What little butter was used came from Kansas City.

"There were no bridges in the country. Whenever there was rain and the rivers were swollen, everyone who was traveling had to wait for them to run down. Consequently, there were many vexatious delays. While I was at the agency, we did not get mail for three weeks; the rivers were so high that it was impossible to cross them. Quakers traveling and converting Indians were weather-bound and turned their attention to agency people, so there was some excitement. The Indian work was interesting. The Sac and Fox Indians were secretive. It is difficult to obtain any of their traditions. I learned their language and took down a vocabulary, and got a

²⁵ Sac and Fox Agency was located on Deep Fork of the Canadian, across the line west from the Creek Nation. J. V. Carter was the agent in 1883. On July 1, 1884, Issac A. Taylor issued his first report. This agency embraced the Sac and Foxes, Iowas, Mexican Kickapoos, Absentee Shawnees, Citizen Pottawatomies and 240 Otoes, 200 Black Bobs and 140 Indians belonging to other tribes, amounting in all to 2,659 souls.

The Sac and Fox Manual Labor School accommodated about forty pupils. The buildings were of brick. The boarding house for students had some frame additions which the agent reported as almost uninhabitable. Chief Keokuk was the only chief on the agency who had adopted Christianity and civilization.

number of myths, but this required several weeks, for I had to gain the confidence of the tribe.

"From the Sac and Fox agency I went to the Kickapoo Station.²⁶ The Kickapoos are blanket Indians. I have often seen them naked except for a short, loose shirt, and a breechclout. They are bright, intelligent men. One old, blind man gave me a wonderfully beautiful myth of the months.

"At the end of June I was in Wewoka,²⁷ crossing rivers in dugouts, some of which had to be bailed continually and were risky affairs; but the Indians had considerable information to give me, and I did not value the risks I took.

"In August I went to the Quapaw agency²⁸ and worked with the Wyandot Indians. The heat was intense, often 102 in the shade. Ill from overwork, I decided to go to Washington and then to Vermont for a rest. Three weeks in Vermont and a week in Montreal. . . . passed quickly. Then, well and strong, I returned to Washington ready to resume field work."

MEETING OF NORTHERN DISTRICT AND TULSA COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATIONS

On February 27, 1948, an event of great historical interest took place in the City of Tulsa. The Bar of Tulsa County and that of the Northern District of Oklahoma met in the Federal Court Building in that City to pay honor to two eminent Federal Judges, Judge Royce H. Savage, present Judge of the Northern District of Oklahoma and Judge Franklin E. Kennamer, Judge of the Northern District of Oklahoma, retired.

Mr. John M. Wheeler, eminent attorney of Tulsa, set forth the purpose of the assembly when he said, "It will be the purpose of this meeting to properly dedicate and present portraits of these gentlemen, and to have those portraits accepted by the United States Government, to whom the portraits are being presented."

This unique movement had its origin some few years before when a committee having as its chairman, Mr. W. E. Green, and members of the committee, Mr. Wash E. Hudson, Mr. Byron Boone, Mr. Howard L. Smith, Mr. Lloyd Owen, Mr. Sam Boorstin, Mr. Villard Martin, Mr. John Rogers, and Mr. Claude H. Rosenstein, determined to carry out this program.

²⁶ President Chester A. Arthur, August 15, 1883, ordered the following described tract of country be set apart for the permanent use and occupation of the Kickapoo Indians: "Commencing at the southwest corner of the Sac and Fox Reservation; thence north along the western boundary of said reservation to the Deep Fork of the Canadian River; thence up said Deep Fork to the point where it intersects the Indian meridian; thence south along said Indian meridian to the North Fork of the Canadian River; thence down said river to the place of beginning. . . ."

²⁷ Wewoka, capital of the Seminole Nation.

²⁸ The Quapaw Agency is in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. In 1884 there were 284 Wyandot Indians living at this agency. All of them wore citizens' dress, 250 spoke English, 175 were able to read.

Of all the leaders of the Tulsa Bar, and one who perhaps had more to do with the development and consummation of this tribute to Judges Savage and Kennamer than any other man, Mr. W. E. Green, told the story of this movement and ended his witty and inspiring address with the words, "We present to the government of the United States these two portraits to honor these two splendid Judges, hoping that the hearts of coming generations may be moved in tribute to them as our hearts pay them profound respect and reverence on this day."

After his address Mr. Green presented the portraits of Judges Savage and Kennamer after which time they both made eloquent responses.

Chairman Wheeler then introduced the distinguished artist who painted the two portraits, Dr. Joseph Sigall of the City of Tulsa.

At this time, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was introduced as the speaker of the occasion. Dr. Evans accented his address with the relation of art to history. So far as Oklahoma was concerned, he believed that a happy and profitable precedent was being set forth by the legal fraternity placing the portraits of the Judges of the United States in the Federal Building at Tulsa.

C. E.

OKLAHOMA RECEIVES A GIFT FROM THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

A stone from the House of Commons, London England, "Mother of Parliaments", has been presented to Governor Roy J. Turner in the Blue Room of the Capitol, by Mr. Wallace,* representing Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts, and Eric Gordon Underwood, of England, through the American and British Commonwealth Association, a society founded by citizens of the United States to foster an understanding of British history and institutions. This gift was received by Doctor Charles Evans, Secretary, in behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The gift is a fragment of stone in a case about 2 feet high, 1 foot broad, 4 inches deep, framed in mahogany and suitable for

* Alderman, Lambeth Burough Council; Assistant Secretary Union of Post-office Workers; born Sept. 11, 1889; married Margaret Gardiner; one son; educated in public elementary schools; M. P. Laborite from East Watham Stowe.

hanging in a prominent position in the Oklahoma Historical Society's building. Such gifts are being made to the Federal government and to other states and commonwealths.

This stone was once a part of the House of Commons which was wrecked by German bombs on May 10, 1941. It is expected to serve as a memorial to the common heritage of English speaking people. Contributions to our freedom were made by British forefathers through representative government, Magna Carta, habeas corpus, the Bill of Rights, trial by jury, and the common law.

In his remarks made during the meeting in the Blue Room when this historic stone was presented to the State, Justice Fletcher S. Riley, State Supreme Court, stated in part:

As a result of this mission on the part of the Honorable Harry Wright Wallace, a commoner and member of the British Parliament, we are to be assured that so long as the British Parliament endures, the Congress and Legislatures within the republic, commonwealths, and states of America may endure. So long as these exist, ours will be inspired by the achievements of the "Mother of Parliaments." The principal achievement is free government.

The right of free government or self-determination was an objective of Woodrow Wilson, stated as a part of his Fourteen Points. That principle was again enunciated in Atlantic Charter, agreed upon at the advent of World War II by representatives of two great English-speaking nations.

It is worthy of note that Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points were reduced to seven points in the Atlantic Charter and that the Atlantic Charter constitutes a bilateral agreement. It was the product of the great minds of Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt.

The Atlantic Charter, however, was not entirely original. Its spirit and purpose were the same as that of the Magna Carta, habeas corpus, Bill of Rights, and the common law of England.

Some say the British government is without a written Constitution such as that brought about in America as a result of the Revolutionary War and extended by the framers and adopted by a people within the State of Oklahoma.

But the sum total of these great documents in England constitutes their frame of government as well as guaranties of individual rights and liberties.

To know and appreciate written Constitutions of our State and Federal government, the officer and citizen in America must be inspired by the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race.

RECENT ACCESSION TO THE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL HALL

The formal presentation of the Doctor George R. Tabor collection of Confederate Memorabilia was held in the Confederate Memorial Hall on March 8, 1948. Major Edmund Wiles, U. S. Army retired, of Little Rock, Arkansas, made the presentation address. This valuable collection was made possible through the kindness of Mrs. Tabor

and the General Stonewall Jackson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Oklahoma City, of which she is a member. The Tabor Collection is now on exhibit in the Confederate Memorial Hall in the Historical Building.

IN MEMORIAM
OKLAHOMA PRESS ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

The following list of members of the Oklahoma Press Association who have died since June, 1947, was received through the courtesy of Nadene Hahn, Secretary, Department of Journalism, the University of Oklahoma, at the request of Tom Rucker, Secretary-Manager of the Oklahoma Press Association:

- Harold E. Grimes, age, 56 (born, 1891), vice president of station KOME, Tulsa; former Ardmoreite manager, died June 12, 1947.
- Jesse L. Day, age, 67 (born, 1880), founder of *Wewoka Daily Times*, died June 17, 1947.
- T. W. Maher, age, 66 (born, 1881), former editor of *El Reno Daily Democrat*, services, July 23, 1947.
- William H. Watkins, age, 80 (born, 1867), former editor at Ringwood, Helena, Goltry, died, August 9, 1947.
- Carlton Weaver, age, 66 (born, 1881), former publisher of *Latimer County News-Democrat*, died, August 17, 1947.
- Kirk E. Latta, age, 46 (born, 1901), former city editor of *The Tulsa World*, died October 14, 1947.
- Alonzo G. Sechrist, age, 92 (born, 1855), editor in Colorado but we have no record of his having been one since coming to Oklahoma, died October 17, 1947.
- Arch W. Walker, age, 54 (born, 1893), former employe of *Durant Daily Democrat*, died, October 14, 1947.
- Fred Chapman Knapp, age, 72 (born, 1875), founder of *Depew Independent*, died October 15, 1947.
- George E. Tinker, age, 79 (born, 1868), former publisher of *Osage Weekly* at Pawhuska, died, October 30, 1947.
- J. Edwin Pool, age, 64 (born, 1883), former managing editor of *Chickasha Express*, died, November 9, 1947.
- Charles L. Wilson, age, 79 (born, 1861), publisher of *Alfalfa County News*, Cherokee, died, November 14, 1947.
- Jay W. Anderson, age, 36 (born, 1911), former employe of *Talihina American*, died, November 20, 1947.
- Charles F. Twyford, age, 71 (born, 1876), Oklahoma City printer, died, November 23, 1947.
- Mark L. Goodwin, age, 76 (born, 1871), onetime Oklahoma City reporter for *The Dallas News*, died, November 23, 1947.
- Elmer E. Brown, age, 86 (born, 1861), former president of Times-Journal Publishing Co., Oklahoma City, died, December 1, 1947.
- A. P. Harris, age, 75 (born, 1872), McAlester; former Kansas editor, died, December 4, 1947.
- Joseph E. Bailey, age and date of birth not available, circulation manager of Newspaper Printing Corp., Tulsa, died, December 8, 1947.
- Mrs. Elva Shartel Ferguson, age, 77 (born, 1870), former publisher of *Watonga Republican*, died, December 18, 1947.
- B. Frank Herring, age and date of birth not available, former Oklahoma City AP bureau chief, died, December 16, 1947.
- Frank Shatzel, age, 70 (born, 1877), one time publisher of *Slick Spectator* and *Cromwell News*, died, December 12, 1947.

- L. C. McMerrick, age, 73 (born, 1874), former photo-engraving superintendent of Oklahoma Publishing Co., died, December 21, 1947.
- William O. Troutt, age, 77 (born, 1871), former publisher of *Spiro Gazette*, died January 29, 1948.
- Walter W. Sevier, age, 56 (born, 1892), employe of Oklahoma Publishing Co., died, January 28, 1948.
- William J. Farrell, age and date of birth not available, editor of the Tulsa department of *Southwest Courier*, died, February 3, 1948.
- O. E. McAfee, age, 54 (born, 1894), *Oklahoma Advertiser*, died, February 13, 1948.
- A. E. Barrow, age, 75 (born, 1873), former publisher of *Okemah Herald*, died, February 13, 1948.
- John H. Sorrells, age, 52 (born, 1896), former reporter on *The Daily Oklahoman*, died, February 25, 1948.
- Percy S. Walker, age and date of birth not available, member of early Oklahoma City printing firms, died, February, 1948.
- James N. Squiers, age, 62 (born, 1886), publisher of *Wynnewood Gazette*, died, March 3, 1948.
- Colonel Robert LaMunyon, age, 47 (born, 1901), former publisher of *Konawa Leader*, died, March 19, 1948.
- James W. Rice, age, 86 (born, 1862), associate of Rice Printing Co., Tulsa, died, March 23, 1948.
- Wallace R. Johnson, age, 33 (born, 1915), former Oklahoma City reporter, died, March, 1948.
- Fred Martin Hurst, age, 75 (born, 1873), former Oklahoma City printer, died, April, 1948.

IN MEMORIAM OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEMBERS

From June 1, 1946 to June 1, 1948, death has taken from the membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the following:

Life Members: Rabbi Joseph Blatt, Oklahoma City, August 6, 1946; Father Gregory Gerrr, Shawnee, August 24, 1946; Mrs. Bertha O. Meek, Ponca City, March 30, 1948; Alger Melton, Chickasha, December 12, 1947; Dr. William T. Shafer, Oklahoma City, April 26, 1948; Judge Robert L. Williams, Durant, April 10, 1948.

Honorary Life Member: Hon. Robert L. Owen, Washington, D. C., July 19, 1947.

Annual Members: Mrs. Robert C. Coffy, Muskogee, December 4, 1947; Fred E. Cooper, Tulsa, February, 1948; W. H. Ebey, Ada, January 19, 1947; Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson, Watonga, December 17, 1947; E. D. Hicks, Tahlequah, February 9, 1947; Claude S. Hill, Oklahoma City, July 16, 1946; James F. Holden, Kansas City, Mo., May 12, 1946; Dr. Isaac Wayne Hooper, Norman, August 25, 1946; Dee Paradis Jackson, Mangum, March 9, 1948; Charles O. Johnson, Durant, August 25, 1947; W. M. Malone, Vinita, February 22, 1948; Mrs. Flora A. McCroskey, Oklahoma City, December 7, 1947; Quincy Mitchell, Durant, August 10, 1946; Merrill A. Nelson, Salina, October 26, 1947; R. R. Owens, Oklahoma City, January 18, 1946; Mrs. Ed L. Peckham, Blackwell, October 14, 1947; Mrs. Camille A. Phelan, Oklahoma City, July 28, 1946; Jess G. Read, Oklahoma City, July 20, 1946; Mrs. Donnelley Reid, Oklahoma City, June 29, 1946; John Rogers, Oklahoma City, June 17, 1946; Lt. Col. Harland F. Seeley, Joplin, Mo., September, 1947; Ludwig Schmidt, Bartlesville, July 23, 1947; O. L. Slane, Oklahoma City, August 22, 1946; Perry E. Waid, Waurika, January 21, 1946; Mrs. Estelle Chisholm Ward, Oklahoma City, December 9, 1946.

QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FOR JULY, 1948 NOT HELD

It will be observed that the Minutes of the quarterly meeting usually found in each issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, are not included in this, the Autumn issue, Vol. XXVI, No. 3. This is due to the fact that no quarterly meeting was held by the Directors of the Society in July, 1948.

The Executive Committee and the associate Legislative and Budget Committee met on July 8, 1948 and voted to have the Secretary notify the members of the Board of Directors that due to many of the members being away on vacation and the recent meeting of the Board in Guthrie, May 26, 1948, they recommended that no meeting be held in July. The Secretary so notified each member of the Board.

C. E.

NECROLOGY

WILLIAM M. MALONE

1866-1948

No better tribute can be paid in life than that given William M. Malone by the men associated with him in business, in these words:

"His life was one of unstinted and unselfish duty, marked by honest fidelity, just dealing, and honesty of purpose, with himself and others.

"Beyond his high achievements as a Savings and Loan man, Mr. Malone's true greatness lay in the way he lived his life. His wise counsel, his good example, and his generous contribution of time and effort to the welfare of the association which he loved, have left an indelible impression on the minds and hearts of his many close friends and associates in and out of his business circle, who will long hold him in happy memory."

Mr. Malone was born on July 24, 1866 in Jackson, Ohio and at the age of six years moved with his parents to Warrensburg, Missouri. His father, the Reverend S. M. Malone, a Methodist minister, was accompanied on this trip by eight families, all members of his church. The trip was made by covered wagons and many were the exciting experiences of that journey. One was the ferrying across the Mississippi River just below the place where the Eads Bridge now stands.

William M. Malone was married at West Plains, Missouri, to Miss Sadie E. Ritchey, only daughter of Reverend and Mrs. J. W. Ritchey, the former a minister of the Presbyterian church. He often stated that she was the greatest blessing he had ever enjoyed, and that she contributed most to making his home life happy. No children were born to them, but they reared a number of orphans and later adopted twin daughters, Nancy Henrieta and Mary Virginia when they were three days old.

After finishing the public schools, Mr. Malone was graduated from Spaulding Commercial College at Kansas City, and later matriculated in the Warrensburg Teachers College and then taught four years in Johnson and Lafayette Counties. Teaching, however, was not in his line, so with the assistance of a friend, he bought out the *Johnson County Union*, a weekly publication. After a year, he sold that paper and entered the newspaper brokerage business, buying and selling newspaper plants in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kentucky, Alabama, Arkansas and Oklahoma. He sold his interest in the brokerage company to his associates and accepted a position as Deputy Labor Commissioner of the State of Missouri, during the administration of Governor Lon V. Stephens. At the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Malone visited a number of different states, and decided that Texas offered greater opportunities in a business way than any other.

At Laredo, he met up with a congenial stranger, who relieved him of four hundred dollars in cash; he then had to wire home for money. As soon as he was financially staked, he started for Kansas City. When he arrived at Muskogee, he overheard one of the passengers say to another, "That little town of Vinita is going to be the best town in Oklahoma." He



WILLIAM M. MALONE

stopped off at this place October 12, 1908, and decided to cast his lot with the good people there.

The two trunk railroad lines caught his eye and he, too, had a vision of a great future for Vinita. The day after his arrival, he dropped into the International Bank and Trust Company and became acquainted with J. W. Orr, the President of the bank, who was a great booster for his town. In the course of the conversation, Mr. Malone told of his interest in newspaper work, so it was decided that he would start a magazine devoted to the insuring of deposits in banks. This magazine was dedicated as the *Bank Deposit Guarantee Journal*, published as a monthly, with a thousand copies in the first issue. Mr. Malone was backed in this enterprise by some of the leading bankers of the State and many took stock in his publication. This work brought him to the attention of the Haskell administration, and he was appointed State Building and Loan Supervisor.

In 1912, he was appointed to the same position by Governor Cruce and while serving in that capacity, was author of Senate Bill No. 158, which revised and strengthened the building and loan laws of the state. In 1910, there were only three of these associations, but under the new law they doubled within a year. One of the leading building and loan men of Oklahoma City once said, "Mr. Malone is not an auditor nor a bookkeeper, but an earnest and conscientious promoter."

Building and loan associations within the next five years became the most prosperous of any west of the Mississippi River. At Atlantic City, New Jersey, Mr. Malone was elected President of the National Association of Building and Loan Examiners, and had the honor of being a member of the reception committee that welcomed Woodrow Wilson, then Governor of New Jersey, as speaker to the Association. The following year Mr. Malone presided at the meeting of the Association in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the United Savings and Loan League and served in that capacity for twelve years.

He resigned this office in 1914 to take charge of the Vinita Building and Loan Association, now the Phoenix Federal Savings and Loan Association. During this time he organized the Oklahoma State Building and Loan League and was its President for five years. During the year of 1914, he was called to Dallas, Texas to assist in the organization of the Texas Building and Loan League, and at this meeting, he gave the principal address. He was considered an outstanding authority on building and loan affairs and assisted in the organization of many associations in the states of Oklahoma, Texas and Arkansas. At Bartlesville in 1913, he was awarded a gold watch in recognition of his service to the building and loan cause, and in 1930, the Oklahoma Building and Loan League in convention in Tulsa, presented him with a plaque in recognition of thirty years of meritorious service.

In 1941, an award of Merit Certificate was presented to him by the Vinita Chamber of Commerce for outstanding contributions to the Community in the improvement of Fairview Cemetery and general charities in Vinita, serving three years as Chairman of United Charities in Vinita.

Prominent in educational and fraternal work, he was for eight years a member of the Board of Regents of the Junior State College at Miami, Oklahoma. When Jack Walton was elected Governor of the State, he fired the entire Board and appointed a new one. Not long after Governor Walton was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Martin E. Trapp, the old board was re-appointed. For ten years Mr. Malone was Chairman of the Board, presiding in the absence of the State Superintendent of Public Education,

who was Ex-Officio Chairman; he was also a member of the Board of Regents of Tulsa University for seven years.

For many years, Mr. Malone was active in the development of the Odd Fellow Homes at Checotah and Carmen, Oklahoma and practically directed the management of those two institutions. He also assisted in the organization of the Odd Fellow Endowment Fund, and as a member of its Board for a number of years contributed much to its success.

William M. Malone died on February 22, 1948, and funeral services were held Tuesday afternoon, February 24, at three o'clock at the First Methodist Church of Vinita, with Reverend Dwight Hunt officiating. Burial was made in Fairview Cemetery, Vinita.

He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. W. V. Rowe (Nancy Henrieta) of Vinita, and the former Mary Virginia Malone, now a nun at Lansdale, Pennsylvania; three sisters, Mrs. Lydia V. Rowe of the home, Mrs. Margaret Harris and Mrs. Daisy Harris, both of Slater, Missouri; three grandchildren, John William, Nancy Virginia and Linda Elizabeth Rowe; four nieces and four nephews.

A faithful citizen and a good man has passed from Earth and left behind an influence that will not die.

By Charles Evans

Oklahoma Historical Society

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

Winter, 1948-49



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POSTMASTER—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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TWO MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FRONTIERS

*By Edward Everett Dale**

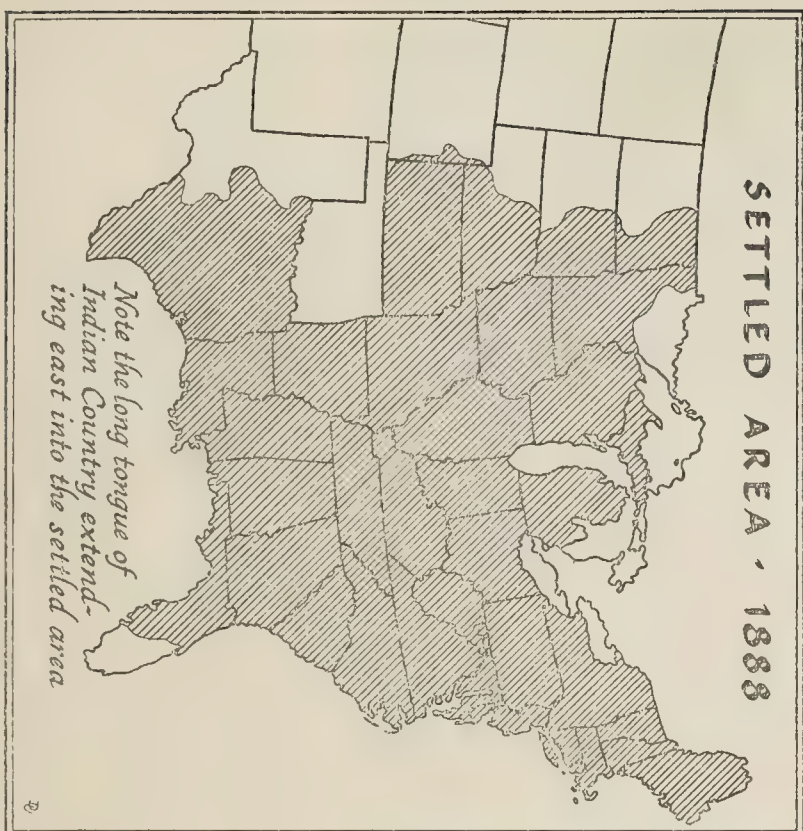
In recent years we have heard much of the "American Way of Life." Those who use that expression must be thinking in terms of those fundamental rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution, or of that equality of opportunity and the right to live our own lives in our own way which is the precious heritage of every American. For if they mean the manner in which we live, the *mores* of a people or the social, economic and cultural pattern of life the phrase becomes meaningless. Because the American way of life in New England is quite different from that of the Deep South and in neither of these areas does it bear any marked similarity to that of the Great Plains, the Spanish Southwest, or the Pacific Coast.

This nation of ours is made up not only of states but of regions each with its own ways of life, its own customs, traditions and manner of thought. These regional cultures grow from definite roots. Some, as geographic conditions, lie close beneath the surface while others are deep in the background of history.

One of these regions is the area west of the Appalachians and east of the Mississippi between the Ohio River and the Gulf states—or Kentucky and Tennessee, the first states formed in the Mississippi Valley. The other is the former Indian Territory now Oklahoma—the last state in the Mississippi Valley to be admitted to the Union. The influence of the first area upon American history has been enormous and that of the latter comparatively slight, though the story of its settlement and development is unique in the annals of America.

Population maps of the United States showing the peopled areas at any time between 1790 and 1810 will reveal that a long tongue of settlement extended westward from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi with its northern border the Ohio River and its southern one the northern limits of the present states of Mississippi and Alabama and western Georgia or roughly Kentucky and Tennessee or portions of those states if the map is of one of the earlier dates named. For the purposes of this discussion, New Orleans and the

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tiny islands of French settlement in Louisiana or beyond the Ohio in Indiana or Illinois may be disregarded. Most of these latter were mere outposts in the wilderness as was Detroit, founded in 1701 by Cadillac, to be developed more than two centuries later by Ford.

The reasons for the early establishment of this wide frontier west of the mountains and south of the Ohio are not far to seek. When the English colonists of the tidewater region began the march westward they soon found their further advance toward the interior barred, or greatly hindered, by two forces. One was the formidable barrier of the mountain wall and the other was the resistance of many powerful tribes of Indians. When the advancing tide of population reached the mountains opposite Kentucky, however, both of these barriers gave way. Eventually Cumberland Gap was discovered offering a comparatively easy passageway through the mountains and beyond and extending as far west as the Mississippi was a broad region which was not inhabited by any tribe of Indians. Kentucky and much of Tennessee constituted virtually a "no man's land." North of the Ohio were the fierce Shawnee, the Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Miami, and other tribes, while in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi were the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. Far to the south in Florida were the Seminoles who formed the fifth and smallest of these so-called Five Civilized Tribes. Many of these Indians used the middle region as a hunting ground but no tribe of importance occupied it permanently.

In 1769 Daniel Boone pushed westward through Cumberland Gap to view with delight the verdant meadows and beautiful groves of Kentucky. Those who have visited the blue grass region and above all those born and bred there are not surprised that Boone lingered on this "long hunt" for nearly three years. They only wonder why he should ever have returned to Virginia! The lure of the West was too powerful, however, to permit him to remain long in his old homeland. In 1775 he led a party of settlers back to Kentucky and founded Boonesborough.¹

Daniel Boone was a type. Perhaps others like him did as much as he to explore and open up this middle region to settlement but above all others he has caught the popular fancy. Boone and those of his kind, as Kenton, Harrod, Bryan, Crockett and others, loved pioneering for its own sake. They sought new lands not so much for the purpose of settling and developing them as to escape from what they regarded as the penalties and inconveniences of civilization. They were of the type described by Kipling when he wrote:

¹ R. G. Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 118.

He shall desire loneliness
And his desire shall bring
Hard on his heels a thousand wheels
A people and a King
He shall go back on his own track
And by his scarce cold camp
There he shall meet the roaring street
The derrick and the stamp.

A thousand wheels did not follow in the wake of these vanguards of the frontier because the mountain trails were for a long time impassible for wheeled vehicles. But there did come a people with their scanty possessions loaded on pack horses. Moreover, if these people did not bring in a king they eventually brought those things which a king is supposed to typify—law, and constitutional forms, and more or less orderly government.

Following the first pioneer explorers there poured through Cumberland Gap in the years of the Revolution and thereafter thousands of settlers eagerly seeking homes where they might improve their worldly condition and build up a heritage for their children. Some floated down the Ohio River. This was a long voyage during which the scow or keel boat was kept in the middle of the current to avoid attack by bands of Indians lurking in the forest along its northern bank. These immigrants came across the mountains or down the river in ever increasing numbers with the result that by 1792 Kentucky's population was sufficient for its admission as a state. Four years later the settlers of Tennessee formed a constitution without bothering to ask the consent of Congress and it was also admitted to the Union.

The people who came to occupy this exposed frontier prior to the admission of Kentucky and Tennessee to statehood and long thereafter and who survived to develop that region all had the same characteristics. As a rule they were young and were of the strongest and most hardy and aggressive type. It required courage to set out on the long journey across the mountains or down the Ohio River to occupy this remote land behind the Appalachians. Also when they had arrived, it was necessary to maintain themselves in a region where, as Felix Grundy said: "Death lurked behind almost every bush and every thicket concealed an ambuscade."

When Longfellow referring to the settlers of Plymouth wrote:
God had sifted three kingdoms
To find the wheat for this planting
Then had sifted the wheat
The living seed of a nation

he was but voicing a general truth as applicable to the settlers of all later American frontiers as it was to the militant Pilgrims. The bold, hardy, and adventurous migrated. The timid, weak, and satisfied remained at home. As a later writer has put it: "The cowards did

not start; the weaklings did not survive." Or, as an old ranchman in the Far West once said with true frontier modesty: "We were a picked bunch in those old days. The wilderness cut out the culls."

Be that as it may, few will deny that the pioneers who occupied each successive frontier of America were of a bold and aggressive breed but conditions made this especially true in this area of Kentucky and Tennessee. Cut off by the mountains from any support from the East, the people of this long salient of settlement were, to use a military term, enfiladed by hostile Indians. Among the tribes north of the Ohio River were some made up of as savage and warlike Indians as could be found on the North American Continent. It was not, merely blind fury which prompted them to write the story of Kentucky's history in blood for so many years. Such leaders as Tecumseh were astute, far-seeing men. They realized the danger to their people of this long tongue of white settlement extending far out into the wilderness. Unless these settlements could be destroyed they would inevitably grow larger, be extended across the Ohio, and continue north until they met and merged with the population steadily advancing westward from New York, Pennsylvania, and eastern Ohio. Then the Indians would be dispossessed of their lands and those who survived driven beyond the Mississippi to face an uncertain future. It was not enough to fight a defensive warfare. These presumptuous whites must perish or be driven out. With tireless energy these Indian leaders led their painted warriors against the little settlements of Kentucky in a desperate attempt to blot them out and "let in the jungle." The struggle continued for many years and in this period the "wheat was truly sifted." Eternal vigilance was for these pioneers the price of survival. They established forts and palisaded stations, carried their guns to the field, and learned every art and trick of savage warfare. They matched skill with skill, cunning with cunning, and at times cruelty with cruelty.²

Coupled with the ever-present danger from the Indians beyond the Ohio to the people of the northern portion of this frontier area, however, was an almost equally grave danger to those settlers in its southern portion from Indians to the south. The great tribes south of Tennessee, as the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw, were far more civilized and perhaps less warlike than were the Indians north of the Ohio. On the other hand they were much more numerous. Moreover, they viewed these white settlements with suspicion and were always ready to resist any encroachment, or threatened encroachment, on their lands. While they did not engage in as many bloody forays as did the Shawnee and some other northern tribes, they were a powerful barrier to the advance of population to the south. Also bands sometimes attacked the settlers and always they were a potential menace to the whites.

² See Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, (4 vols.) for detailed accounts.

The situation of these westerners was rendered more perilous by the fact that behind the Indian tribes on either side of them lay the colonial possessions of two great European nations. Far to the north lay Canada and for a long time there were also British posts on the American side of the Great Lakes. That British officials deliberately encouraged the Indians to attack these settlements seems doubtful but they encouraged the savages to resist any expansion of population northward. British traders unquestionably sold guns and powder to the Indians just as did American traders half a century or more later in our own western territories. It is not surprising therefore that a deep resentment toward the British should have grown up among these people of the West.

To the south the Spaniards also sought to cultivate friendship with the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. Traders in Spanish Louisiana sold these Indians arms and ammunition and Spain's officials in Louisiana urged the Indians to oppose any advance of the American pioneers southward.³ Hemmed in on both sides by Indians who were backed by these great European powers, the position of the pioneers of the Kentucky-Tennessee area was truly perilous. Only a people of rare courage, fortitude, and remarkable intelligence could survive in such a situation.

Yet the fact that the colonies of these two European nations hung on the flanks of these western settlements was not an unmixed evil. It prevented the people of the long salient behind the mountains from becoming provincial backwoodsmen. Cut off by the mountains from a market in the East for their surplus products, these westerners felt an urgent need for the free navigation of the Mississippi which Spain for many years denied them. The man dwelling in a log cabin on the banks of the Ohio, Tennessee, Cumberland, or any one of many other rivers had a personal interest in Jay's treaty with England as well as in the political situation in Spain and in the acts of the Spanish government. Whether or not Manuel Godoy remained the chief minister of Spain, or Charles IV abdicated in favor of his son, Ferdinand, were to the Kentucky settler matters of vital importance. He and his fellows loudly demanded that Spain be persuaded or forced to grant to them the right to navigate the Mississippi. This they secured by the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795.⁴ They felt, however, that their tenure of this right was most precarious and as additional settlers poured in, the demands grew for the Federal government to make it secure by the purchase of a portion of Louisiana. This log cabin dweller was therefore deeply interested in the transfer of Louisiana to France by Spain and in the negotiations of Livingston and Monroe culminating in the Louisiana Purchase.⁵

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV (Sagamore Edition, 6 vols.), pp. 153-156.

⁴ Hunter Miller (Ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, Vol. 2, p. 337.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 516-523.

With access to markets thus assured and lands provided for further expansion westward, the population rapidly increased. The Indian menace still remained, however, and the newcomers were also of a hardy and adventurous type. Yet a differentiated society eventually began to develop. Men of means began to acquire the best lands and to cultivate them with slave labor. Some earlier settlers who sold their lands crossed the Ohio. It was plain that expansion in that direction would in time reach the lakes and demands grew for securing a northern outlet to the sea just as the southern one had been acquired. Resentment against British support of the Indians increased and some men began to dream of the acquisition of Canada.

These westerners played a conspicuous part in the Indian war against Tecumseh but by this time they had become powerful enough to wield an influence upon national politics. As the old Revolutionary War statesmen passed out of the picture, many of them were replaced by new leaders from this area. Henry Clay was chosen Speaker of the House in 1811. On the question of war with Great Britain the western representatives in Congress voted unanimously in favor of it, joining with the South for a war which New England strongly opposed and on the question of which the middle states were divided.

The frontier leaders, however, had no intention of favoring a war for others to fight. Kentucky-born Richard M. Johnson elected to Congress at the age of twenty-five left Washington and hurried west to lead a regiment of volunteers in the invasion of Canada. Having been granted his commission by Governor Isaac Shelby of that State, he and the Governor both played a conspicuous part in the Battle of the Thames. Johnson then returned to his seat in Congress.⁶ Many of Harrison's soldiers in this invasion were Kentucky or Tennessee men just as were many of Jackson's in the South in his campaign against the Creeks and at New Orleans. In fact, about the only important American victories of this war were won in the West and that region furnished its only military heroes—Jackson and Harrison—together with a number of lesser lights.

Great as was the influence of this frontier Kentucky-Tennessee area on the war, it also had its influence on the peace. Henry Clay of Kentucky together with Gallatin, Bayard, Russell, and John Quincy Adams negotiated the Peace of Ghent and for once we seem to have done better around the peace table than on the field of battle. It might almost be said that in the second conflict with Great Britain we lost a war and won a peace. If there is some element of the truth in the old saying that "Waterloo was won on the cricket fields of Eton," there is also some justification for asserting that the Peace of Ghent was won about the sales stables, race tracks, and poker tables of Kentucky. The British commissioners, Lord Gambier, Sir Henry Goulburn and William Adams were second-raters since the talents

⁶ B. J. Lossing, *Eminent Americans*, pp. 99 and 368.

of Britain's leading diplomats were required for solving the problems of the Congress of Vienna. Certainly these three commissioners were no match for Clay, Adams, and Gallatin. Henry Clay's influence with his colleagues was great and he brought to play in the negotiations all the skill of the western horse trader and poker player. With rare skill he made the American offers appear attractive, and alternately bluffed, "stood pat," "raised the ante," or "called the bluff" of his opponents. When a deadlock was reached, the Americans again and again said: "Consult your government" and Britain desperately weary of war repeatedly yielded. As a result a treaty was at last negotiated far more favorable to the United States than our people had any right to expect.⁷

After the close of the war, western migration greatly increased. The Kentucky-Tennessee area was soon fully occupied and the population began to spill over its borders in ever-increasing numbers. The southern portion of the region north of the Ohio was settled by people from this area. Also the Southwest below Tennessee received a flood of settlers from this region while others crossed the Mississippi to occupy Missouri and portions of Arkansas.

While part of the increased population of the Kentucky-Tennessee region was due to immigration, a high birthrate was responsible for much of it since a dozen children was hardly an exceptionally large family. Now with the danger of Indian attack removed, and with increased prosperity, the people of this first frontier beyond the mountains were free to give more attention to national affairs. No longer forced to carry on Indian campaigns, they turned their attention to political campaigns. Moreover, they brought to political conflicts all of the aggressive qualities, hardihood, and strength developed by long conflict with the wilderness and its savage inhabitants. Soon it was apparent that a new political power had appeared and was eagerly reaching for the reins of government.

The election of 1824 brought to an end the era of the Virginia Dynasty which for thirty-two of the thirty-six years of government under the Constitution had occupied the executive mansion. Only the aggressive individualism which led them to fight among themselves prevented the people of this first trans-Appalachian frontier from securing the Presidency in 1824. Able as were the Adamses of New England, however, their personal qualities did not appeal to the people of the New America that was so fast developing. These people felt that four years was as long as they would tolerate an Adams in the White House. Then with Jackson's triumph in 1828, the political dominance of this first Mississippi Valley frontier had to be recognized. Moreover, from this time forward for a generation

⁷ See Henry Adams, *History of United States*, Book IX, Chs. 1 and 2, for discussion of the negotiations at Ghent. For the treaty, see Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

the states of Tennessee and Kentucky and their colonies largely ruled the nation.

Perhaps few will deny that this was true during the eight years of the "reign of Andrew Jackson" but a question may be raised as to his successor. If so, it should be pointed out that Van Buren was the "heir apparent" to the throne, or the creature of Andrew Jackson. Moreover, Van Buren's running mate was Colonel Richard M. Johnson, veteran soldier and statesman of Kentucky.

Van Buren's successor, William Henry Harrison, was not from the Kentucky-Tennessee area but he had all the qualities which the people of that region most admired. He was every inch a frontiersman and it might be said that upon his shoulders had fallen the mantle of Jackson. He had endeared himself to the people of Kentucky by his work in the Northwest and had led many of them at Tippecanoe. In 1812 he had been commissioned a major general in the Kentucky militia and as has already been said, many Kentuckians were with him at the Battle of the Thames including Colonel Johnson and Governor Isaac Shelby.⁸

His successor, John Tyler, was an accident and may be disregarded here just as he usually was when President. Then came James K. Polk of Tennessee, who defeated the perennial candidate, Henry Clay of Kentucky. Polk was not colorful enough for the westerners. Happy as they were over his acquisition of territory, he apparently had little sense of humor and it was difficult for either the first or secondary frontier to grow enthusiastic over a dour Scotch Presbyterian. Zachary Taylor, or "Old Rough and Ready" seemed a far more attractive figure. He was a professional soldier born in 1784 in Virginia while his parents were journeying west to settle in Kentucky. In 1785 he was brought to the vicinity of Louisville when Zachary was only eight months old and here he grew to manhood when this region was truly a "dark and bloody ground." Not until he was twenty-four years old did he leave Kentucky after accepting a commission in the Army. From this time his life was largely that of a frontier soldier. His character and characteristics were formed, however, during the nearly twenty-four years of life in frontier Kentucky.⁹

Fillmore was another accident and Pierce an incident. Then the American people decided to try again the nearly-forgotten experiment of electing to the Presidency a man of ample training and experience in government, politics and diplomacy. This they did when they chose James Buchanan. Soon convinced of their mistake, they in 1860 elected a Kentucky-born, former rail splitter Abraham Lincoln, two of whose opponents were John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and

⁸ Lossing, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-243.

⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, p. 349; also Lossing, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

James Bell of Tennessee. Moreover, it will be remembered that Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, was also Kentucky born, and that Andrew Johnson of Tennessee succeeded to the Presidency when Lincoln was murdered. With Johnson came the end of an era and the beginning of the period of the political supremacy of the Old Northwest, especially Ohio and Indiana, which is another story.

It has been possible to mention only a few of the men important in national affairs contributed by this first trans-mountain frontier region. Among others were Hugh White, Felix Grundy, Thomas Hart Benton, George Rogers Clark and his younger brother William, J. J. Crittenden, George Croghan, and many more.

In addition many men from this area pushed out into the great Southwest especially Texas. These included David Crockett, one-time member of Congress from Tennessee whose restless love of adventure took him to Texas to die at the Alamo. Also William Walker, the filibuster, and Sam Houston who resigned the governorship of Tennessee and journeyed westward to the Indian Territory. Here he lived with the Cherokees for some years before going to Texas to command its armies in the war for independence. Most men regard election to Congress, the United States Senate, or the governorship of a state as the crowning achievement of a lifetime. Sam Houston was Governor of two states, member of Congress from one and United States Senator from another, was Commander-in-Chief of the armies of a nation and twice President of a republic.¹⁰ In addition, he married three wives and his youngest son Temple was born when Sam was seventy years of age. Surely if the Cow Country could boast that its "men were men" Tennessee might well retort that some of her own sons also had some claims to manhood! As a matter of fact, many of the militant pioneers of Texas and other parts of the Trans-Mississippi West were transplanted from Kentucky or Tennessee soil and the spirit of daring and toughness of fiber revealed in the land of their adoption had been developed in the land of their birth.

That this Kentucky-Tennessee region, which was the first important Mississippi Valley frontier, has exerted an influence upon the history of the United States out of all proportion to its size seems reasonably apparent. It is clear that the reason for the political dominance of this area must be sought in the type of settlers who migrated to it and to qualities developed in them by their experiences during the formative years of these states. The second area to be discussed is the last frontier region of the Mississippi Valley, or the present state of Oklahoma.

A survey of the population map of the United States as it was a hundred years after the adoption of the Constitution will show

¹⁰ See Marquis James, *The Raven*, for a very interesting biography of Houston.

a pattern of peopled and unpeopled lands exactly the converse of a population map for 1800. A map for 1889 shows that settlement stopped short at the western boundary of Arkansas but in Kansas and south of the Red River in Texas continued westward to about the hundredth meridian which forms the western boundary of Oklahoma. East of this meridian between the southern line of Kansas and the Red River which marks the northern limits of Texas, a broad salient of Indian lands thrust far back into a sea of settlement just as three-quarters of a century earlier such a map showed a long tongue of settlement in Kentucky and Tennessee reaching far out into the Indian country.

This peninsula of Indian lands over two hundred miles wide and with an area approximately that of all New England, or slightly less than the combined areas of Ohio and Indiana, was the Indian Territory now the state of Oklahoma. In 1888 no white person held legal title to a single acre of land within its limits and the total Indian population was only some 75,000 of which more than four-fifths belonged to the Five Civilized Tribes.

The reasons for the formation of this long salient of near wilderness extending back into the lands occupied by a white population are as definite as are those for the extension of the Kentucky-Tennessee area of settlement far out into the unpeopled lands of the Mississippi Valley. Virtually this entire region had been granted to the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians and they had been removed to it from their old homeland in the Gulf Plains between 1820 and 1840. This area had been promised to them for "as long as grass grows and water runs" and whites were forbidden to live within the limits of the territory of any tribe except by the consent of the Indians themselves. Thus a wall had been placed about this great Indian Territory by governmental decree—an intangible wall—but none the less real because of that.

Even at the time of their removal four of the five great tribes to which this territory had been granted had attained a considerable degree of civilization due to long contact with the whites. These four tribes, the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw had for centuries occupied in their old homeland east of the Mississippi what might be described as a strategic region. They held the headwaters of the tributaries of the lower Mississippi, as well as of those streams which flow south into the Gulf and they also guarded the passes through the southern Appalachians. It was inevitable, therefore, that any nation which sought to hold the mouth of the Mississippi and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico must reckon with these powerful tribes.

Three European nations sought to do this—the Spaniards in Florida, the French in Louisiana, and the English in Georgia. The colonists of these nations early sought alliances with these tribes and zealously sought to secure their favor. As a result the Indians

soon learned to play one nation off against the other and to secure presents, concessions, and favors from all three without the slightest intention of allying themselves with any one of them. In the practice of this crude but effective form of diplomacy the Indians received training in the arts of diplomacy and political intrigue which they later used with telling effect against officials of the United States in negotiations for the removal of these tribes to the West.

By the time of removal there had been considerable intermarriage of Indian women with the white men who made their homes in the Indian country, and as a result every tribe except the Seminole had a number of mixed-bloods. The mixed-bloods as well as some full-bloods were in many cases well educated—some having attended schools or colleges in the East. Commissioners of the United States government sent to make removal treaties urged that in this new land beyond the Mississippi there was an abundance of game and the Indians might there continue the old hunting life of earlier days. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it was the well-educated Indians, including many mixed-bloods, who signed such treaties against the bitter opposition of the unlettered fullbloods. The latter who clung most closely to the old Indian life of hunting and subsisting on native products were the ones most reluctant to leave the land of their fathers.

Bitter criticism has been heaped upon those Indians who negotiated treaties for the surrender of all lands in the East and removal to far-off Indian Territory. There is evidence, however, that these men were motivated solely by a desire to advance the welfare of their people. Here they saw the untutored fullbloods subject to the influence of the worst element of the frontier whites who encroached upon their lands, plied them with liquor, and corrupted their women. Unable to understand this strange new civilization, these bewildered fullbloods were in a fair way to become a race of drunken outcasts. What the leaders felt was urgently needed was time—time to establish schools to educate their unfortunate kinsmen and teach them the ways of white civilization. Given two or three generations in a land remote from the corrupting influence of whites, this might be done and these people made competent to maintain themselves in the midst of a white civilization once it had again overtaken them.¹¹

On no other basis can be explained the provision for large funds for education which the Indian negotiators insisted must be included in the removal treaties, nor the feverish energy with which they established schools once the new homeland was reached. Each of the larger tribes set up an educational system immediately upon its arrival in the Indian Territory. Boarding schools or academies were

¹¹ See Ralph H. Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America*, pp. 141-155, for evidence that this was the attitude of the Cherokee signers of the Treaty of New Echota.

created modeled upon those of the South and supported by funds from the tribal government. All instruction was in English and the teachers were the best qualified men and women that could be found.¹²

In 1848 the Cherokees had established two national seminaries—one for men and the other for women. In these were taught Greek, Latin, English literature, higher mathematics, music and science. Many young men and women received in these, or the Choctaw academies, the beginnings of a classical education which they completed in some eastern college as Princeton or Mount Holyoke.

The establishment of an educational system was made possible because these so called "Indian Nations" after their removal westward were hardly Indian tribes in the commonly accepted use of that term. They were very small republics under the protection of the United States. Each of them, with the exception of the Seminole, had a written constitution and written laws. The tribal governments had power of life and death over their own citizens and almost complete authority to administer the affairs of their people.¹² In fact, these tribes were independent nations except for such limitations as were expressed in the treaties of cession and removal. Lands were held in common as a public domain but with individual use guaranteed to every citizen.

Here, for some three-quarters of a century these little Indian nations lay like an American Balkans set down in the midst of the United States. Slaves were held in every tribe and with the outbreak of the War Between the States these Indian republics all made treaties of alliance with the Confederacy. As a result they were at the close of the war compelled to free their slaves and make provisions for them to share in the tribal lands. In addition, they were forced to surrender the western half of the Indian Territory in order to provide a home for other Indian tribes.¹³

Between 1866 and 1885 more than a dozen tribes from various parts of the West were brought to these ceded lands and given large reservations there. The Indian Territory thus became divided into two parts of nearly equal size. The eastern half was occupied by the quasi-independent nations of the Five Civilized Tribes while the western half consisted largely of great Indian reservations assigned to tribes brought in from Kansas or other parts of the Prairie West.

During the war the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes were so ravaged by the armies of both North and South, that at its close these Indians were in a deplorable condition. One-third of the adult Cherokee women were widows and an almost equal fraction of the children orphans. In the other tribes the situation was little better.

¹² For the tribal constitutions see *Oklahoma Red Book*, I, p. 201-237.

¹³ For Treaties of 1866, see *Ibid.*, pp. 341-379.

All educational progress was stopped with the outbreak of war and during its course most of the school buildings were burned or badly damaged. With the coming of peace, however, these buildings were rebuilt or repaired and the Indian leaders resumed with vigor the task of educating their people sufficiently to enable them to live and compete with the whites on equal terms once the advancing flood of settlement should overflow their little nations.

The advance of white population, however, was more rapid than the Indian leaders had believed to be possible. In the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 the population of Kansas increased from 364,000 to 1,427,000 and Texas from 818,000 to 2,335,000 with corresponding increases in most of the neighboring western states.¹⁴ It was inevitable that as fertile lands subject to settlement grew increasingly scarce, many persons along the border of Indian Territory should view its attractive lands with covetous eyes and demand that they be made available for occupation by white settlers. By the middle 1870's such persons were urging Congress to devise some means by which the treaties guaranteeing their lands to the Five Civilized Tribes might be abrogated or so modified as to permit the entrance of whites. Loudly they demanded that the tribal governments be abolished, each Indian allotted a tract of land from the common holdings, the remaining lands opened to white settlement, and a territorial government established.

The Indian leaders felt that at all hazards this must be prevented. Some have asserted that this was due to their reluctance to give up their offices in the tribal governments and the economic advantages accruing to them by virtue of the communal land system. This may have been true in the case of some but there were others whose reasons for objecting to such changes were far more altruistic. Educational progress, even though interrupted by the war, had been great but the majority of the fullbloods were not yet sufficiently advanced to live among whites and compete with them economically in a white man's world. Time, and yet more time was needed and to secure it they determined to resist to the utmost the efforts of the whites to destroy their governments and overrun their country. Moreover, they brought to the task all the political wisdom and statecraft accumulated in conducting their own governments plus all the skill in diplomacy which they had acquired during the long period in which Spain, France, and England had sought alliances with them in a struggle for supremacy on the North American Continent.

The Indian leaders braced themselves in the struggle and for a quarter of a century fought desperately to hold the line against the population that strove to break it down and let in the white man's laws, government, and way of life. The situation, curiously enough, was the exact opposite of that in the Kentucky-Tennessee area a

¹⁴ Figures are from the Census.

century earlier when painted warriors for so long stormed against this long peninsula of white settlement seeking to break it down and let in the wilderness. In both cases the Indians were foredoomed to defeat. Yet despite the small population of the Five Civilized Tribes their long experience in diplomacy and political intrigue enabled them for a quarter of a century to resist the ever-increasing pressure of the whites upon the intangible wall about the Indian country.

Each of these tribes maintained a delegation in Washington to look after relations with the United States and seek to prevent any action by Congress or the executive branch of the Federal Government prejudicial to the interests of its people.

In their struggle against white invasion the Five Civilized Tribes received little help from the Indians on the reservations in western Indian Territory. Most of these tribes were small, unorganized, and little civilized. In consequence it was in this region that the barrier to entrance by settlers was first broken. In 1889 an area of some two million acres was opened to occupation by homesteaders.¹⁵ The following year Oklahoma Territory was created.¹⁶ Then one by one these western tribes agreed to take allotments of land in severalty and sell the surplus to the United States to be opened to white settlement. Within a dozen years after the first opening in 1889 virtually all of these lands ceded by the Five Civilized Tribes in 1866 as a home for other Indians had been occupied by white settlers. The western half of the former peninsula of wilderness had been blotted out and the territory of the five Indian republics had become an island in the midst of white civilization.

Still the Indians of the Five Tribes carried on their losing struggle to maintain their national integrity. By this time, however, there were forces within to lend aid and encouragement to those without. Prior to the War Between the States many Indians in each of these tribes were slave owners. The communal land system made it easy for some of these to develop large plantations which they cultivated by slave labor. Eventually a plantation aristocracy grew up not unlike that of the Old South.

When the slaves were freed, these men were left without labor to farm their extensive holdings. After the ravages of war had been somewhat repaired, some of these plantation owners sought for a new source of labor and found it in the poorer whites of Arkansas and Texas. At the request of the planter, the tribal government issued permits to whites to come in for a year to work as laborers. These laborers frequently received a share of the crops grown by them instead of a cash wage and so became in reality sharecroppers. Their permits were renewed from year to year until they became virtually

¹⁵ *Oklahoma Red Book*, I, pp. 423-425.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 426-437.

permanent residents. Permits were issued to others to live in the Indian country and operate stores, mills, or cotton gins. The building of railroads brought in railway employees and the opening of coal mines brought in still more "citizens of the United States" as they were called.

Before the close of the Nineteenth Century, the whites in the Territory of the Five Civilized Tribes far outnumbered the Indians. Yet the latter owned all the land, operated the governments and were in consequence the ruling class. The whites were merely tenants subject to the will of the tribal authorities. Except in the case of intermarried citizens, they had no public schools for their children, could not own land, vote, or share in any way in the Indian governments. In short, they were merely residents and might be removed at any time by the tribal authorities. The need for their services was so great, however, that the time came when a wholesale removal of them was unthinkable.¹⁷ Yet their presence made the struggle of the Indians to preserve their tribal forms and system of common land holding more difficult since to assaults from without were added the activities of this enormous "fifth column" within. The story is far too long to give in detail. In 1893 a commission was created by Congress to negotiate agreements with the Five Civilized Tribes looking to the distribution of their lands in severalty and the abolition of the tribal governments.¹⁸ The Indians flatly refused to negotiate but the sands of time were fast running out for their little republics. Congress clothed the commission with additional powers. The tribal lands were surveyed and classified and rolls of the citizens of these tribes made up in preparation for an equitable distribution of the common property. The jurisdiction of the Federal courts was extended over the Indian Territory and the tribal courts forbidden to function. At last the Indians yielded to superior force, signed agreements to accept all that had been done, and agreed to the allotment of the tribal lands in severalty.¹⁹

In 1906 Congress passed an enabling act providing for the joining of Oklahoma and Indian Territories to form the State of Oklahoma and authorizing the election of delegates to a convention to make a constitution for the new state. The constitution was formed, ratified by an overwhelming majority, and state and county officers elected.

November 16, 1907, was the date set for the inauguration of the Governor and their officials and on which the new state government was to go into operation. On that day the inaugural ceremonies

¹⁷ It is quite impossible to list all of the numerous articles that have appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* dealing with matters referred to in the latter part of this paper. Earlier issues should be consulted by the reader interested in details of life in the Indian Territory and relations between Indians and whites.

¹⁸ See *Oklahoma Red Book*, I, pp. 481-485, for the various acts with respect to the Dawes Commission.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 559-617.

held at the capital were witnessed by a huge throng of people while every important town in the state also arranged for a celebration in honor of the coming of statehood. Each of these was attended by swarms of happy people coming for many miles from every part of the surrounding country. Only one group was absent. Within the limits of the former republics of the Five Civilized Tribes many of the older Indians remained at home to mourn the passing of the old governments and the old order under which they had so long lived and which they so much loved.

Thirty years later a Cherokee woman married to a white man said that her husband had asked her to go with him to attend the statehood celebration at the nearby town but she had refused. Late that evening he returned home and said: "Well, Mary, we no longer live in the Cherokee Nation. All of us are now citizens of the State of Oklahoma." After the lapse of more than thirty years there were tears in this woman's eyes as she recalled that never-to-be-forgotten day. She said: "It broke my heart. I went to bed and cried all night long. It seemed more than I could bear that the Cherokee Nation—my country and my people's country—was no more."

Though the Indians had lost the cause for which they had so long battled, the years of struggle had done their work. It had given to their leaders a training in politics, statecraft, and diplomacy which has made them among the cleverest and most able politicians in the state of Oklahoma or almost any other state. This training had, moreover, been built upon a heritage of political skill dating back to the eighteenth century.

Conscious of their political ability and of the fact that they had long been owners of all land tilled by their white tenants, these Indian leaders had no intention of accepting an inferior status for themselves or their people in the new state. The President of the Constitutional Convention was not an Indian but he was an intermarried citizen of the Chickasaw Nation and in consequence, his children were of Indian blood. A number of Indians served as members of this convention and may have been in part responsible for the section in the Constitution defining races which says: "Wherever in this Constitution and laws of this state the word or words 'colored' or 'colored race' . . . are used, the same shall be construed to mean or apply to all persons of African descent. The term 'white race' shall include all other persons."²⁰ Thus every Indian, no matter how dark his skin, is a white person as defined by the Oklahoma Constitution.

At the time of Oklahoma's admission as a State in 1907 slightly less than five per cent of its population was of Indian blood and about that ratio has been maintained for forty years. In 1947 the number of Indians in the state was some 120,000 of a total population of around 2,300,000. Yet these people of Indian descent who are but

²⁰ *Oklahoma Constitution*, Art. XXIII, Sec. 11.

five per cent of Oklahoma's total population have contributed to the state leaders and prominent men and women, especially in the field of politics and government, out of all proportion to their numbers. None of the thirteen governors of the state to 1948 has been of Indian blood but two were intermarried citizens so their children are of Indian blood. One of the first two United States Senators was Indian, the late Robert L. Owen, and every Oklahoma delegation in Congress has had at least one member of Indian descent, sometimes two, and occasionally three. Two speakers of the lower house of the state legislature have been Indians and many of its most prominent members as well as many state senators have been of Indian blood. One of the three members of the Corporation Commission in 1948 is Indian and Indians have served as members of the Supreme Court and as district judges. With but one exception, every county superintendent of schools of one eastern Oklahoma county for forty years has been Indian and most other officials of this and other counties have been of Indian descent.

It is not alone in the field of politics and government that these Indian people have made important contributions. Among them have been writers, artists, musicians, teachers and ministers, as well as prominent lawyers, physicians, editors, bankers, and merchants. They have also been active in many organizations. The late Mrs. Roberta Lawson, one time President of the American Federation of Women's Clubs, was the granddaughter of a famous Indian. It is also significant that the two statues which Oklahoma has placed in the Hall of Fame in our national capitol as those of her two greatest sons are both of Cherokee Indians—Sequoyah and Will Rogers. A people numbering less than five per cent of Oklahoma's total population have given to the state perhaps twenty to twenty-five per cent of its best known men and women.

It may be asserted that most of these prominent individuals have been mixed bloods and should not be designated as Indians. Yet they are all included in the five per cent of the state's population of Indian descent. Also, ever since Oklahoma's admission to the Union, the state's politics have been dominated by the people of its eastern half, the area of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Enough has been given to show that the early history of Oklahoma—the last state created in the Mississippi Valley—has been as colorful as that of the first two states formed beyond the Appalachians. That the settlers of the Kentucky-Tennessee area for a generation were in constant conflict with the Indians and during the succeeding generation wielded an enormous influence in the national government few persons will deny. Most students of Oklahoma history will also agree that the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes fought desperately for a generation to preserve their status as independent nations and for another generation have had an enormous influence in Oklahoma politics and government.

Whether or not the historian will accept the view that in both cases political power and influence stemmed from the strength developed in earlier conflicts is another matter. Yet few things worthy of recording in the annals of a nation merely happen. The multiple threads which make up the fabric of history have always been woven by vital forces in such fashion as to reveal a more or less distinct pattern. If the conclusion here suggested should appear unjustified, it is hoped that they may at least be deemed worthy of consideration.

THE SQUATTERS IN NO MAN'S LAND

By Oscar A. Kinchen*

Old No Man's Land, which embraced the rectangular strip of territory now known as the Oklahoma Panhandle, has witnessed two distinct periods of settlement, the few but eventful years of squatter occupation in the later eighties, and that of the large-scale settlement in the opening years of the present century when homesteaders arrived in still greater numbers to exploit the resources of this virgin land. This article will be devoted to the earlier and more nearly unique settlement that took place before this area was joined to Oklahoma, while no constitutional government or rights to life or property yet existed within its borders.¹

Despite this state of lawlessness, cattlemen had grazed their stock in this maverick land since the later seventies. For a brief span of years, herds of five hundred to twenty-five thousand head roamed the grasslands of this strip, until a devastating blizzard in the winter of 1886 well-nigh wiped out the range cattle of this region, leaving their bones scattered far and wide, to mingle with those of the buffalo slain by hunters with high-powered rifles years before.²

Prior to the year 1885, the Cherokee Indians had claimed a kind of overlordship to No Man's Land, and are known to have levied occasional tolls upon herds that grazed within this strip. Many cowmen, also, believed this area to be really an extension of the Cherokee Strip, since the Post Office Department was known to have classified this section as a part of the Indian Territory.³ But in 1885, the Secretary of the Department of Interior, L. C. Q. Lamar, ruled that all valid Indian claims really ended at the 100th Meridian, and that the rectangular strip of territory west of this line was a part of the public domain. Though its lands had been surveyed into townships

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¹ For a study of the provisional government organized by squatters in this area, see Doctor Kinchen's article, "The Abortive Territory of Cimarron," *op. cit.*

² Boss Neff, *Some Experiences of Boss Neff in the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandle*, (Amarillo, Texas, 1941) p. 15, column 2.

³ "An Interview with Mrs. Arbella Mackey by a representative of the Daily Oklahoman," *Sunday Oklahoman*, June 14, 1936. In those years, Mackey, "a cow-girl," resided at a camp near the Cimarron River in the northeastern part of the Strip.

only, this area was presumably subject to "squatter's rights."⁴ Probably with Lamar's ruling in mind, a bill was introduced in Congress early in the following year by Representative James N. Burnes of Missouri to provide a territorial government for this neutral strip, and to secure its lands to "actual settlers."⁵ To many of the land hungry near its borders, it must have appeared that the way was being opened for an eventual influx of agricultural settlers into this region.

As destiny had already decreed, hundreds of adventurous home-seekers were close at hand. In the years 1885 and 1886, a great tide of settlers had swept into southwestern Kansas. In the language of E. M. Deane, one of the first to arrive, "They came like swarms of grasshoppers on a hot summer day, totally ignorant of the ground they were to light upon." Millions of acres lay open to settlement under the homestead laws, and within the short space of about two years all the available lands had been claimed and scores of town-sites laid out. Townsite speculation became a passion, and "easy money" was speedily acquired from gullible victims in the east. Among the thousands of immigrants who came flocking in, a large portion came merely to acquire a title to a homestead, a mortgage on the newly-acquired property—then to move away, never to return. By the spring of 1886, settlement was already approaching the saturation point, while hundreds continued to arrive intent on gaining a stake in the new land of opportunity.⁶

Even as early as the autumn of 1885, home-seekers had begun to trickle into the extreme eastern part of the strip, selecting lands in the vicinity of Horse Creek, and in other localities still farther south. One of the first to arrive was Carter Tracy, a merchant from Ohio, who had settled temporarily at Englewood, Kansas, near the northeast corner of the strip. Here he was told of a valley about fifteen miles to the southwest where the buffalo grass was knee high and the soil therefore rich. Tracy and several other residents of Englewood hastened to the valley near the present town of Gate. Zinc markers that looked like pots set upside down indicating township lines were plainly visible, but no section lines had yet been surveyed. These adventurous squatters began staking off claims, estimating their boundaries by using ropes for surveyors chains. Other home-seekers soon followed, and

⁴ Fred C. Tracy, "History of Beaver County, Oklahoma," in Charles N. Gould (ed.), *The Geology of Beaver County*, (Norman, 1926), p. 63. Mr. Fred C. Tracy, a continuous resident of this section since 1885, is widely known as a merchant at Beaver, as being one of the framers of the Oklahoma Constitution, and more recently as County Attorney of Beaver County.

⁵ *House Bill 4990*, 49 Congress, 1st Session, February 3, 1886, XIX, p. 1036.

⁶ E. M. Deane to the author, Richfield, Kansas, June 8, 1947. Mr. Deane, who runs an abstract office at Richfield, has been a continuous resident of that section since about the year 1885.

by the end of that year "most of the desirable lands between Englewood and the valley had been claimed."

By the spring of 1886, a tidal wave of settlers was flowing over the Kansas line into the new land of promise. In-coming settlers were especially attracted to lands to the south of the Beaver River where they were soon to be seen measuring off their claims along the Kiowa, Mexico, Duck Pond, and Clearwater creeks. As the influx continued, squatters pushed on still farther to the bank of the Willow, and even as far west as the Palo Duro. Working out from the township lines, marked by the "zinc pots," settlers were able to arrive at a crude approximation of the boundaries of their claims. Some lived in tents for a time, others in their covered wagons or even out under the open sky, while a more permanent abode was being prepared. Sod was soon cut for the erection of a farm house, and a low structure of one or two rooms was hastily completed. The typical "soddie" was a rectangular building with walls two feet in thickness, and a door at the front and rear. Windows, if any, were in some cases closed by wooden shutters. From such timber as could be found along the streams, material was obtained for the ridge pole and rafters. A mat of green branches was spread upon the rafters, and a sod roof was then laid. There was seldom a shed or lot for the work animals. Horses and mules were staked out or "hobbled" when not in use. Milch cows were staked out to graze. The wagon, harness, and farming tools stood weather-beaten and rusting on the open prairie.⁸

Squatters were slow about improving their claims. Some lived for a time upon savings and supplies accumulated in previous years; others, less fortunate, were obliged to leave their families on the claim while in search of employment outside the strip. Some families were able to obtain fuel for their stoves by cutting timber or breaking brush along the banks of the creeks, while more often buffalo and cow chips was the sole source of supply.⁹

Squatters drifted afar in pursuit of wild game. Quail, jack rabbits, cotton-tails, and prairie chickens were fairly plentiful, and during the first year of settlement a deer or an antelope might occasionally be killed. During the cold months, some hunted and shipped

⁷ F. C. Tracy to the author, Beaver, August 9, 1945.

⁸ E. E. Brown, "Squatters Take Choice Lands," in *Herald Democrat*, (Beaver), November 21, 1935. Brown came to No Man's Land in August, 1886, and edited the *Territorial Advocate* at Beaver City for nearly three years.

The "Old Overton House," erected in 1887 on the north bank of the Clearwater, twelve miles south of Beaver City, is a good example of the better class of "soddies." This structure, now in an advanced state of dilapidation, is about twenty-five feet square and divided into four rooms of about equal size, each ceiled overhead with beaded pine. There are two glass windows on each side and another near the door in front. To the rear, there appears to have once stood a crib and stables built, also, of sod.

⁹ *Ibid.*; Elmer Brown, "No Man's Land," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), pp. 89-99.

wild game to eastern markets. As to fresh fruits, there was a great plentitude of wild plums and grapes along the banks of the several streams. Black-eyed peas were grown in abundance, and were a main reliance at all times of the year.¹⁰

Some ready cash could be obtained when it was learned that buffalo bones would bring eight to ten dollars a ton, and horns an even better price. Many a proverbial "wolf" was kept from the door by gathering bones and hauling them to the nearest shipping point at Dodge City, Kansas. The late Boss Neff, a well-known cowman of the strip, relates that at the time of settlement he had seen as many as "fifty to a hundred skeletons within a radius of a few hundred yards." Bone haulers, would put several side boards on a wagon, and by breaking the larger bones with an ax or a sledge hammer they were able to load more than a thousand pounds of skulls, thigh bones, ribs, and vertebrae on a single wagon. H. S. Judy, a pioneer of No Man's Land, writes that a settler might earn enough money by gathering bones to buy clothes for himself and family, and such vital necessities as flour, brown sugar, molasses, and green coffee.¹¹

Before the end of the first year of settlement, subscription schools were started in most communities by teachers from the states. These pioneer schools were usually held in small sod houses where the tuition fee for each pupil was one dollar per month. Beaver City claimed the distinction of having established the first school in No Man's Land, opened in September 1886, in a sod building which stood on the north side of the street, opposite the site of the present county court house.¹² Already there were several preachers in the strip, some living on their claims, others locating in the towns. By the spring of 1886, there were two preachers at Beaver City, the Reverend Robert Allen, a Methodist, and the Reverend R. M. Overstreet, a Presbyterian. Both "held preaching services for a good sized congregation of Christian people firm in the faith during those trying years." In June of the following year they erected the first church house within the strip.¹³

By the spring of 1888, the settlement of No Man's Land had reached its peak. The area of settlement extended about eighty or ninety miles west of the eastern border, or about half way across the strip, diminishing somewhat in density from east to west. Beyond

¹⁰ H. S. Judy, "Memoirs of a Pioneer of No Man's Land," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1945), p. 295.

¹¹ Boss Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 20, col. 1. (See Moita Dorsey Davis, "Boss Neff," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 [Summer, 1948], pp. 159-73.—Ed.)

¹² John R. Spears, "No Man's Land, A Sun Reporter's History of a Strange Country," *New York Sun*, (Sunday Ed.), Jan. 20, 1889.

¹³ Rev. R. M. Overstreet, in *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. VII, (December, 1908), No. 4, pp. 65 and 66. Overstreet's church, erected in June 1887, is still in use.

the western fringe of settlement, there were a few isolated communities, such as that around Mineral and Carrizo near the western border. Judge Tracy, a resident of No Man's Land since 1885, estimates the squatter population at its height at about twelve to fifteen thousand,¹⁴ though the Cimarron Council, in a memorial to Congress in May 1888, claimed a population of fifteen to twenty thousand.¹⁵ Twenty-eight post offices had been established up to this time, six by the end of the first year of settlement, ten in the year 1887, and twelve in the early months of 1888.¹⁶

As early as the spring of 1886, several townsites were being laid out in the strip, upon some of which not a single house was ever built. The first to be surveyed and platted was Beaver City, promoted by the Beaver Townsite Company of Wichita, Kansas of which M. McLease was president and William Waddle the local agent. On March 6, Waddle and Ernest A. Reiman, a civil engineer, descended upon Jim Lane's saloon and supply store on the south side of the Beaver River, and informed the proprietor that the strip in which he resided was public land and therefore subject to settlement, and that they had come to survey a townsite. Since Lane, as an actual settler, could hold 160 acres of the land they desired for a townsite, an oral agreement was reached wherein Lane waived his right to claim a homestead on condition that two blocks in the new town be reserved to him. When the survey of the 640 acre townsite was complete, officials of the Company hastened to the national capital to enter their townsite in conformity with Federal law. There they learned that since the survey of the "neutral strip" was incomplete and no land office or federal court had control of this area, they were nothing more than squatters, and, as such, could hold only those lots—two in number—which they built upon, and then wait for a title when this land was officially opened to settlement.

In the meantime, Kansas newspapers were replete with glowing accounts of the new boom town on the banks of the Beaver, and prospective settlers were flocking in, soon to learn that they need purchase no lots at all, but simply to squat on those unclaimed, improve them, and gain a legal title "when the strip comes in." By the end of spring about twenty sod houses were complete or under construction and the "new metropolis of the plains" had gained its stride.¹⁷

Among the buildings in use during the squatter regime, the pioneers recall Jim Lane's store, erected in 1879, on the west side

¹⁴Tracy, "History of Beaver County, Oklahoma," in *Geology of Beaver County*, ed. by Chas. N. Gould, (Norman, Okla., 1926), p. 65.

¹⁵Council of Cimarron Territory, *Official Journal*, for May 8, 1888, p. 130.

¹⁶George Shirk, "The First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer 1948), pp. 179-244 (for Oklahoma Territory, see pp. 237-244).

¹⁷John R. Spears, *loc. cit.*, Section III.

of what is now Main Street, and Lane's two-room sod residence on the opposite side of the road.¹⁸ D. R. Healey's livery stable was excavated out of a bank which sloped toward the street. Three walls were formed of the dirt banks, the front built of logs, and the roof made of sod. Jim Donnelly's saloon was built with walls of sod, but covered by a wooden roof. A sod store, ten feet wide and fourteen long, housed a stock of dry goods owned by Palmer and Chilcott. Thomas Hunter owned a boot shop on the west side of Main, while Dr. J. R. Linley ran a drug store on the opposite of the street. O. P. Bennett's dance hall, on the east side of Main Street, was perhaps the largest of the earlier structures built of sod, fourteen feet wide and fifty feet long.

The pride of Beaver City was a two-story frame building, erected by Dr. O. G. Chase in 1887. This structure was fifty feet square, and stood on the west side of Main. On the ground floor, Chase's son-in-law, W. B. Ogden, operated a drug store; while the second story became the headquarters of the provisional territorial government. When the Cimarron Council was in session, a curtain was drawn diagonally across the room to separate the two branches of the legislature.¹⁹

It was not until September 15, 1887, following some disorders in the streets, that a provisional municipal government was formed. A mayor and six councilmen were elected, and a city marshall employed, his salary paid by a levy of three dollars upon each business established in the town.²⁰ On the sixth of the following December a charter was received from the Cimarron Territorial government.²¹

Other new towns were soon laid out in the eastern half of the strip. Shortly after the founding of Beaver City, Carter Tracy together with a liveryman from Englewood named Whitfield and a carpenter named Brownrigg started a town about two miles from the eastern border and a mile and half northeast of the present town of Gate. The new town was named "Gate City," signifying "the gateway to the public lands." After buying off a squatter who had settled upon the location of their choice, they surveyed a townsite; but while waiting for information as to procedure for recording a plat, they learned of the failure of the Beaver City promoters to obtain either a title to townsite lands or to find any department where a town plat could be filed. It had been learned, also, that the public land strip lay outside the jurisdiction of any court, and that no law of the United States was in force within its boundaries. Never-

¹⁸ This house, enlarged by two additional rooms, is now the residence of Superintendent Lee Hulse, and is the oldest sod house in the Oklahoma Panhandle.

¹⁹ Interview with H. C. Peckham and Clarence Hibbs, Beaver, June 30, 1945. Mr. Hibbs and Mr. Peckham, both of Beaver, Oklahoma, have resided in this section since the years of squatter occupation.

²⁰ Spears, *loc. cit.*, Section IX.

²¹ Council of Cimarron Territory, *Official Journal*, p. 127.



Oldest Buildings in the Oklahoma Panhandle
Upper: The Jim Lane soddy erected at Beaver in about 1880.
Lower: Presbyterian Church erected in June, 1887.

theless, Tracy erected a store upon the townsite, and on April 13, Jesse M. Gresham obtained a post office for the new town, the second to be established in No Man's Land. The postmaster and a brother then erected a building and established a store of their own. A blacksmith shop was built, "and Gate City was considered a town."²²

At about the same time that Gate City was established, a group of squatters largely from Southwest Missouri, started another town four miles to the west and named it "Neutral City." At the height of its prosperity, it possessed a number of saloons, two mercantile stores, and a blacksmith shop. But the life of the town was "brief and full of trouble." It was widely known as a "wild and wooly" center, and at least one "bloody murder" was committed there. Rivalry between Neutral City and Gate City was exceedingly strong, and at one time a virtual state of war prevailed between vigilance committees from each of these towns.²³

Another center, equally notorious in the early days of settlement, was "Old Sod Town," located near the banks of the Kiowa in the southeastern part of the strip. Founded in the first year of settlement it reached the heyday of its prosperity in 1887 when it contained about a dozen sod buildings. The liquor traffic flourished there, much of the product being sold in the Cherokee Strip just over the eastern border. A vigilance committee is said to have existed at Sod Town, and a hanging to have taken place at that point. The town was frequented by the notorious Chitwood Gang, and one of their number was slain in 1887 by Smith Ellis, a leading resident of the town.²⁴ This center appears to have well-nigh vanished before the end of the squatter regime.

Late in the spring of 1886, the town of Benton was established on the west side of Mexico Creek, about two miles from its junction with the Beaver, and a post office was established there in the following autumn with B. D. Fowler in charge. One of its leading promoters was E. H. Eiklor who had worked as a cow hand on a nearby ranch. When the provisional territorial council divided the strip into seven counties in January 1889, Eiklor, then a member of the Council, succeeded in having Benton designated as the county seat of "Benton County," the easternmost division of Cimarron Territory.

²² Tracy to the author, Beaver, August 9, 1945; George Shirk, "The First Post-offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *op. cit.*, p. 240.

Gate City remained upon the original site until the strip became a part of Oklahoma, when it was moved to a section corner about half a mile southeast, and platted. When a railroad was built through this section about ten years later, the town was moved to its present site and its name changed to Gate. —Tracy to the author, August 9, 1945.

²³ Tracy to the author, Beaver, August 9, 1945; Rev. R. M. Overstreet, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ John Hibbs to the author, Elmwood, March 23, 1946; Tracy to the author, August 9, 1945.

The town is believed to have possessed no more than six or eight buildings, and was almost completely abandoned by the summer of 1889.²⁵

Early in the spring of 1886, a town named "Nevada" was staked off about eight miles northwest of Benton, on the west side of Duck Pond Creek, near its confluence with the Beaver. In spite of extensive promotion the venture failed. The Reverend R. M. Overstreet, in route to Beaver City in the spring of that year, was told of the new town of "Nevada," but upon reaching the spot, he found "not a living creature . . . only the stakes that were set to mark out the plat of a townsite."²⁶ Later in that year, George Healey started another town, named Alpine, less than a mile to the south. His son-in-law built a store on the new site and a post office was opened there in March, 1887. Scarcely more than half a dozen buildings were erected during the years of squatter settlement. A short time after the founding of Alpine, Riverside was established on the south bank of the Beaver, near the mouth of Camp Creek, five miles to the northwest; but during the period covered by our study it contained scarcely more than a post office and a store.²⁷

About twelve miles west of Beaver City, on Willow Creek, the town of Rothwell was established toward the close of the first year of settlement. There was a store and post office operated by James S. Hart, a blacksmith shop, several other buildings, and a rather pretentious two-story hotel owned by "Spot" Nixon, so called because of a bald spot on the back of his head. When the Rock Island Railroad reached Liberal, Kansas, in the spring of 1888, a wagon road was laid out from Rothwell to this new shipping point.²⁸ Rothwell was the scene of the political convention sponsored by the Cimarron Council, September 14, 1887, for the purpose of nominating a delegate to Congress.²⁹

About sixteen miles to the southwest of Rothwell, near the west bank of Fulton Creek and a mile south of the Beaver, a little trading center named Grand Valley was started in the year 1886, and a post office was located here two years later. A few miles to the west, on the bank of the Palo Duro stood a post office and supply store called Paladora,³⁰ in the vicinity of which was the residence of J. G. Snote, a leader in the territorial movement and a member of senatorial council.

²⁵ Council of Cimarron Territory, *Official Journal*, Jan. 11, 1889, pp. 155-161; H. C. Peckham to the author, Beaver, June 29, 1945.

²⁶ Rev. R. M. Overstreet, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ Clarence Hibbs to the author, Beaver, June 30, 1945; Shirk, *loc. cit.*, p. 237.

²⁸ Lee Hulse to the author, Beaver, August 11, 1945.

²⁹ John R. Spears, *loc. cit.* Nothing remains of old Rothwell except a few graves in an old cemetery there.

³⁰ Boss Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 15, column 3; H. C. Peckham to the author, Beaver, June 30, 1945.

About nine miles farther west, at the mouth of the Coldwater, was the original site of the town of Hardesty. "Old Hardesty" was founded at this point in the first year of settlement, on the Texas and Montana Cattle Trail which had been laid out in 1885. Among the well-known business establishments were W. A. Sullivan's supply store in which the post office was located, Herb Craig's and Jim Millikin's saloons, and Rattlesnake Bill's blacksmith shop—all built of sod. Here Dick Quinn, a step-son of Sullivan's, founded the *Hardesty Herald*, in 1890, the second newspaper to be launched within the strip.³¹ Several miles northwest of "Old Hardesty," between Pony Creek and the Beaver, Optima was founded by an advance guard of squatters in the spring of 1886, and a post office was located there as early as September of that year.³²

In the extreme western part of the strip, in what is now Cimarron County, two small trading centers came into existence during this period. Carrizo, later renamed Kenton, is said to have been founded as early as 1885, starting with a lunch counter and three saloons. It was located near the Black Mesa, and not far from the headquarters of the original 101 Ranch.³³ Several miles to the south of Carrizo, Mineral City was launched at about the beginning of the year 1888, when a thin vein of coal was discovered in that vicinity. A company was organized in Kansas to mine coal in this region. A two-story rock building was erected, and a post office established in February of that year, but owing to the limited quantity and poor quality of the coal mined there, Mineral City proved an abortive venture.³⁴

Recalling his impressions of No Man's Land years later, Editor E. E. Brown characterized these so-called towns as "mostly made up of three or four sod houses grouped around a larger sod structure housing a country stock of merchandise." Beaver City, alone, he declared, "reached the dignity of a village. At its best, in those days, its population reached no more than six hundred. . . . Beaver was the only town in the Territory big enough to take sides in a controversy." "These towns," he observed, "were overbuilt and overstuffed with merchants, but the hope that Congress would act caused them to hold on for the golden harvest when Congress would enact a law permitting settlers to prove up and mortgage their claims."³⁵ While some of these towns hoped to become county seats, as Brown suggests, it was the burning desire of Dr. O. G. Chase and

³¹ Boss Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 27, col. 2. Some mounds of fallen sod walls and a grave yard nearby are the sole remaining relics of "Old Hardesty." Several years later, the town was moved to its present site.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 15, col. 3; Shirk, *loc. cit.*, p. 238.

³³ George Rainey, *No Man's Land*, (Enid, 1937) p. 112.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223; Shirk, *loc. cit.*, p. 242.

³⁵ E. E. Brown, "No Man's Land," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), pp. 89-90.

a small coterie of kindred spirits to make Beaver City a territorial capital, and Cimarron Territory was launched with this end in view.³⁶

As early as August, 1886, settlers, both in town and country, were becoming sorely worried about the security of their claims. Claim-jumping was already a common occurrence, and as there was no law or court to protect "stripper's rights to their claims," a mass meeting was held in the sod school house at Beaver City on August 26. "To discourage claim-jumping and avoid discord among settlers over claims to town lots and homesteads," a group of thirty-five squatters resolved themselves into a "Respective Claims Committee," and worked out a plan for the security of all legitimate claims. A board of directors was chosen, consisting of Dr. O. G. Chase, Dr. J. A. Overstreet, and J. C. Hodge—all of Beaver City. The newly elected board was "to proceed at once to prepare a code of laws for our future adoption, also to prepare a form of quitclaim deed for our common use in the transfer of claims from one party to another." All claimants to lots or homesteads in No Man's Land were urged to join the organization, pay a fee of one dollar, and have the validity of their claims investigated; and members were pledged to co-operate in defense of all rightful claims, so recognized and recorded by the "Respective Claims Board."³⁷

A second meeting of the Respective Claims Committee was held on October 16, and it was at this session that "the last batch of rules" governing disputes over claims was adopted.³⁸ Under these rules, any person of legal age might hold a claim of 160 acres until the first of April of the following year if by that time he had broken at least five acres, or made other equivalent improvements. Such a person could also hold a claim for each member of his family of legal age, provided he make the required improvements on each claim and specify the member of his family for whom it was to be held. Claim-holders who had made the required improvements, but went away with the intention of returning were allowed four months in which to enter upon their claims. Finally claim-jumpers or trespassers upon valid claims were to be punished by "measures sufficiently severe."³⁹

Judging by its meager official records, it would appear that very little service was rendered to the squatters by the Respective Claims organization. Indeed, this body did meet at intervals until

³⁶ "The Abortive Territory of Cimarron," *op. cit.*, pp. 218, et seq.

³⁷ "Record Book of Beaver, Neutral Strip, Indian Territory," (original MS) Oklahoma Historical Society. This book was kept by Dr. J. A. Overstreet, secretary of the Board. It contains the minutes of its meetings up to March 30, 1887, and entries of claims formally recognized by the Board.

³⁸ Owen G. Chase, *Commonsense Remarks and Suggestions on the Neutral Strip, or No Man's Land, or Cimarron Territory*, (Beaver City, Nov. 1, 1886), p. 11.

³⁹ These rules, strangely, are not found in the "Record Book," but are summarized by Spears, *loc. cit.*, Section IV.



First Officers of Beaver City. Standing, beginning at left: Councilmen J. H. Alley, Thomas Braidwood, Jack Garrey, M. Magann, and Marshal H. Mundell. Seated, Treasurer J. A. Overstreet, Mayor J. Thomas, and Clerk W. B. Ogden.



DR. O. G. CHASE.

"The Father of Cimarron Territory"



D. B. Healey's livery stable, erected at Beaver City in spring 1886. Three walls were dirt banks, and front of logs.

the thirtieth of the following March, but surprisingly few entries of claims are shown, and less than a dozen fees marked "paid."⁴⁰ Though little activity is indicated by the minutes of its meetings, it may at the same time have been, to some degree, a deterrent to lawless invasions of "squatter's rights." On the first of the following April, 1887, its functions were presumably taken over by the "Judicial Committee" of the Cimarron Council, while the provisional territorial government was being set up for operation.⁴¹

During the early months of settlement, lawless elements made their appearance in No Man's Land. Aside from the claim-jumpers, already mentioned, there came such disreputable characters as are so often found in new boom settlements. Men who had left their lawful wives behind are said to have chosen other consorts and brought them into the strip where there were no laws to restrain them. In the northeastern corner of the strip counterfeiters flourished during the first year or two of settlement. Here a sod house had been erected, where two men manufactured bogus coins which circulated in Kansas as well as in No Man's Land. They escaped punishment for a time by racing back over the line when pursued by Federal officers in that state.⁴²

The manufacture and sale of moonshine whisky was a thriving business through the earlier years of squatter settlement. The average town was overstocked with saloons, for anyone with the necessary capital could establish a saloon which was subject to no restrictions. A distillery is said to have been operated on the bank of the Clearwater several miles south of Beaver City, its products sold by peddlers who extended their business beyond the northern border into a state presumably "dry."⁴³ About two miles south of Gate City, L. M. Hubbard, who became "Attorney-General" of Cimarron Territory in 1889, operated a moonshine distillery in partnership with a brother. Facing keen competition, they imported an expert distiller from Kentucky and turned out as much as two barrels of "good whisky" per week, much of it being sold in Kansas and possibly within the Cherokee Strip on the east side of the border.⁴⁴ Probably the last and most notorious liquor center to flourish within the strip was "Beer City" which grew up on the south side of the Kansas line, opposite Liberal. The Rock Island Railroad reached that point in the spring of 1888 and the stock yards at its terminus, just over the line, soon became a rendezvous

⁴⁰ "Record Book of Beaver, Neutral Strip, Indian Territory," above cited, pp. 150, et seq.

⁴¹ Council of Cimarron Territory, *Official Journal*, for March 4, 1887, p. 4. On the above date the "Judicial Committee" was set up, and among its functions was the settlement of disputes over claims.

⁴² John R. Spears, *loc. cit.*, Section XIV.

⁴³ Spears, *loc. cit.* Kansas had adopted state-wide prohibition in 1881, as the result of a colorful crusade led by Governor John St. John.

⁴⁴ Tracy to the author, Beaver, August 9, 1945.

for cowmen arriving with their herds at the new shipping point, as well as for thirsty Jayhawkers from up the tracks. The place became widely known as a haven for disreputable characters. Saloons, gambling dens, bawdy dance halls, and houses of prostitution thrived through the later years of the squatter regime.⁴⁵

It is the conviction of aged pioneers of No Man's Land that the overwhelming majority of the squatters stood for law and order and respect for property rights, and that the "underworld" constituted but a very small fraction of the whole population, even in the first year of settlement when disorder was at its worst. Editor E. E. Brown observed that the lawless elements declined after the first year, due in part to the restraining influence of vigilance committees, but also largely to the fact that "the underworld starved out." When the initial boom had subsided and the hard realities of pioneer life were to be met, "there was a dirth [sic] of funds for Poker Dick and Queenie."⁴⁶ Judge Tracy, also a keen observer of passing events, believes the accounts of disorder of those years to be grossly overstated. There were less than twenty homicides, he declares, during the five year period of settlement, five of these occurring in Beaver City, and four at or near Gate City. Probably one third of these, he believes, were really "executions" by vigilance committees, with the gun or the rope. "Vigilance committees were organized around most community centers, and though they seldom functioned, their existence was a deterrent to crime."⁴⁷ H. S. Judy, then a squatter in the eastern part of the strip, recalls "a considerable amount of confusion and lawlessness" in the boom days of settlement, but he bore witness to the time when "the fear of vigilance committees prevented crime, and when the criminal element was eliminated, there was a spirit of friendship and co-operation among the people which is rarely seen today."⁴⁸

By the spring of 1888, the settlement of No Man's Land had passed its peak and the boom days had long since vanished. Crops had been scanty in former years, but in the spring of 1888 a great drouth had spread over the land, and no crops could be planted or pasture obtained for such live stock as settlers still possessed. Savings and supplies brought along by homesteaders had been long exhausted. Bones and cow chips were increasingly difficult to obtain; and the much-needed cash, realized by bone haulers in former times, was no longer in sight. Hopes for titles to claims, "the nearest thing to stripper's hearts," were fading with each passing month. A memorial to Congress from the Cimarron Council, on May 8, enum-

⁴⁵ Spears, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ Brown, "No Man's Land," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), pp. 94-99.

⁴⁷ Tracy, "History of Beaver County, Oklahoma," in Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁴⁸ H. S. Judy, "Memoirs of a Pioneer of No Man's Land," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1945), p. 296.

erated at some length the hardships which the squatters had endured; and Congress was urged to come to their relief by such action as would secure legal titles to their claims—else a wholesale depopulation of this land would be the result.⁴⁹

A peculiar ordinance, enacted by the Cimarron Council early in the following October, is highly suggestive of the hopeless state of affairs at that season of the year. This act forbade the gathering of such "territorial products" as bones, buffalo and cow chips, wood, wild plums and grapes by persons from outside the strip.⁵⁰ Indeed, such items were probably their main reliance for fuel and subsistence as winter approached, since crops had failed.

The devastating blizzards of the winter of 1889, remembered by cattlemen as unusually severe,⁵¹ must have borne heavily upon the destitute squatters, with larders empty and fuel exceedingly scarce.

Spring came, and like a raging prairie fire, news spread across the treeless plains, news of "unassigned lands," soon to be opened to settlement in the heart of Oklahoma where titles might be secured and crops be made to grow.

Emigration from the strip, in progress since the preceding autumn, turned into a veritable exodus when thousands of destitute squatters abandoned their claims to make the run for the new land of promise. The provisional territorial government folded its wings, and its chief proponents vanished from the strip. The editor of the *Territorial Advocate* "signed 30."⁵² The squatter population which had numbered twelve to fifteen thousand at the peak of settlement sank to less than three thousand by the end of that year.⁵³

Though more than three-fourths of the settlers of No Man's Land had abandoned their claims in quest of greener fields, there were those who still remained to realize, in some measure, hopes they had long entertained. In May of the following year, 1890, this maverick strip of neutral land was joined to the new Territory of Oklahoma. The homestead and townsite laws were soon extended to this area. Squatters were given preference rights to entry on their claims,

⁴⁹ Council of Cimarron Territory, *Official Journal*, May 8, 1888, pp. 130-31.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, p. 134.

⁵¹ See Boss Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 20, col. 2.

⁵² While Brown left for Oklahoma, the paper he had edited for nearly three years continued to be published, but its name *Territorial Advocate* was soon discarded. Dr. Chase, the chief promoter of Cimarron Territory, left for Colorado about the close of the spring.

⁵³ Tracy, "History of Beaver County," in Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 68. It is of some interest to note that while squatters were in flight from No Man's Land, the once boom settlement in southwest Kansas was suffering a similar fate, and by the year 1890 that region was almost completely drained of its population. (E. M. Deane to the author, Richfield, June 8, 1947).

and allowed a credit of two years from the five-year residence required by law, thus enabling homesteaders to "prove up" and obtain their patents three years from the date of filing.

Though "stripper's rights" had been secured, homesteaders continued to diminish for several years, largely as the result of successive openings of Indian lands in Oklahoma Territory.⁵⁴ In the meantime, cattlemen, most of whom had left the strip in the spring of 1887, were already returning to lands grazed by their herds in former years; and even some remaining homesteaders turned cowmen and ranged their stock upon abandoned claims.⁵⁵ Once again, old No Man's Land was the scene of cow camps, chuck wagons, rollicking cowboys, and thundering herds.

It was not until the dawn of the new century that a second tidal wave of settlers came rolling in. Coming, in part, as an overflow from older settlements in Oklahoma, no less than forty thousand home-seekers arrived between the years of 1903 and 1906 to establish claims upon lands of their choice.⁵⁶ Soon virgin soil was turned by plows throughout the length of the strip, and a new era for old No Man's Land had arrived.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Tracy, "History of Beaver County," in Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁵ Boss Neff to the author, letter dated from Hooker, Oklahoma, August 22, 1945; also, in Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 20, col. 3.

⁵⁶ Tracy, "History of Beaver County," in Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-9.

⁵⁷ The completion of this article by Oscar A. Kinchen for publication in *The Chronicles* represented extended research into the history of No Man's Land and field trips in this region begun early in 1945. Since Doctor Kinchen's manuscript was received by the Editorial Office, Carl Coke Rister's book, *No Man's Land*, has appeared off the University of Oklahoma Press (Norman, 1948), presenting an extended history of this interesting region. This article by Doctor Kinchen contributes further to the story of No Man's Land, in the way of human interest hitherto unpublished.—Ed.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ITS NEEDS AND EXPANSIONS

By Charles Evans, Secretary

INTRODUCTION

The Introduction to this article is placed here as a summary because many American readers tire rapidly. In this paper, the following points have been proven as to the present possessions of the Oklahoma Historical Society and their possible present and future uses in the education and service of the people of Oklahoma:

POSSESSIONS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(1) One of the five finest and most modern buildings among the State Historical Societies of America. Cost \$500,000 in 1930; cost two or three times that now. (2) A competent and expert staff, keenly alert to the service and dignity of their work, in charge of eight departments. (3) One of the largest museums among State Historical Societies of America; well supervised and partly classified. (4) One of the best art galleries of eminent Oklahoma men and women, several portraits by great American artists. (5) A Newspaper Files Department with newspapers published in Oklahoma covering a period from 1844 to present time; many eminent critics say it is the best and largest of its kind in the country. (6) The second largest (Washington, D. C.—first) Indian Archives in America; close to three million books, letters, pamphlets, papers on the Five Civilized Tribes and other Indian Tribes. (7) One of the largest libraries among the State Historical Libraries of the United States. (8) The Union and the Confederate army exhibits, occupy two rooms by statutory provision, and are unique among State historical societies. (9) One of the largest and best appointed quarterly journals, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, sent to all members (\$1.00 for annual, \$25.00 for life) and to highschools, colleges, and institutional libraries in the state, free. (10) Machinery set up for close contact with the State Press, schools and general public.

PRESENT NEEDS

(1) Salaries of staff members and aids increased at least 25%—talent and leadership lost if this is not done. It would take comparatively a small increase in appropriations to give the staff members and aids a living salary increase hereby suggested.

(2) An expert typist and assistant in the Editorial Department, salary about \$2,000.

(3) An index and carding clerk, salary about \$1,800 or \$2,000.

(4) A revolving fund of \$5,000 for printing and sending out historical booklets, folders, papers, and informative materials.

POSSIBILITIES IN THE PUBLIC FIELD.

In Oklahoma at this present hour, there are thousands of fairly-well educated citizens, and still thousands more who are below that level, who do not know that the State has set up and dedicated an institution, The Oklahoma Historical Society, to the end that its history be preserved and used. If this be a fault or a weakness, it must not be laid altogether at the feet of those who never enter the \$500,000 Historical Building on Lincoln Boulevard, Oklahoma City, erected by taxes laid upon all the people of Oklahoma and now supported by moneys supported by the Legislature of the people. A man must not be accused of ignorance or negligence of a thing about which he knows nothing.

The question arises, how can a State Historical Society best serve the most people?

There is no need to go into detail about how slowly and reluctantly the various states of the Union have recognized the value of their history and proceeded to preserve and protect it as a civilized people should. There are several states of the present forty-eight that at this very hour are neglecting to preserve and place the strength and glory of their history before their youth and citizenship in such a way as to confound and dismay any mind that may know the worth of a great state's origin and development. In other words, the State Historical Societies of the United States should ask themselves seriously: "What am I to offer my people?"

The Oklahoma Historical Society, in its respective departments, presents the following services and history to the people of the State:

THE EXECUTIVE DIVISION

The Secretary, who in truth is an Executive Manager, acting under the authority of the Board of Directors, divides his work in something like three divisions. The management of each department is based upon the same principles as used by a superintendent of city schools save in one respect: He has little, if anything, to do with the election of staff members; this has been left entirely to elections held by the Board of Directors. He represents the correspondence and contact with the general public. He directs from his office the sending out of letters, pamphlets, periodicals to members of the Society and all elements of contact within the State. He represents the Society before the Legislature, and all other departments of government responsible for the support of the Society, serving and assisting in presenting the biennial budget. He presents to the Board of Directors

the various needs of the Society. He is permitted, and exercises this permit in a large degree, in presenting the needs and service of the Society to clubs, churches, schools, and such duties, which bring him in contact with five to ten thousand people annually in various points of the State; a travel fund of some \$500 is offered him for this service. He also represents the Society in regional and national historical association meetings.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

The Editorial Department is placed in charge of the Editor and Associate Editor. The Editor directs the general policy of the Society's quarterly journal, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, a publication averaging 125 pages per issue with illustrations. The Associate Editor is largely in charge of publication arrangements—preparation of manuscripts for the printer, lay-out, engravings, proof reading, and correspondence with authors relative to their articles. She is the chief critic of all articles accepted in *The Chronicles*, and is chosen by the Board of Directors for her ability as a State historian known as the author of the State adopted textbook in Oklahoma history for the public schools, and other volumes. She like the Editor is called to various points in the state, and often out of the state, to address schools, clubs, and other important groups. The Editorial Department is the chief representative of the Society's work in contact with the public. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is sent to some 3,400 members and institutions in the state and elsewhere in America and foreign countries. Through *The Chronicles* it is conservative to say that there is set up a public reading contact with more than 250,000 annually. This number has been arrived at by close and careful estimate. Evidence is given that the Board realizes a new day of expansion has arrived. This department sends letters at regular intervals to teachers of history in all the public schools; likewise the newspapers in the state are furnished information as to the progress of the Society and the services it renders. Recently a monthly sheet, call the "O.H.S. News Letter," has been inaugurated to give the latest and needed information about the Society to readers in the state and elsewhere.

LIBRARY

The library consists of about 25,000 volumes. These are chosen by the Librarian and submitted to the Library Committee and the Secretary, for purchase. For the last decade, this work has been done largely by the President of the Board. The books are chosen chiefly in the realm of Oklahoma history and the Southwest, together with reference books, collections of most valuable papers of eminent citizens, and a large range of magazines representing institutions of all types. The library also has many miscellaneous items

such as cards, posters, leaflets, pamphlets coming from all parts of the country through the years.

This Library has been up to this time strictly one of research. No material of any kind is permitted to be sent out anywhere. It serves its purpose as a research library in a very splendid degree because it is well indexed and because it is presided over by a Librarian and Assistant Librarian who are specialists in this line. They have served in their positions for ten and fifteen years respectively. There is a belief on the part of the Secretary that there is too much of a splendid and positive force lying dormant in this library. He believes that certain divisions should be classified, arranged, and sent out to schools, clubs, and organizations that would prove trustworthy. This must be done without destruction or detriment to the Library as a reservoir of research. Under the direction of the librarian, lectures in the beautiful, and perhaps the largest library room of the State, could be given and the contents of the library be presented. This library is located in one of the finest residential districts of Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City citizenship knows very little, and is not very much impressed, by the romantic, heroic and forceful factors that have entered into making this one of the most progressive states of the United States. It appears to the Secretary that this is a tremendous waste, and preparations should be made whereby the opening of this library to a carefully selected public working at night under the direction of the librarian should be contemplated. This, of course, would require an evening assistant of high historical attainment.

ARCHIVES

The rich values and potential history in the Archives Department should be made known to the people of Oklahoma. There are about three million books, periodicals, pamphlets, letters, and other original data—telling the history of the Five Civilized Tribes and other Indian Tribes, all under the supervision of a very competent archivist. This Department is one of the best of its kind in range and worth in America. Everything is well indexed and catalogued so that any paper or volume may be found in a few minutes.

Lying in these Archives is the most dynamic and interesting history of Oklahoma. It is now being used only by students, writers, (many of these out of state) many State officials needing information, some legislators, and a miscellaneous few who are seeking information on various subjects. The lawyers in the state have found these Archives to be very fruitful in developing court cases relative to Indian life. In a certain court trial, a case involving a million dollars was largely decided by the evidence obtained out of these Archives. What is needed is a pamphlet pointed and brief, sent to all the lawyers and others in the state to acquaint them with the value of these documents. How can people possessing so rich a heritage

use such documents unless they know something about them? The Archivist, the Librarian, and Custodian of Newspapers, need a special cataloger in presenting these materials for extensive use in the public schools. Thereby, these hidden archives would become dynamic and a real live part of the history of Oklahoma. Otherwise, they lie dead awaiting a few research students.

MUSEUM

There are more than 15,000 relics on exhibit in the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum. These are well labeled, nearly all in glass cases or in frames on the walls, occupying the whole fourth floor well lighted by a \$16,000 indirect lighting system recently installed. Some exhibits are also found in other rooms and in the hallways. Nationally known critics who have visited the Museum have said that the exhibits of Indian arts, crafts, and historical relics are exceptionally fine and their equal not seen in any other museum. The ancient Indian patterns and designs on six rare pottery bowls, for example, cannot be found elsewhere. Among the rare historical paintings on display, that entitled "Indian Rendezvous" by Alfred G. Miller, the gift of the late Governor E. H. Marland, has been estimated worth upward of \$100,000 by an outstanding American authority. Visitors enjoy the exhibits in the Art Gallery, unofficially referred to by some as the "Hall of Fame," where are seen portraits of Oklahoma's governors, United States senators, philanthropists, jurists, army officers of national renown, educators, and public leaders, many of them painted by famous American artists. The value of the historical paintings and these portraits alone as an inspiration to youth is worth more than all the money expended annually on this institution, and how essential it is that the citizenship of the State should know of such rich legacies in the Oklahoma Historical Society. The Museum is perhaps its most popular feature. Four-fifths of the 50,000 visitors who pass through the doors of the Historical Building during the year visit the museum, among them are over 15,000 students from high schools and colleges. This department is in charge of a University graduate who has traveled widely in the United States. Plans are being laid whereby she will have needed assistance in giving lectures to student groups and organizations among the many daily visitors in the Museum.

THE NEWSPAPER DIVISION

Too high a tribute can not be paid to the former Secretaries, Boards of Directors and all forces through the years, shaping the Oklahoma Historical Society. This is not revealed better than a presentation here of a department that originated on the day of its birth. On May 26, 1893 in Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory, the Oklahoma Territorial Press Association met. With other business they set forth rules and regulations whereby an Oklahoma Historical Society would be set up under the laws of Oklahoma Territory, and

appointed a Secretary to begin work at once. One of the chief features of his office was to gather and preserve every newspaper of the Territory. Out of this has grown one of the most remarkable newspaper departments in this country, according to high critics and literary experts who have visited this department. Here are gathered the earliest and latest copies of all State Press Association newspapers and practically all others published in Oklahoma. These have been arranged in annual volumes for each newspaper and have now reached more than 26,000 volumes. These are placed in steel files and are card indexed as far as money and opportunity have afforded. *This is the most valuable and complete history of Oklahoma within the confines of the state.* Writers from over the state and elsewhere use it; research students visit it; attorneys constantly call for information found here; authors from all over ask for assistance from this vast volume of newspaper history. An able and experienced custodian guards and directs this department and as far as possible sends out by letters, information desired by hundreds of researchers. The use of this material is called for by the Legislature in its sessions and by all departments of State. They are pleased with the quick and practical response that is given them.

THE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM

The citizenship of Oklahoma is fortunate in that the Legislature of the State enacted a law whereby that part of Oklahoma history that informs and inspires the schools, the colleges, and the whole citizenship, of the valorous deeds of the Civil War performed by pioneer Oklahomans is preserved. One room, the Confederate Memorial, presents the best of Oklahoma's early relations, leadership, sacrificial deeds of the men and women who gave their service to the Confederacy. The law stipulates that the custodian of this room must be a lineal descendant of a Confederate veteran. This is one of the most popular divisions in the Building. The custodian, a college graduate and a lady versed deeply and earnestly in the knowledge of Southern history, takes especial interest in lecturing to groups that enter here.

THE UNION MEMORIAL ROOM

The introductory statements relating to the Confederate Memorial Room applies to the Union Memorial Room and its possessions. The precious and invaluable story of Union leaders and soldiers, and the devotion they offered America are found here. There is a solemn dignity, a sort of a lofty sacredness, that both of these rooms give to youth or old age when they enter their confines that is to be seen and felt and not to be described. The writer has witnessed this many times. The custodian is a college graduate and is a lineal descendant of a Federal soldier as required by the State law.

THE FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

At a very early date the directing forces of the Society saw that finances must be a very sure and essential foundation for the proper growth of this Society. Books of the most modern type are kept on all incoming and outgoing monies. Close relations were set up between the State Budget office and the Chief Clerk of the Society, who has served in this capacity for many years. The Board of Directors and the Secretary meet and decide in time for each session of the Legislature as to the needs of the Society. This is sent to the budget officer and after careful checking and conferences with the Secretary, it is printed and presented to the Legislature. The legislatures of the State have grown more and more to appreciate the necessity, the growth, the dignity and the particular service of the Society to the State. This is shown in the appropriations made by the legislatures of Oklahoma from 1895 to 1948, as follows: 1895—\$2,000; 1900—\$1,600; 1905—\$1,000; 1910—\$2,000; 1915—\$2,600; 1920—\$18,525; 1925—\$15,000; 1930—\$32,000; 1935—\$20,000; 1940—\$23,055; 1945—\$21,310; 1948—\$34,700. These figures are much too small but they reveal the growth of the Society in recent years.

CONTROL

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society is controlled by a Board of Directors which elects its own members. The number of directors is twenty-five and they are eminent citizens representing all sections in the state. The Governor of the State is Ex-Officio member. The Board holds quarterly meetings and all business performed is carefully preserved and presented to the citizens of the State through the Minutes of each meeting published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. No control board in the state reveals more careful interest of an institution than does this Board.

The highest confirmation of the sympathy of the Legislative and Executive branches of Oklahoma government with the expansion and particular value of this Society to the State lies in the appropriation of \$500,000 in 1929 for a splendid modern building fashioned wholly for historical society service. Too many historical societies in America are now living in unworthy quarters. The Oklahoma Historical Society Building easily stands among the first of the five finest in the United States wholly devoted to State historical service. It is finished in marble and fine wood and with decorative effects in plaster, matching in beauty some of the most inviting public structures in the nation.

It is encouraging to say that the *Planning Committee for the legislature convening in January 1949* has framed a law whereby

there shall be allowed the Oklahoma Historical Society a revolving fund of \$5,000.00 whereby the printing and sales of postcards, folders, booklets, etc., relating to the history of Oklahoma can be offered to those who ask for information about the State's history. Hundreds of visitors out of the State ask for Oklahoma history booklets constantly through the year. It assists Oklahoma beyond measure to furnish them with such information as well as to supply its own citizens. It must be said as before that the Legislators, the Budget Officer and the Chief Executive of the State of Oklahoma, are revealing great interest and giving constant and hearty support to the program of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The citizenship of the State is grateful to these law making and executive powers for such support.

The State Board of Public Affairs has been very protective of the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society in recent years. Through the recommendations of the Budget Office, it has given in the last four years repairs to the heating system more than \$20,000; it has added a new fluorescent indirect lighting system approximating \$17,000; they have placed a new roof on the building at a cost of \$6,000.

A brief summary was made of the future necessities of this Society in the introduction to this article. Oklahoma believes that it stands in 1949 at the threshold of a new era. It is no longer a western cowboy commonwealth. It is no longer a mere youngling in the group of States. It is not merely a territory where oil gives a strange definition to new riches. Oklahoma has become a formidable factor in American leadership. All its institutions of higher learning, its secondary schools, its churches, its homes, and its government rank with the best in other states. Therefore, it is more than right and true to say that the legislative forces and the Executive of this rich commonwealth will take special pride in giving to the Oklahoma Historical Society that guards its most precious heritage—sufficient money for better salaries, better and more equipment, an increase of staff members, all wholly essential to discharge the work of the Society. With the proper view of this kind from these governmental authorities, Oklahoma can claim that there is not a more modern, more efficient, more serviceable historical society in America than is found here.

APPENDIX

Some months ago, in order that I might be able to find something of the nature of the state historical societies throughout the United States, I framed a questionnaire consisting of seven questions. These questions were aimed in the direction of discovering what the State Historical Societies and others were doing to enlarge their contacts with schools, civic groups, patriotic organizations, and the general public. I was desirous especially of obtaining these facts from the State Historical Societies, but the questionnaire went out

to many independent historical societies. Strange to say, the independent societies sent in the majority of the reports. Perhaps it was not meant, but it seemed as though the State Historical Societies dodged or left unanswered most of the questions. From the results of the answers given here to the questions submitted, it reveals one good thing at least for the character of the Oklahoma Historical Society. With much still to do to make it what the State deserves, it is one of the five leading State Historical Societies of America. One of the solemn conclusions one must reach if he or she reads this Appendix is that many States of America and localities are sadly neglecting to support with proper buildings and money their historical societies.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED

1. Do you have clubs. County Historical Societies, other historical associations, related to you, served by you? Name them.
2. Have you Junior Historical Societies in your state related to your Society? How many? How?
3. Do you send out historical displays into towns and cities? How done?
4. Do you send out lecturers from your staff to acquaint people with your work and possessions? Explain please.
5. Do you issue small pamphlets and leaflets, letters, etc., regularly to the people, schools, etc.? Explain please. Nature. Cost of this.
6. How much and in what manner do you use the public press?
7. Do you have receptions, lectures, special programs, etc. within your Society building? How often, nature, etc. Explain please.

It should be noted that the eighty-seven questionnaires sent out to historical societies throughout the United States requested only their publicity methods. The gist of the return reports received was as follows:

ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY AT MONTGOMERY: This Department was set up in 1901 by the Legislature of Alabama, the Alabama Historical Society ceased to exist; a new organization, the Alabama Historical Association was organized at Montevallo, Alabama in 1946, and now has a membership of about 200 persons. The answer "No" was given to all questions of the questionnaire except number 7, after which the statement was made that luncheon meetings were held at a church every two months.

ARKANSAS

Sponsored county organizations but developed no dealings with them, except attend their meetings irregularly; put on four promotional radio programs; no publications other than quarterly magazine; receive friendly mention from friendly editors occasionally; only one junior historical society in Little Rock which "withered on the vine." Receive no state support—income from membership dues of \$3.00 per year. The association has about 950 members; 1150 copies of the quarterly are printed; all work done by the president and secretary who are paid \$300.00 a year each.

ARIZONA

The answers were no to all questions.

CALIFORNIA

PASADENA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Publish pamphlets and books on Western history; unofficially act in advisory capacity to local societies; managing editor and various directors meet with other groups to acquaint them with work and possessions. Hold monthly luncheon meetings, with speakers, for members and guests, at the Palace Hotel. Courses on California are given in the building with credit as an extension course given the building only by authorization by the Board of Directors. Local his-courses conducted by well known historians. Material may be removed from by the University of California or the University of San Francisco. Said torical talks are given to the public schools, and to many organizations of the city, and lantern slides are shown. Meetings and addresses are fully reported by the press.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SAN FRANCISCO: Not a state supported society; has no affiliated branches; the largest society in the state; no junior societies. The Managing Director and other members of the Board occasionally lecture to groups on matters pertaining to the Society. Use the public press for pertinent news releases from time to time.

CALIFORNIA STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, LOS ANGELES: \$10,000 was appropriated by the Legislature for the annual up-keep of this Society. The *California History Nuggett* is issued, consisting of some 16 to 24 pages. Has been prepared for the general reader as well as the pupils in public schools. This magazine has been a great aid to teachers in arousing historical interest. Longer articles, documents and monographs have been prepared in the form of pamphlets and books.

COLORADO

Have some regional historical societies; have not yet sent out historical displays, but plan to do so; have a historical movie which they take to schools, clubs, etc.; have issued pamphlets from time to time; issue weekly news letter to the press; give a buffet supper and program for legislature biennially. No junior historical societies; no displays sent out to other towns and cities but plan to do so.

CONNECTICUT

"Our Society House built in 1739 in a summer resort town and is open from June to October. Hold exhibits through summer with refreshments, called a silver tea, to raise money. One exhibit was hooked rugs, another, old baskets, another old glass, etc."

CLINTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CLINTON, CONNECTICUT: No related societies; no junior societies, no displays sent out. Lectures are given; the press is cooperative, often useful.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY: A quarterly bulletin is issued to all members and subscribers; lectures given monthly from October through May.

IDAHO

No title to Society given. Out of the 44 counties in Idaho, each one has an appointed county historian. A biennial report is issued. The Society is controlled by the Board of Directors, appointed by the Governor. The questionnaire was postmarked Boise, Idaho. The writer who answered the questions said that she had been employed with the Society for only four months. She further stated that much of her time had been spent in cleaning up; had not had time to study the possibilities of the Society as yet.

ILLINOIS

Answer to questionnaire mailed from Springfield, Illinois. Name of Society not given. The answer "No" was given to all questions but modified by the statement that pamphlets, leaflets, etc., were issued. Annual meetings and tours are offered but no meetings held in the building.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Clark St. and North Ave., Chicago: The Chicago Teachers Historical Association, a group made up of teachers of history and social sciences in Chicago schools, are related to and served by Chicago Historical Society. They use press and radio; lectures are given in connection with the Chicago Teachers and Historical Association. Special programs for clubs, etc. are put on in building.

EVANSTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Most all work local; have no building of their own, but expect to have soon. The answer "No" was given to most of the points of the questionnaire.

AURORA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AURORA, ILLINOIS: Activities directed toward Boy and Girl Scout groups, P.T.A., D.A.R., clubs, church groups, etc. Building up a kadachrome slide library that will be available to speakers of local and outlying districts. These feature the contents of the Museum. Publish a bulletin that is mailed from coast to coast.

INDIANA

Report to questionnaire was made by Indiana Historical Bureau, an agency of the state government, rather than for the Indiana Historical Society, a private organization. This bureau offers ideas and inspirations to about 40 county historical societies, not federated. Cooperates with local civic and educational groups, also with the schools, especially with the fourth and fifth grades. No junior societies. The public press is used extensively. A Sunday column is published entitled "Now and Then"; a kadachrome slide library is available to speakers; this features the stored gifts that are now on display. Housed in a historic home, use of the building is limited; society often sponsors programs in other buildings.

IOWA

Auxiliary societies in most of the counties of Iowa; no junior societies; no displays sent out. 500 Editors Sheets are sent out to the press. *News for Members* to be sent out; reprinting *Looking Backward on Hawkeyeland*, making the first of a series for schools. Use press on special occasions. Hold annual meetings and historical tours of the state each summer.

KANSAS

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Thirty-five local societies in Kansas, three of which are organized as chapters of the State Society. No junior

historical societies; no displays sent out because nothing can be removed from the building according to the laws governing the Society. Staff members give talks to organizations about the activities of the Society. Leaflets and pamphlets are issued from time to time, and sent to schools and individuals upon request. *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* is sent to libraries and members; the printing appropriation for the fiscal year 1948, \$3,500. The press visits the Society regularly for news items. Annual meeting is held in its building each October.

KENTUCKY

Not affiliated with other organizations; no junior societies; no displays sent out at present but plan to do so. Quarterly issued to members, subscribers, and exchanges. Monthly news letter issued to members. The press is used for historical notes of interest.

MARYLAND

No junior societies; no displays sent out. President or staff members speak before various organizations, some 25 addresses a year. Director addresses tour groups or occasionally meetings of outside societies or school classes within the building. Quarterly bulletin issued to members and exchanges. 3,500 copies printed at the cost of \$400.00 a year. The press used to release any information concerning the Society. Standing notice maintained in the Sunday papers under the heading, "At Our Museum", printed free. Monthly meetings held in the building from October through May; nationally known speakers used.

MINNESOTA

The Minnesota Legislature in 1929 made it illegal for any county board to appropriate funds for a county historical society unless such society is affiliated with, and approved by the Minnesota Historical Society. A county or other local society is affiliated by enrolling as an annual institutional member of the state society and paying dues a year in advance; they also must make an annual report to the Society and send delegates to its annual meetings; there are 34 county societies and 11 other local societies. There are 13 junior historical societies as a branch of the Minnesota State Historical Society. The Society publishes periodically during the school year a periodical, *The Gopher Historian*, and awards annual prizes for best historical papers submitted by chapter members. Publishes a quarterly magazine, *Minnesota History*, free to all members and sold to others; cost of publication approximately \$4,000 per year. A four page leaflet, *News For Members* is sent out monthly at a cost of about 50 cents for each issue. The *Gopher Historian*, is mimeographed as is also a monthly news release to the newspapers of the state. Another Minnesota publication, *Minnesota Under Four Flags* is distributed free to all secondary schools in the state. Special programs and tours are held in the building from time to time.

MISSISSIPPI

Name of organization not given; report postmarked Jackson, Mississippi. Gives a few affiliations as Warren County Historical Association; Claiborne Historical Society, University of Mississippi. "No" was given as an answer to most of the points on the questionnaire.

NOTE: The Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi, is reported a very active historical society or agent. This report seemingly does not come from it.

MISSOURI

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: There are 25 county societies in Missouri, some active, others inactive; all maintain close touch with the State Historical Society. No junior societies; no displays sent out. The Secretary speaks over the state on invitation; Society release weekly news items, published in 85% of counties in Missouri; all newspapers in state receive *Missouri Historical Review*. An annual meeting and dinner is held, with guest speaker on historical subject.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Saint Louis: Private supported; no affiliations, because might conflict with State Historical Society of Missouri; funds do not permit a junior historical society. Experience in lending historical displays unsatisfactory; usually the items have been badly handled. Believe however, that if small exhibits could be arranged in small cases for use in schools, such a program would be successful. The Director makes talks relating to work; through cooperation with the City Art Museum, St. Louis, two 15 minute radio programs have been given each month throughout the year—relating to museum collection, historical exhibits, etc. The quarterly *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* is mailed to paid members and exchanges. Pamphlets are published occasionally. Publication costs about \$1,500. The press extends full cooperation to the Society. Regular lecture-reception meetings are held in the building from October to May, open to members and guests.

NEBRASKA

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Lincoln: A few county societies are connected with the State Society; no junior societies as yet, however, committees from the State Society, State Teachers Association, and State History Teachers Association, are working along the line of junior societies. Now have portable dioramas which will be sent out by the University Extension Division, University of Nebraska. Superintend lectures over the State. *Nebraska History*, a quarterly magazine is published; a weekly column, "Out of Old Nebraska" is distributed regularly to all of the state newspapers. An annual meeting is held with a speaker from out of the state.

NEW JERSEY

Name of Society reporting not given; mailed from Newark, New Jersey; answered "no" to most of the points on the questionnaire. Keeps in touch with county historical societies; no junior societies; no displays sent out; quarterly magazine sent to members; press is used for publicity for special gifts, and reports of meetings; Society meetings held in the building.

NEVADA

Nevada did not return questionnaire; sent letter head reading Nevada State Historical Society, Reno, Nevada; inclosed a leaflet that gave information on the Society.

NEW YORK

There were four or five reports from the State of New York. A report postmarked Palmyra, New York, did not give name of Society. Organization of Wayne County Historical Society just completed; museum in the courthouse. Materials are available for displays; historical files of local and family history are kept.

BROOM COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Binghamton, New York: Sixteen Town Historians and one City Historian work with the main Society. There is a State Junior Society which is supported by the young people of Broom County. No displays sent out. Mainly the points on the questionnaire were not answered.

ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Rochester, New York: This is a Society of the City, but it has many out-of-town members. The Society publishes an annual volume of historical papers or documents; this is distributed free to members and all schools and libraries; a 24 page quarterly, *Rochester Historian*, paid for by the City is distributed to schools and libraries at ten cents a copy, printing costs, \$150.00 a year. Other points on the questionnaire were not answered.

CITY HISTORY CLUB, Bronx, New York: This Club consists entirely of children; holds exhibits of work done by children in connection with "Know Your City" broadcasts; almost one million children hear these broadcasts yearly. This program has won three national awards.

ROCHESTER MUSEUM OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, Rochester, New York: This is a federation of historical societies interested in the history of Western New York. Lecturers are frequently sent out. The Museum issues a bulletin, *Museum Service*, with a circulation of 1,500; leaflets, etc., are published from time to time. Employ a full time public relations assistant.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Utica, New York: Questionnaire not answered fully. Affiliated with New York State Historical Association. Hall of Fame meeting held once each year at which time prominent residents of Oneida County are elected.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, New York City: No affiliations; no Junior Societies; displays loaned to other museums. Send out a quarterly and an annual report to members; other publications are sold. Have a public relations officer, announcements and releases are given wide coverage; staff members contribute to outside journals; many meetings are held in building each year; twelve large exhibits are held with a lecture each year; lectures for school children are held throughout the year; tours of the building are made and historical movies are shown; traveling museum exhibits are constantly circulated through New York City High Schools.

HUNTINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Long Island, New York: Questionnaire not returned. This is a wide awake Society and very active. They contribute their historical values to other Societies in the state.

ALBANY INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND ART, Albany, New York: This is affiliated with the Albany County Historical Association. Have a program of exchanging exhibits. Nine receptions are held yearly; twenty lectures, special programs, dances, music, etc.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Westchester, New York: This is a private Society supported by dues from members; a quarterly bulletin is issued to all members, and an annual dinner is held for members and friends.

NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY, Raleigh, North Carolina: Cooperate with all state and county societies. Pamphlets are written by staff members, are printed and sent to all school libraries in the state. News releases are given and reporters come in weekly. Other points on questionnaire not answered.

NORTH DAKOTA

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: No affiliations; no junior societies; displays are sent out from the Museum during the celebration of special events, staff members lecture on invitation and at celebrations. A quarterly magazine, *North Dakota History*, is sent to members and exchanges; a monthly leaflet, *The Museum Review*, is sent to members, exchanges, public libraries, county superintendents and other interested people. Receptions are occasionally held in the building; members of the Legislature are invited to visit the Building when in session.

OHIO

STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Columbus, Ohio: Affiliated with State Society and adjacent county societies. No junior societies. Loans for displays are made to local institutions on special occasions. Have good cooperation with the public press; used often. Until the death of the curator, regular schedule of lectures were given to school children; who were assigned to it as part of their curriculum; they were brought by bus and conducted through the building. (Good idea for Oklahoma City).

OREGON

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Portland, Oregon: Have engaged in organizing county and area historical societies, and affiliating with societies already organized; no junior societies. Materials are loaned to other museums, other organizations, etc., the borrower paying shipping and insurance costs. Offers made to colleges, schools, service organizations, etc., of a speaker for their meetings; the response was good. Two pamphlets published regularly, one for membership promotion, and to acquaint the reader with the Society, and one to publicise the Museum. Do not have own building.

PENNSYLVANIA

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: No related societies; no Junior Societies; no displays sent out. No pamphlets, leaflets, etc. are issued. The public press is used to advertise exhibitions and lectures. Have receptions, lectures and special programs at least four times a year.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION: Local and county historical societies are members of this Association; no Junior Societies; displays are sent out only at times of the annual convention which is held in different towns each year. Issue a quarterly magazine, and publish historical data from time to time. Have no building of their own.

RHODE ISLAND

THE JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM HOUSE AND MUSEUM, East Greenwich, Rhode Island: Reported no junior societies, no displays sent out; speakers sent out upon request. The public press is used occasionally. The chief purpose of the Society is the preservation and restoration of the old home belonging to Major General James S. Varnum.

SOUTH CAROLINA

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: No Junior Societies; no affiliations; no speakers. A quarterly, *The South Carolina Historical and Geneological Magazine* is distributed to members and exchanges. A reprint from the magazine, *South Carolina History Notes and Reviews* is distributed to the libraries over the state. No other points on the questionnaire were answered.

TENNESSEE

TENNESSEE STATE LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES, State Department of Education, State Capitol, Nashville, Tennessee, reported. Cooperate with Tennessee county historical societies and Tennessee Historical Commissions. Hold annual meeting with East and West Tennessee Societies. No junior societies; no speakers, no publications. Further points on the questionnaire were not answered.

TEXAS

TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, report mailed at Austin, Texas: No related societies. There are 88 chapters of the Junior historians, sponsored by the Texas State Historical Association, with state organization and business and magazine editing from same office. Each September, a copy of the *Junior Historian* magazine is sent along with mimeographed information on the Junior Historian movement to all the public schools of Texas. The Society does not have a building of its own.

VERMONT

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Montpelier, Vermont: No affiliations; no Junior Societies; no displays sent out. Director makes addresses before various groups during the year. Issues regular historical quarterly. Regular releases sent to the press.

VIRGINIA

Name of Society reporting not given, mailed from Richmond. No related clubs. Several Junior Societies but not related to the Society. No displays sent out, no speakers sent out. No leaflets, bulletins, etc., published. About five meetings with guest speakers held each year; annual meeting held, followed by reception. Issue quarterly, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the chief avenue of disseminating news of the Society.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C. STATE CAPITOL HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION: No Junior Societies, but definite effort is made to interest young people of the state. Displays are sent out seldom. No speakers sent out regularly, but Director very active in furthering public relations. Publish booklet on the Museum, and news of the Society through Dept. of Public Instruction's Bulletins. Use press at intervals; radio programs are given concerning interesting exhibits, etc.

NOTE: The Director of this Society requests information on how their Society compares with others in the country.

WASHINGTON

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: No junior organizations; no displays sent out. Many talks given by Director in city and outlying districts. *News Letters* are sent to members, the Legislature, Chamber of Commerce, Editors, and members of associated societies. Fine cooperation given by press, whom are offered aid by research.

WISCONSIN

Three reports were sent in on Historical Societies of Wisconsin: The Burlington Historical Society, the Beloit Historical Society, and one in Oshkosh. The first mentioned is a local society only, the second, affiliated with the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the other is a local organization and centers around Old Settlers Meetings.

WYOMING

WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT, Cheyenne, Wyoming: No affiliations; no junior societies, no displays sent out. The State Historian speaks upon invitation. A pamphlet, *Wyoming* is distributed to museum visitors and to schools upon request. News items given to reporters who visit department daily. No special programs are held.

CANADA

NORWICH PIONEERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Norwich, Ontario: Affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society and supply the Oxford County Historical Society with duplicate exhibits; cooperate with other towns and villages interested in historical information. No Junior Societies; no displays sent out; no publications published; historical sketches are published at intervals by the *London Free Press*, and other newspapers.

INDIAN TREATY MAKING

By G. E. E. Lindquist*

There is a record of 389 treaties made with the Indian, and incorporated in the statutes of the United States from 1778 to 1871. While many of these have, of course, been fulfilled in one form or another, every appropriation bill of the Department of the Interior, under which the Indian Bureau operates, contains some mention of the "fulfillment of treaties." Not many years ago Senator W. H. King made a speech in Congress in which he said: "Indians are wards of the Government and are therefore entitled to the highest degree of consideration. There are not only legal and binding obligations from which the Government may not honorably escape but there are also moral obligations, which are of commanding force."¹ More recently Senator Hugh Butler, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, under which the Sub-committee on Indian Affairs now operates, stated: "It is time to give serious consideration to setting the American Indians free."² A friend of the Indian raises a question in a recent issue of a popular magazine: "Why should the native Americans be the one race officially segregated?"³

In the final analysis the answer to this question and to the preceding statements hark back to the peculiar wardship status of the American Indian and the treaties which were in a large measure responsible, or at least set the pattern. Wardship with its paterna-

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This article touches upon an important phase of history in Oklahoma where approximately one-third of the Indians in the United States live today. While treaty provisions with the tribes within the boundaries of this state are out-moded as concerns their daily life now, yet it was the land tenure provided by treaty stipulation with the Choctaw, Creek, and Cherokee that made possible the high degree of advancement and standing attained by the tribes that settled here since the removal of the great tribes from Southeastern United States to this region in the 1830's. All of Oklahoma (except present Ottawa County and the Panhandle region) was held by one or another of these three tribes under patent from the United States: the Choctaw from east to west throughout the southern part; the Creek through the central portion; and the Cherokee, northeastern and northern parts from east to west. Many articles, too numerous to mention here, have appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* relating to the development of the Five Civilized Tribes, their institutions and culture, as well as to the former reservation tribes in this region, which throw much light upon Oklahoma's Indian history touched upon by Doctor Lindquist in this contribution.—Ed.

¹ U. S. Senate, Document 214.

² *Congressional Record*, July 21, 1947.

³ *Reader's Digest* for April, 1948.

istic trappings is increasingly distasteful to him. Obviously no single sweeping enactment will wipe away in a moment the tangled tissues of exemptions and restrictions accumulated in the form of directives, rules and regulations of a bureaucratic system, not to speak of more than 5,000 specific laws as well as the 389 treaties. Some of the latter, still extant, have to be fulfilled. But before this can be properly and honorably consummated, it is essential to know the background of these treaties, the why of Indian treaties, how they came into being, the various elements which cause them to be considered "obligations." It is the purpose of this treatise to deal with these considerations under specific headings.

SECTION I.

SOME PRE-CONSTITUTION TREATIES

In colonial times the word treaty was apt to be applied to the meeting between Indians and whites as much as to any agreement that might arise from such a meeting. When Sir William Johnson in New York or Captain John Stuart in the South, held a "treaty", it was usually a great gathering of Indians from near and far, coming to feast at the expense of the officers of the British crown, to camp for days in the vicinity of the council place, to listen to finely phrased speeches and deliver similar examples of eloquence in return, and in the end to depart bearing presents the white man had brought.

In return the Indians had frequently promised a cession of land, or settled a boundary between themselves and neighbors either white or red. Often, however, they had merely promised to remain at peace with their English speaking neighbors—an obligation which might cease to be binding when French or Spanish held similar conferences and made more glowing or merely more recent advances.

Thus in June, 1755, more than eleven hundred Indians of nine different tribes assembled at Fort Johnson on the banks of the Mohawk, for council with Johnson—not yet made Sir William. The days of council and feasting culminated in the war dance, and presumably the New York Indians and brethren to the west were enlisted in the war against the French. The Canadian intriguers, Johnson reported to Braddock, "had artfully worked up a jealousy in the Upper Nations against the Mohawks and I have reason to believe had not this meeting taken place five of the six nations would in a little time have gone over to the French."

In spite of this well attended treaty and supposed reversal of Iroquois allegiance, when the actual advance to battle at Lake George began, Johnson's Indian allies were pitifully few. Joseph Brant, Johnson's thirteen year old Mohawk brother-in-law (by Indian custom) had his baptism of fire on this occasion; but for Johnson's

old friend "Emperor Hendrick," unwieldy with fat and age, it was the last time he would lead Mohawks to battle. This encounter, which gave Hendrick a grave, presented Johnson with a bullet and a baronetcy. It was in the midst of another treaty-council, twenty years later, that Johnson died, on the very eve of the Revolution.

In the South, where Stuart was superintendent, there were treaties made with him and with various colonial governors. There was even one made in the London lodgings of Sir Alexander Cuming with four Cherokees whom he had taken to England and presented at court. These four, who had gone abroad as tourist guests rather than legates, agreed that the Cherokees would remain friends of the English crown "while the rivers continue to run, the mountains to stand, or the sun to shine." It was not this unauthorized agreement, however, that made the Cherokees continue their assaults upon the American Villages until the Revolution had been over a dozen years. A number of treaties with the English, with Colonial governors, with the States, were made before the final one with the United States government at Hopewell in 1795 marked the end of Cherokee resistance to the independent new nation.

In the period between the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, there were a number of treaties with different tribes. Those made with the Congress are seven in number, and are regularly listed in the compilation of national treaties, beginning with the wartime agreement of amity and alliance made with the Delaware in 1778.⁴ The treaty made at Fort Stanwix in 1784 with the Six Nations of New York⁵ was confirmed ten years later, after the Constitution had been adopted, and the reaffirmation remains in force to this day.⁶

The treaty made by George Rogers Clark with the Wyandot, Chippewa, Delaware and Ottawa Indians in 1785 at Fort McIntosh,⁷ like those made late in the same year with the Cherokees at Hopewell⁸ and early in the following year with the Choctaw,⁹ and the Chickasaw¹⁰ and the Shawnees¹¹ were all promises of perpetual peace and amity, acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the new nation, and a statement of the boundaries of the respective hunting grounds.

So far as peace went, the treaties were soon "scraps of paper." The British influence was still strong in the west of that day, and it was not until Anthony Wayne gained a decided victory at Fallen

⁴ 7 Stat., 13.

⁵ 7 Stat., 15.

⁶ 7 Stat., 44.

⁷ 7 Stat., 16.

⁸ 7 Stat., 18.

⁹ 7 Stat., 21.

¹⁰ 7 Stat., 24.

¹¹ 7 Stat., 26.

Timbers, over the assembled tribesmen, that it was possible to make a treaty which had a fair chance of really assuring peace.¹²

During this period before the establishment of a national constitution the individual States had the authority to enter into treaty relations with the Indians within their borders. The Iroquois held several conferences with the officials of New York State, and even after the adoption of the Constitution the State of New York was a party to the treaty whereby the "Seven Nations of Canada" relinquished their claim to lands within the State and accepted the boundaries of the St. Regis village reservation.¹³

During the Revolution and the years immediately following, the States of South Carolina and Georgia made a number of treaties with the southern tribes, chiefly the Cherokee. These agreements promised peace and respect for definite boundary lines. Actual peace, however, was not assured during this entire period.

SECTION II

WHY INDIAN TREATIES?

In one sense there never should have been, and indeed it might be said never has been, such a thing as a treaty between white man and red. A treaty between nations, like a contract between individuals, demands first of all that the contracting parties should be on an equal footing. This condition was never met. While in the first meetings of small groups of explorers or colonists with the natives, there was some approach to equality in numbers and power, this balance was rapidly dissipated.

The number of Indians within the United States borders at the time of the discovery can of course never be known. The best judgment makes an estimate of perhaps half to three quarters of a million people. But many of these were not to see a white face for another century, even two or three centuries in some cases. The early meetings between races were of course of a recently landed shipload of explorers or colonists with a small group of hunters or a "village" of Indians.

The present population of Indians is as vague and difficult to determine as is the original number. The Census Bureau counts people considered Indians in their communities. The Indian Bureau counts also the descendants of those enrolled in other years as Indians. Both include many not predominantly Indian in blood. On the other hand, there must be many, many thousands who have a very small proportion of Indian blood who nevertheless have never thought of themselves as Indians. (Dr. Chapman Milling, in *Red Carolinians*, refers

¹² Greenville, Aug. 3, 1795, 7 *Stat.*, 49.

¹³ May 31 1796, 7 *Stat.*, 55.

to former Secretary of State Cordell Hull as a man of Cherokee ancestry.)

Indian Bureau statistics of 1940 give the number of Indians as more than 380,000. It is doubtful if as many as half of these have any definite connection with the Bureau. It is doubted whether few have more Indian than white blood. To calculate the percentage of those educated or hospitalized, or drafted, with this population figure as a basis, would be misleading in the extreme.

In fact, until there is an intelligent and official answer to the question, "What is an Indian?" it is useless to attempt an enumeration that will be more than a guess.

In organization there was no parity whatever. The European who came to these shores had a concept of government which had not yet entered the American native's mind. At the outset the newcomer saw in the leader of some little Indian party a King or even an Emperor. At once he assumed that here was a potentate qualified to do business on behalf of his subjects and his country.

As a matter of fact, most Indian groups had the absolute minimum of organization. Of officials and rulers, of laws and courts, they knew nothing. A man who was a good talker and had shown his prowess in war in addition, might become the leader of a war party. But his followers came to him voluntarily, stayed for as long or short a time as they chose, and conducted their fighting at their own will and discretion. Back from the warpath, they owed him no allegiance, gave him no authority.

It was with such thorough-going individualists that the colonists endeavored to make corporate agreements. That the provisos accepted by some Indians were completely ignored by others of the same tribe, even though presents to all had presumably ratified a "Treaty", was inevitable. Again and again the elders would say "We can not control our young men," thinking this statement a quite sufficient explanation of another outbreak of war. Again they would promise peace and accept presents as an earnest of their good intentions. And again the young men would paint their faces and take to the warpath. People so lacking in political forms could provide no individual or group of individuals having sufficient authority to enter into treaty making.

The "chiefs" whose names came to be appended to formal treaties were in large measure the creation of the white man. Sir William Johnson (Superintendent for Great Britain, 1755-1775) described his method in colonial times. He selected certain of the elders who seemed to have the esteem of their fellow tribesmen and bound them to his interest by special presents. Thereafter he would defer to these men in command, distinguish them by especial notice and

presents. They would report to him what they learned of the feelings and desires of their people. When a council was called, they would speak in behalf of the groups from which they came. Often Sir William wrote in advance not only his own speeches but those which the old "Emperor Hendrick" of the Mohawks, was to make in return. Thus was a treaty made; for in colonial times the term "treaty" was usually applied to the council itself. A written report of the gathering was made for the Crown; but there was no actual document signed by both parties, as became the practice after the United States was established. For the Indians, the usual distribution of presents was sufficient ratification.

Use of "Presents"

"Present giving" was the immemorial custom, both of Indians and whites. Columbus on his first voyage had brought trinkets of various sorts as well as articles of more substantial value to purchase the friendship of the natives, their produce, their furs, and their gold and precious metals, if any. The great value which the natives placed on any little tinkling bell was a revelation to the Spaniard. Mirrors were another great delight to the oboriginal spirit. The brave who could dangle such an ornament about his neck was proud indeed. Beads from which ornaments might be fashioned were in high demand.

Aside from articles of ornamentation, more useful things soon began to work a change in Indian life. A Stone Age people found the gun and powder, the tomahawk and knife, such aids to hunting and preparation of game and pelts, that their effectiveness was multiplied. Add to this the wider range given to their travels by the horse, introduced by the Spaniards not long after the discovery, and the transformation of their lives is evident. Their furs could be traded to the white man not only for these effective tools and weapons, but for woven materials, bright calico and warm blankets, "strouds and duffel," which would take the place of their garments of skin. It is interesting to note that when a statue in 1909 was made of Mary Jemison, the "white woman of the Genesee," who spent most of her ninety years (1743-1833) among the Senecas, so little was known of the native Iroquois manner of dress that her costume was modeled on that of Sacajawea, a trans-Missouri heroine whose people had not been reached by white influence so early.

All these presents of the whites, most of which he never learned to duplicate, made the Indian quite ready to come to councils and make treaties. And always there was the firewater he soon learned to crave, for very few of the tribes had known how to make intoxicants. "The Darling Water," the Chippewa called it; and sad indeed would be treaty making or trading if the occasion were not ended by a grand debauch.

Such was the treaty making of the earlier days—a call to the tribesmen; a great gathering and feasting at the expense of those who wished to purchase peace or property; an exchange of set speeches solemnly pronounced, to the accompaniment of a wampum belt preferred at the end of each specification. Then when belts and ideas had presumably both been exchanged, there followed a great distribution of presents and a drinking bout.

Unfortunately the exchange of ideas was seldom so complete as the swapping of belts. Peace, as has been explained, though easily promised, could seldom be guaranteed. As for land cessions, the different attitudes of the two races toward land ownership made almost impossible the “meeting of the minds” necessary to a valid contract. The native idea of land was a matter of use and occupancy. Exclusive possession, a fencing off against others, was scarcely in his scheme of life. His right in his hunting grounds was to be defended at all times against other tribes and parties. The woman’s right to the place where she planted corn lasted only while she continued to use it. So, while they accepted presents for a land cession, they fully expected to come back next year for another round of gifts. That they had bartered something permanent for goods which they would use up or wear out was difficult for them to understand.

Language Difficulties

Another point of constant misunderstanding lay in language difficulties. To this day people who would have their communications translated to the red man, incline to forget the limitations of primitive language. It was the early missionaries to the Dakota who introduced among them the phrase translated as “Great Spirit”, for their native concept had not included a single and preeminent spirit. They believed in spirits of all types, good and bad, and of all degrees of power, in the world about them. It was necessary to introduce the idea of a single omnipotent Spirit to them before the name could be adopted.

So also when one would talk to them of laws and government, thrones and potentates. The French had addressed the Iroquois as brothers. This was a relationship they could easily understand. But when in a council with the English they were led to refer to themselves as “subjects” of the English King, those acquainted with Indians were quick to reflect that this relationship was quite outside their experience and comprehension, and that if the word were really understood, it would be heartily repudiated.

Today, one who talks to non-English speaking Indians of corporations, of courts and congresses, is expecting the impossible if he supposes the interpreter can render these intricacies of civilization in a language which comprehends only the simpler realities. The best that can be done is to make some simple analogy—and comparisons

are too often misleading. A "cooperative association for business purposes", may be to the white man like "brothers working together", but the first phrase carries a thousand implications the latter rendition can not give.

Status of a Treaty

Leaving Indian treaties and their inescapable failures aside for the moment, there are some features about treaties in general which the average citizen often fails to realize. The first is that any treaty has a status as high as that of the law of the land, but no higher. It is superior to a State enactment. It may modify or repeal a previous Federal law. But on the other hand, a subsequent Federal law may repeal the provisions of a treaty. The idea of a treaty as something that can never be changed is a popular misapprehension.

The executive of a nation, too, may by pronouncement abrogate a treaty. Although in our country he must have the vote of two-thirds of the Senate before a treaty is adopted, no such formal approval is required for its abrogation.

Further, it is a rule of international law that war abrogates all treaties. When Great Britain and Germany are in armed conflict, no one supposes that either of them is bound by the commitments made in time of peace. The fact that they are at war has destroyed the validity of all peace time agreements.

Thus a treaty which uses the word "forever" is violating the law of its own creation. Yet men go on blithely promising to bind future centuries with their unpredicted changes, by chains that even in their own generation may become completely obsolete, through altered conditions.

Incidentally, there is a popular belief that in all treaties with the Indians the white men were supposed to guarantee their enforcement "as long as grass shall grow and rivers run", but one may search many a volume without finding this phraseology. Oratorically, the language would appeal to the Indian love of eloquence in some sections of our land; to denizens of the southwestern desert country it might indicate an occasional miraculous dispensation rather than a permanent condition of the landscape.

Much has been written and spoken of late concerning the treaty with the Navaho of 1868, especially the reference to the "school for every thirty children" provision. As a matter of fact, few have read the exact language of Article 6 and hence do not seem to realize that among other things a ten year limitation is mentioned as well as compulsory attendance:¹⁴

¹⁴Treaty with the Navaho, 1868, 15 Stat., 667.

ARTICLE 6. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on said agricultural parts of this reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school, and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that, for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.

The provisions of this article to continue for not less than ten years.
(Italics added)

With all these things in mind, the wonder is not that some of the 389 treaties made with the tribes during the first century's existence of these United States fell by the wayside, were outworn, became impossible of fulfillment. The surprise indeed is that so goodly a proportion did come to complete fulfillment, or do exist inviolate to the present day.

But each year the thousand dollar fund is duly distributed. The keeping up of rolls, correspondence concerning births and deaths and changes of status and residence, the passing of an annual appropriation, the preparation and distribution, in person or by mail, of the many small checks that make up the payment,—all this must be a considerably larger expense than the payment itself. Yet it is nothing

For example, the Confederation of the thirteen states in 1784, and the United States under the Constitution in 1794, made a treaty with the New York tribes, guaranteeing them a small but perpetual annuity, which is paid to this day. The portion of the Oneidas, who removed to the Fox river country (now Wisconsin) some thirty years after the making of this treaty, was decided to be a thousand dollars. The descendants of these people now number some three thousand. They received their land in individual ownership a half century ago, becoming citizens of the United States at that time under the provisions of the General Allotment Act.¹⁵ Only a very few pieces of land are now held in trust for this tribe by the government. The Oneidas are a dispersed tribe, and the roll which must be kept to make treaty funds distributable carries addresses all over the United States. Not half of them are to be reached in or near the Wisconsin counties where their reservation was located.

As for blood content, these people were thoroughly mixed with French, Dutch and English strains well before the American Revolution. The mixture has gone on steadily through succeeding generations. So the Oneida who receives his yearly check for a few cents has probably only a very remote strain of Indian blood.

¹⁵ 24 Stat., 388, Feb. 8, 1887.

But each year the thousand dollar fund is duly distributed. The keeping up of rolls, correspondence concerning births and deaths and changes of status and residence, the passing of an annual appropriation, the preparation and distribution, in person or by mail, of the many small checks that make up the payment,—all this must be a considerably larger expense than the payment itself. Yet it is nothing but a “token” payment when completed. Some Indians cling to it, laying claim to it as proof that they are still a separate nation.

All Indians born within the limits of the United States are our fellow citizens. There were special instances of citizenship even prior to the General Allotment Act of February, 1887; but from that date until the passage of the amending Burke Act in May, 1906, every Indian who received an allotment in severalty became a full-fledged United States citizen. His descendants, of course, were born to citizenship. Thus fully two-thirds of the Indians had attained citizenship before the passage of an act in June, 1924, which extended citizenship to all Indians. The Oneidas became citizens when they received their allotments of land; the Iroquois in New York, whose land has not been individually parceled out, became citizens by virtue of the 1924 enactment.

Citizens from one of these Iroquois groups, or perhaps several of them, carried this fiction so far as to make a tribal declaration of war upon Germany and Japan. They did not, however, array a tribal army to march forth to battle but were content to go as members of the armed forces of the United States.

Commutation of Treaties

All common sense and reasonableness calls for the commutation of a treaty such as this. No intelligent purpose is served by the annual distribution of a few cents per capita, or, as in the case of others of the Iroquois, of a small piece of calico. A lump sum of which the annual payment would be the equivalent of interest, could be appropriated to the tribes either for distribution or to provide some general benefit. Attempts have been made in the past to win the consent of the Iroquois to this commutation, but without avail. The persistence of this treaty exemplifies the word mortgage—a dead hand laid on generations to come.

The treaty-councils of colonial times followed two lines; they were designed to purchase the friendship of the Indians or their neutrality in case of war, and they sought land cessions, or at least the cession of such rights as the Indians possessed to various lands. Thus, when at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, Sir William Johnson paid a substantial sum to the representatives of various tribes for the country of Kentucky, below the Ohio, he was buying no more than a right for the white man to hunt over the region where he would be under peril of attack from other tribes who hunted in the same section. When Henderson in the Sycamore Shoals Treaty of 1775 made another

great payment to the Cherokees for the same land, he was purchasing something a bit more definable, since the Cherokees were much more regular frequenters of the "dark and bloody ground." But the Indians cherished no idea that they could dispose of an actual title to the land, assuring Henderson that though he had bought a beautiful country, he would find it difficult indeed to hold. The prediction was amply justified by events.

For the northern tribes, holding a key position between French and English, there had been much wooing from both sides. No doubt French counsels as to English trickery, and English warnings of French designs, were the inspiration of an attitude of distrust that became almost a racial characteristic of the Indian. With the independence of the United States in 1776 the protagonists in the struggle were changed, but the waging of the war by propaganda persisted. In the first recorded treaty made with the Delawares in 1778, when the new nation was fighting for its existence, this warfare of words was recognized and rebuttal offered:¹⁶ "Whereas, the enemies of the United States have endeavored, by every artifice in their power, to possess the Indians in general with an opinion, that it is the design of the states aforesaid to extirpate the Indians and take possession of their country; to obviate such false suggestions. . . ." The new nation guaranteed Delaware territorial integrity.

Treaty Renewals

A fourth of the recorded treaties between the United States and Indian tribes are affirmations or re-affirmations of peace at the close of different wars—the Revolution, the second war with England, the War of the Sixties. The first peace treaties, as the Revolution ended, proved meaningless, for the Indians of the Appalachians and the Northwest Territory continued hostilities, emboldened by the example of the British who likewise refused to live up to their treaty agreements and relinquish their hold upon the frontier forts. Generals Harmar and St. Clair tried in vain to conquer a peace; it was not until "Mad Anthony" Wayne went against them and won a decisive victory at Fallen Timbers, near where Toledo, Ohio, now stands, that the red men realized that the new nation was a going concern. Wayne gave them time to think over the defeat he had administered to them before assembling them all for the treaty of Greenville in the Northwest Territory, in 1795.

Personalities

Here a host of tribes gathered and made the desired promises of peace. Many a chief affixed his mark and accepted the presents of the Great White Father. Beside General Wayne's name at the foot of the treaty was that of his aide, William Henry Harrison, later to be civil governor of all this northwest territory and negotiator of

¹⁶ 7 Stat., 13.

many a treaty with the tribes as well as victor of the affray at Tippecanoe. Two other young men here were Lieutenant William Clark and Ensign Meriwether Lewis. Lewis barely twenty-one, had just entered the army in the lowest commissioned rank and arrived on the scene only a short time before the treaty making; Clark had been leading a group of Chickasaw fighters enlisted in Wayne's army. These two young men could not guess that ten years later they would be traveling together across the Shining Mountains to bring back news of the first American contact with many, many tribes. Nor could tall redheaded Clark have imagined that in twenty years' time, as the "Red Head Chief" of the western Indians, he would be traveling up and down the Missouri to make a series of treaties with the tribes that had again chosen the losing side in the Second War with England.

Wayne's battle and treaty sufficed to bring England to a fulfillment of her treaty obligations, and in the year after Greenville, Forts Detroit and Mackinac became posts of the United States. British influence with the tribes was not yet shaken off, however, and Brigadier General Tecumseh, of the Shawnees, proved an indefatigable ally in marshalling the tribes, north and south, for the second conflict.

War of 1812

Of the forty-three treaties made in the three years following the close of this war, most were simple treaties of peace and friendship. Exceptions to this rule were the agreements with the Creeks, and Cherokees, from whom a land cession was required, in part as a barrier to their continued intercourse with influences in Florida, at that time still a foreign territory, and in part as the forerunner of that policy of removal of the southeastern tribes which was to be so fruitful a cause of trouble in the next quarter century.

Policy of Removal

This policy of removal was first formally announced by President Monroe near the close of his term. The plan was to domicile the tribes in the western country beyond the Mississippi, where it was then presumed the white man's settlements would never penetrate. Eventually it was thought that these tribes would develop into a community and be admitted to statehood. That idea had been set out in the first treaty of all, with the Delaware.

According to the plan presented by President Monroe, lands west of the Mississippi were to be assigned to all tribes in return for their lands in the east. The carrying out of the plan went on through succeeding administrations, Presidents Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren acquiescing and furthering the purpose. During this period the treaties largely had to do with land cessions and transfers. Contrary to the popular impression, the reimbursement for lands amounted to really substantial sums, considering that the regions were quite undeveloped and the transactions took place at a time when money was scarce and its purchasing power great.

The controversy over the removal of the southeastern tribes led to some interesting and vital clarifications of Indian and white relations. It was in connection with the disputed treaty of Indian Springs in 1825 that President Adams' Attorney General Wirt gave an opinion declaring that the Indian tribes were independent nations so far as treaty-making was concerned:¹⁷ "*As to Validity of Indian Treaty Making*—As a nation they are still free and independent. They are entirely self-governed, self-directed. They treat, or refuse to treat, at their pleasure."

This treaty, however, soon met disaster; protesting Creeks killed Major William McIntosh, the Creek leader who had negotiated the pact. (Despite his Scotch name, Major McIntosh was of Indian blood on his mother's side; his father was a Scotch trader among the Creeks. In the Second War with England, which to them was the Red Sticks War, the Creek Indians were divided into two parties. William McIntosh received his commission as Major in the United States Army, where he led a body of loyal Creeks. Long before this time the tribes of the southeastern region had become largely mixed with European blood—French, Spanish, English and Scottish.) And the Attorney General's opinion lost its force when Chief Justice John Marshall rendered his decision in the case of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* saying that the position of the tribe to the United States resembled that of a ward to his guardian:¹⁸

They look to our government for protection; rely upon its kindness and its power; appeal to it for relief to their wants; and address the president as their great father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connection with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory and an act of hostility.

In other words, the court could find in the Indian tribe no authority or power to make a treaty with another country. The conclusion would seem inescapable that such "domestic dependent nations" would be in no position to make treaties with the greater power acting toward them as a guardian. Yet the making of treaties, admittedly between parties of such unequal power, was to go on for forty years more.

In the same year (1825) in which Major McIntosh engineered his ill-fated Indian Springs treaty, there was a huge gathering of many tribes at Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi. The entire month of July passed in preparation for this assemblage of more than a thousand Indians of the northwestern tribes. The deliberations lasted from August 5 to August 19, when an imposing array of marks was attached to the treaty whose white signers were Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan and General William Clark of St. Louis, the Red

¹⁷ 7 Stat., 237.

¹⁸ 6 Pet. 575, 1831.

Head Chief whose ruddy locks were beginning to be silvered by time.¹⁹

The whole purpose of this concourse of plumes and plenipotentiaries was to bring about peace among the tribes themselves, Sioux, Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Sac and Fox, Menominee, and Ioway, with the Otoes not present but kept in mind and accounted for. Agreements were reached after long discussion, delimiting boundaries between the tribes, beyond which they should not hunt except by mutual agreement.

It is here that we run across the origin of the phrase which has come to be thought of as a promise of the United States to the Indian. Not in the treaty itself, but in the *Journal* of Major Thomas Biddle, who acted as secretary of this council, it is recorded that on the final day of signing, the wampum belt was displayed, and the peace pipe passed around, in token of the fact that among these tribes the war tomahawk was buried "never to be raised again as long as the trees grow, or the waters of this river continue to run."²⁰

The less poetic treaty contented itself with having the signatory tribes promise one another a "firm and perpetual peace." Whether in poetry or prose, the promise proved less than permanent. No trees fell and the Mississippi flowed on as usual when the Sioux and Chippewa renewed their traditional hostilities on the way home. And that was that.

When, in 1829 and 1830, treaties were again made at Prairie du Chien, there was a large intervening record of tribal difficulties to compose, as well as settlement of the disturbances caused by the outbreak of the Winnebagoes under Red Bird.²¹ There were land cessions too, this time, for during this period the policy of Indian concentration in the West was being consistently urged.

By 1841 the western boundary of settlement and eastern boundary of the Indian country seemed fairly well determined. The Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast—Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole—had been removed and ceded lands in the Indian Territory west of Arkansas.

The name of the Five Civilized Tribes was given to these five who had come to the Indian Territory because four of them had adopted to a considerable degree the white man's mode of living, while still in the East. They had attained, largely under missionary encouragement, forms of government not unlike that of the United States. By comparison, the tribes with whom they came into contact in their new home seemed much more savage. Hence these became known as "civilized tribes."

¹⁹ 7 Stat., 272.

²⁰ Biddle's *Journal*, p. 35.

²¹ 7 Stat., 327, 1929 and 7 Stat., 328, 1930.

Incidentally, it may be noted that to the popular—and not unpolitical—outcry against the removal of these groups may be traced the popular misapprehension that all Indians have been “driven west.” Other Oklahoma tribes come from north, and west and south-east but few from the northeast. The greater number of Indians, southwest, northwest, and north, are in the same regions where their ancestors roamed.

Exceptions were those recalcitrant Seminole who had taken refuge in the Florida swamps, the band of Eastern Cherokee who had been permitted to remain in the Smokies, and a band of Choctaw in Mississippi. While removal was going on under General Winfield Scott, Cherokees to the number of possibly a thousand took refuge in the Smokies. An Indian by the name of T’sali or Charley was being taken under guard to a camp for removal. He called out a command in Cherokee to his sons; they and others seized the guns of the soldiers who were apparently under orders not to shoot. One soldier was killed and the Cherokees escaped to the woods. General Scott, through William Thomas, a trader greatly beloved by the Cherokees, offered to let the fugitives remain if they would give up the murderers. Charley and his two sons were executed by other members of their tribe and the band of Eastern Cherokees stayed in the mountains, where their descendants live today.

Various tribes were located west of Missouri. Some were in approximately their original homes, as the Quapaw and the Kansas, while others were from various sections north and east. After numerous migrations the Delawares had found a site on the Kaw river, while close to the Osage were even a group of Seneca who had been more willing to migrate than their fellow tribesmen.

North of Missouri the Indian boundary swerved to the east. The Sac and Fox still occupied much of what was later to be the state of Iowa, with Winnebagoes and Sioux to the north of them in the Minnesota country. Still farther north, the Chippewa and Menominee extended across northern Wisconsin, along the southern shore of Lake Superior and down to the Fox river country.

It was all very nicely settled as a permanent western barrier. But the planners failed to reckon with what the expansionists of the day called Manifest Destiny. Already the covered wagons were moving over the Oregon trail. Before another decade had gone by, the United States would know no western boundary but the broad Pacific. In a fateful year, Texas would be annexed, the wide southwestern domain would be wrested and bought from Mexico, and the disputed joint occupancy of the Pacific Northwest would be terminated, leaving the Stars and Stripes floating from Baja California to Puget Sound.

No great onrush of Indian treaties resulted in the Southwest. The Pueblo or village Indians were put into a different class from the more roving tribes. When this country, embracing the present

States of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and part of Colorado, was ceded to the United States it was stipulated that those who chose to remain should come into the northern nation with the same relationship to the central government which they had borne to Mexico. By the plan of Iguala the Indians living a settled life had been declared citizens of Mexico. No further grant was needed, therefore, to make the dwellers in the terraced stone and adobe houses citizens of the United States. As for their land titles, these dated back to Spain. Even though the Indians of Taos pueblo took a vigorous part in the uprising which ended the life of Governor Charles Bent, there was no thought of an Indian treaty when the insurrection was quelled.

A single enactment with the Apaches and Utes seemed to satisfy the authorities, and the Indians pursued their accustomed paths, which included fairly constant raids upon the villages of the Spanish speaking denizens of the region.

For the Navaho there were several attempts at a treaty which were abrogated by fresh raiding before the documents could be ratified by the Senate. One of these papers completed the ratification and promulgation process and was recorded as a perfected agreement. Its effect on the Navaho raiders was inconsiderable; they did not settle down until four years exile at the Bosque Redondo had made them willing to accept and to abide by the provisions of their Treaty of 1868.²²

The 1850's

The decade of the Fifties ushered in a deluge of treaties. In California, where there were many small tribes, a whole sheaf of agreements, presented to the Senate, somehow failed of enactment, and for seventy years the natives went their way without treaty relations. A law passed in the present century awarded to their descendants the amounts provided in the "lost" treaties, with the proviso that the gratuity funds appropriated for schools, hospitals, lands, and various benefits and services, should be set off against the award. The result has proved no great enrichment of the California Indians.

Now came the first breach in the Indian boundary line. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, providing for the establishment of these two territories, made more removal necessary. George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the Pierce administration, had the thankless task of persuading the tribes north of the Osage to cede their lands and accept other locations to the south, near the lands patented to the Five Civilized Tribes. Some tribes went at once, others delayed. North of the Platte River the Ponca and

²² 15 Stat., 667.

Pawnee would not go south for another twenty years. The Omaha remain in Nebraska to this day.

"The growth of the reservation system" is often discussed as if it were a defined policy grafted upon Indian affairs, instead of the natural development of events. A treaty fixing the boundaries for a tribe naturally made it "reservation" of the land it claimed. If in a later treaty the tribe sold some of this land, the remainder was of course reserved for its own use. Later, when certain tribes removed from their original location entirely, selling their rights to lands in Alabama or Nebraska or Colorado and promising to remove to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), the name of the reservation was carried along to the new land set aside for them, though it was reserved in a slightly different sense from the original use.

The story of the two tribes still domiciled in Nebraska indicates both phases of the reservation story. The Omaha are located in what is substantially their original tribal site, though their range was much diminished when the boundaries of their reservation were defined by treaty. The hunting stage of life was ended by the influx of white civilization all about them, and it was presumed that, with their own great admixture of white blood, they would become agriculturists, for which mode of life their land was rich and more than ample in acreage. The Winnebagoes, however, are not in their original habitat. They were neighbors of the Minnesota Sioux, and after the bloody outbreak of 1862 the citizens of Minnesota who remained alive insisted upon the removal of both tribes from their land. The Winnebagoes were transported up the Missouri to a location on which is now the Crow Creek Sioux reservation. Not liking this, they slipped down the Missouri and took refuge with the Omahas, from whose ample lands a portion was later purchased and set aside for Winnebago use; and thus became the Winnebago reservation.

When, under the General Allotment Act, a large number of reservations were divided into separate farms allotted to individual Indians, reservations became known as "open" or "closed". A closed reservation was one which had never been divided into individual allotments, but was still held in trust for the tribe as a whole. Examples of closed reservations are the Menominee in Wisconsin or the vast Navaho domain in New Mexico and Arizona. An open reservation is one in which part or all has been assigned to individual ownership—the greater number are of this type, as in Oklahoma, the Dakotas, the Pacific northwest.

Along with the removal treaties was presented the choice of individual allotment, then given its first real trial on a scale large enough to judge results. Making the Indians personally owners of homesteads and farms, instead of tribal sharers to an undefined portion of a common reserve, was felt by the people of the United

States to be the most necessary of steps to the civilization of the race. The responsibility and dignity of individual land ownership would develop, it was believed, the industry, thrift and foresight necessary to a self-sustaining existence. It was a beautifully hopeful ideal; and in some individual cases would always be justified by events. But to expect every member of a half nomadic hunter group to be at once transformed into a settled farmer; to ask a generation that had always been in debt to the trader and dependent on government presents and annuities to leap into a position of self-support, was expecting the impossible. A piece of land in individual ownership was capital to the white farmer, his backlog of wealth, the source of his livelihood, with industry applied to it. To the Indian it was all too apt to be merely something which could be bartered for goods of the white man's making. His readiness to dispose of his allotted land soon taught the necessity that a trust be retained on the land for a period of years during which it was hoped there would be a development of the character and attributes which the fact of ownership had not by itself been sufficient to create.

Until the outbreak of the Civil War this policy of allotment was carried on by successive Commissioners of Indian Affairs. That conflict and the period of Indian wars in the west that followed it, brought about a quarter century lapse in allotment procedure.

By the time of President Pierce the Indian country, supposedly without obstruction to the west, had been given the Rocky Mountains as a farther boundary. In the vast new domain of the nation, Texas, for a decade an independent nation, had come in as a full-fledged state. California, its population swollen by the hordes of gold seekers, had been admitted to statehood. New Mexico Territory as organized included the present states of New Mexico and Arizona. The territories of Washington, Oregon and Utah had the Great Divide for their eastern boundary. Between that and the shifting eastern barrier, now breached by Kansas, Nebraska and the great gap which had been made in the Sioux country by the organization of Minnesota Territory in 1849, lay the only unorganized land in which Indians could still roam and hunt at will—the last “Indian country.”

While most of this country was far from being threatened with actual settlement, it was now between the older United States and the newer, Pacific portion whose population was growing unbelievably. In a quarter century railroads had worked an enormous change in trade and settlement in the east. A transcontinental railroad, vast as were the distances to be covered, was the obvious answer to the problems of this two-oceaned nation.

This was one of the items on the agenda of that human dynamo, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, when he started on his western journey in the spring of 1853. Exploration of the possibility of a northern rail

route was only one of his many endeavors. He was the newly appointed Governor of the newly created Washington Territory, and by virtue of that office superintendent of all the Indians within its wide boundaries and in charge of all agents within the Territory.

At this time (1853) and for a score of years longer an Indian agent was in charge of a single tribe or at the most a single reservation where two or three tribes might be located. A superintendent was a supervisory official over the various agents of a given state or territory. These supervisory positions were abolished in the 1870's. A generation later the agents began to receive the designation of superintendents, so that today the term superintendent means the official in charge of a single reservation or school.

In his capacity as Governor, Mr. Stevens made a long series of treaties in the two years following. Superintendent Joel Palmer of Oregon Territory pursued a similar course. The mention of eighteen treaties in this period does not represent the real situation, since each treaty council represented several different tribes, some smaller in number, others of considerable magnitude. At the close of this outburst of treaty making, presumably all the Indians of the two territories had entered into treaty relations with the whites, had been compensated for the rights they relinquished over the lands ceded for white occupancy, and had accepted assignment to one or another of the various reservations established. That in a number of instances war came about instead of peace is to be attributed to causes anterior to the treaty making—the jealousies and fear engendered by rival traders and teachers during the period of joint occupancy.

One or two features of these many northwestern treaties deserve notice. These tribes were, even before the advent of the Astoria and Hudson's Bay companies, much more inclined to trade than those of the plains and mountains. Along the coast and the rivers they lived much by fishing, and in their canoes went along the waterways up to the British Columbia country or well into the interior. Among them was found the institution of slavery. Eastward, when a captive was permitted to live, he usually became a member of the tribal family. Here he was kept in an observably inferior position, at the command of his captor or purchaser. These northwestern treaties were therefore drawn up with an agreement on the part of the tribes "to free all slaves held by them and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter."²³

Another provision whose benefits remain to the present day secured to the Indians the right of taking fish "at all usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable buildings for curing the same."²⁴ To this

²³ Treaty with S'Klallam, 1855: 12 *Stat.*, 933.

²⁴ Treaty with the Wallawalla, Cayuse, etc., 1855; 12 *Stat.*, 945.

day the Indians avail themselves of this treaty provision; its validity has been upheld recently in the courts. The village of Celilo, on the Columbia River Highway, bears aromatic testimony that in this respect the white man has kept faith with the red. When the salmon run this village is a hive of activity by day and gaming by night.

These Pacific tribes had become fairly quiet before the Union and the Confederacy were at war; but back in the eastern portion of the United States most of the tribes were affected by that conflict and joined with one or another of the combatants. The Five Civilized Tribes of the Arkansas region were approached by Albert Pike, Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Confederate States. In each case either the whole tribe or a substantially large proportion made treaties and provided soldiers for the southern army.

Up in Minnesota dissatisfication brewing for a decade burst into the slaughter known as the Minnesota massacre, in 1862. The Western Sioux and the other tribes of the plains were in open conflict before the four years of strife ended. In the Southwest the Apache and Navaho increased their wonted turbulence, until the campaign under Kit Carson led them across New Mexico for a four year sojourn at the Bosque Redondo.

Some tribes, of course, remained friendly to the Union. The Oneidas volunteered in the Union Army in substantial numbers. The Menominee long had a G.A.R. post of veterans. There were groups from the Five Tribes, too, that slipped away and came north to join the Union forces in Kansas, while others joined with the Confederacy.

The 1860's

But when the long ordeal was over, there was another great round of peace treaties to be made. The southern tribesmen who had been holders of Negro slaves, were required to give these bondsmen their freedom and equal tribal rights. When these concessions were made, the Five Tribes reverted to their usual self-government, a real self-government as distinguished from the constant supervision and direction to which that name is applied today.

The Plains Tribes, north and south, promised peace and friendship, agreed to keep away from the travelled roads and to refrain from raiding settlements or traveling parties. Needless to say these promises were not kept, though most of the roving tribes kept the treaties in mind sufficiently to turn up at some spot designated for the annual distribution of presents. Another decade was to go by and find the Sioux and Cheyennes, Kiowa and Comanche, still roving and raiding. Even a longer time would pass before the southwestern Apache could be brought to give up marauding.

But by this time treaty making had ceased. The last treaty to be ratified by the Senate was made with the Nez Perces in August, 1868, amending an agreement of five years before. This was an attempt, but a vain one, to bring the recalcitrant band of mixed Nez Perce and Cayuse under Chief Joseph to a location on the reservation. Eight years of persuasion and promise were to go by before the controversy would come to an end in Joseph's long retreat northward and his defeat in the Bear Paw Mountains.

Last Treaty

Ratifying the last treaty in the early days of 1869, the Senate made its last tribute to the fiction that the tribes were nations capable of treaty making. In the previous Congress the House Appropriations Committee had protested strongly against the allocation of funds to carry out agreements which it had no part in making. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis A. Walker, attributed the abolition of treaties to House jealousy; but since the law was made with the concurrence of both House and Senate, it is fairer to conclude that a growing recognition of the unreality of the whole procedure was a factor. As a rider or proviso to the Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1872, approved March 3, 1871, there was appended a provision which practically ended treaty making with Indian tribes:²⁵

Provided, that hereafter no Indian action or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; *Provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty heretofore lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe.

With this last treaty, the century old fiction of Indian nationality lapsed. Present attempts to revive it are purely verbal. They offered the name of tribal autonomy but in actual practice added nothing to the real power of the Indians.

Era of Agreements

Though treaties were to be made no more, they were succeeded by "agreements" made by negotiations between the Indian Bureau and a tribe. Thus throughout the allotment period the consent of the tribe, as well as the approval of both branches of Congress, was obtained before land was parceled out in severalty. And while land cessions of any sort are now forbidden by the Act of June 18, 1934, the Indian Bureau²⁶ maintains that the Indians are given greater "self-government" by the "mechanism of federally approved tribal constitutions and tribally approved federal charters" established by that Act.²⁷ A historically-minded observer, however, might see a

²⁵ 16 Stat., 566.

²⁶ 48 Stat., 984.

²⁷ *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, p. 67.

repetition of the old story of assuming the understanding by a people of simple experience of various intricate and unfamiliar concepts.

In Fulfillment of Treaties

Not a great deal remains from the old treaties for present fulfillment. Some provisions "for fulfilling treaties" appear each year in the Appropriation Act. A number of them are all but outlawed by events; for example, the promise to provide forty dollars per month for a blacksmith who should mend the guns of the Pawnee hunters has of recent years been applied to some mechanical assistance better suited to their present mode of living. There are some appropriations for per capita payments, long ago promised and still being paid. Many claims under treaties have been heard by the Court of Claims and substantial awards made to tribes whose cases received approval.

The rule in these cases has always been to resolve all ambiguous phrases in favor of the Indian, recognizing his disabilities in dealing with the white man's government. At the same time the Court has refused to modify a treaty or go beyond its provisions in interpreting it, since no federal court is a treaty making power.

An Indian tribe wishing redress in the case of some treaty provision which it believes unfulfilled can be authorized by the Secretary of the Interior to employ counsel. It must have a jurisdictional bill passed by Congress permitting the case to be presented to the Court. When this is done the merit of the claim may be presented and argued. The procedure sounds difficult, and is apt to consume time, but the results have frequently meant considerable enrichment (temporary, at least) of the plaintiff tribe.

Bills have at various times been introduced into Congress with a view to expediting the hearing of Indian claims. Unfortunately they have usually been of a nature to aggravate the conditions they are meant to alleviate. However, recent legislation passed by the 79th Congress authorizes the establishment of an Indian Claims Commission.²⁸ This has been hailed as a step which removes a long-standing discrimination against Indians. Among other things it frees them from the terms of an old statute which prevented them from having general access to the Court of Claims (already referred to). A commission of three will adjudicate many unsettled claims arising from alleged violation of treaties and other causes. Claims must be filed within five years, or be barred from further consideration. The protagonists of this legislation hold that the administration of Indian affairs is continually hampered because of these pending claims which involve the broad proposition of Government guardianship over Indian tribes and that not until these claims are settled

²⁸ *Pub.*, 726.

can these obstacles be removed; further, "that as a matter of fundamental justice we should accord our oldest national minority the right to have his day in court, a right freely given to other citizens."²⁹ It is too early to judge the merits of the Claims Commission Act but all friends of the Indian will watch with interest what may result from its ten-year tenure.

Conclusion

It is sufficiently obvious that the matter of fulfilling treaty obligations demands thorough consideration. Outmoded provisions that can be translated into something suitable to modern conditions, call for commutation and completion. The Indians of today are far more white than Indian in blood. Most of the present generation have had an average education of a practical type. Many are of the third or fourth generation to receive schooling. Their education is pointing them toward normal citizenship.

During World War II a partial survey of Indian reservations and communities revealed that from twenty-five to fifty per cent of the residents had left certain reservations to engage in war-time industries or related activities. It is estimated that fully 25,000, served in the armed forces; of these many volunteered to serve in the Army, Navy and Marines in greater proportion than other groups of citizens. Ample evidence points to the fact that a relatively large number, especially those who had had training for specific jobs and who had made ready adjustments, as well as those who had traveled to the far corners of the earth and for the first time had been given and acceptably shared responsibilities with their fellows of whatever racial background, are not returning to the static conditions of reservation life. In fact, many are now permanently residing in urban centers and expect to remain.

Thus in many ways there is coming about a greater adaptation to American daily standards, a better understanding of the approach to life of those who have sustained no wardship relation to the government. After these experiences segregation will be less than ever desirable to Indian citizens. To hold them in the grip of a treaty made generations ago is indeed a dead hand laid upon their future.

SECTION III.

OUTMODED TREATIES STILL IN FORCE

Any current appropriation for Indian Affairs carries a number of items for fulfilling treaties with different Indian tribes.³⁰ The eldest of these dates back to the very beginning of the nation.

²⁹ Resolution on Claims Commission, National Fellowship of Indian Workers, Conf. Pt., Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, June 22, 1946.

³⁰ For example, *Public Law 645*, 77th Congress, approved July 2, 1942.

The six thousand dollars appropriated annually for the Senecas of New York is provided for by an act of February 19, 1831 to the effect:³¹

That the proceeds of the sum of \$100,000, being the amount placed in the hands of the President of the United States in trust for the Seneca tribe of Indians, situated in the State of New York, be hereafter passed to the credit of the Indian appropriation fund, and that the Secretary of War be authorized to receive and pay over to the Seneca tribe of Indians the sum of \$6,000 annually in the way and manner as heretofore practiced, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Thus for more than a hundred years the Senecas of New York have received six percent interest on a sum awarded them by treaty. Through the years they have received much more than the original award of a hundred thousand dollars, and the great grandchildren of the original beneficiaries are kept enrolled to receive their shares of the annual dispensation of cash or calico. The disbursement of the capital sum or its use for some institution or purpose which would be of benefit to the Senecas, would relieve the country of a recurring burden of administration and the Senecas of a racial discrimination which is almost laughable in view of the slight amount of Indian blood now remaining in those who claim Seneca descent. The reason why some of the Senecas cling to such an outworn discriminatory designation lies in the pretty fiction that they are still a separate nation.

These statements apply with equal force to the permanent annuity of \$4,500, "in clothing and other useful articles" distributed to "the Six Nations of New York." A dozen years ago a few yards of cotton cloth constituted the annual reward of the Six Nations Indian, who might come from his office or shop or factory in some distant city to receive the benefits awarded to his ancestors by the treaty of November 11, 1794,³² which was a reaffirmation under the recently adopted Constitution (1789) of a treaty made with the "Thirteen Council Fires" of the Confederation immediately after the Revolution, in 1784. The Indian Bureau lists between six and seven thousand New York Indians, so the individual's share of the \$4,500 can have very little other than a sentimental value. It is under this treaty, too, that the Oneidas of Wisconsin, who left New York for Green Bay, Wisconsin, more than a century ago, receive their annual stipend of a few cents per person.

The only consideration given in this treaty was the promise of the Six Nations to remain at peace with the United States. Since these Indians have been granted citizenship in the United States, have accepted it and exercise the right of suffrage, this award creates the anomalous situation of a nation's making a trifling yearly pay-

³¹ 4 Stat., 442.

³² 7 Stat., 44.

ment to a small group of citizens to keep them from taking up arms against their own government.

Several treaties with the Choctaws still demand annual appropriations amounting in all to something over ten thousand dollars. Here the custom has been established of letting the yearly appropriations accumulate until enough is amassed to make a per capita distribution worth while. The purposes for which the money is paid have long since become useless.

The first of these is an annuity of \$3,000, awarded by the treaty of November 16, 1805,³³ and reaffirmed by the treaty of June 22, 1855.³⁴ This amount was to be paid "in such goods (at net cost of Philadelphia) as the Mingoes (head men) may choose, they giving at least one year's notice of such choice."

By Article 13 of the treaty of October 18, 1820,³⁵ a sum of two hundred dollars for each district, or six hundred dollars in all, to make possible a corps of ten light horsemen in each district "so that good order may be obtained and that all men, both white and red, may be compelled to pay their just debts." This corps—apparently at a recompense of twenty dollars each per year—were "to act as executive officers, in maintaining good order and compelling bad men to remove from the nation who are not authorized to live in it by a regular permit from the agent."

The Choctaw nation as such was dissolved by the course of allotment at the beginning of this century. There exists no boundary from which white men may be excluded. No agent has authority to issue permits to white men to live in Durant or Idabel or other communities of Eastern Oklahoma where the Choctaws are on perfectly equal and amicable terms with various other tribes and with white men of varying strains. A nominal government of the "nation" has been maintained, with a "chief" who receives a yearly stipend. The main purpose of this holdover government is to have someone to receipt for the old annuities, and to sign deeds in the sales of tribal property valued at over \$10,000,000 in 1934. No one who goes to Oklahoma need expect to encounter a Choctaw light horseman who will ask to see his passport into the nation and his receipts for his grocery bills and income tax payments, with possibly a recommendation from his pastor to clear him of the suspicion of being a "bad man" destined for exclusion.

Again, by the 1820 treaty \$350 annually was to be provided for iron and steel, and a blacksmith was to be settled among the Choctaws. The purpose of this was to repair their guns for hunting. Only yesterday, however, the young Choctaw warriors were pro-

³³ 7 Stat., 98.

³⁴ 11 Stat., 611.

³⁵ 7 Stat., 213.

vided with weapons by the Army and Navy of the United States for use in Guadalcanal or Tunisia.

In the treaty of January 20, 1825,³⁶ the sum of \$6,000 for Choctaw education was to be given "annually forever", for the instruction of their youth "in the mechanic and ordinary arts of life." At the end of twenty years, the Nation itself was to choose whether to continue the appropriation in that form or to vest it in stocks or otherwise dispose of it. They chose its continuance; and the item is still provided in recurring appropriation bills to this day.

The Pawnees were promised a considerable annuity by a treaty of September 24, 1857.³⁷ Thirty thousand dollars were to be distributed each year; the provision that at least one-half should be in goods has been changed to an outright distribution of money. As the Pawnees now number slightly fewer than a thousand people, the individual share is something more than thirty dollars yearly. As amended by a later agreement, November 25, 1892, just before the allotment of their lands in severalty, it was established that

"The President may, at any time in his discretion, discontinue said perpetuity by causing a value of a fair compensation thereof to be paid to or expended for the benefit of said Indians in such manner as to him shall seem proper."

Thus the way was paved for the funding or commutation which would bring the yearly distribution to an end in due legal form. The usefulness of the present annual payment is not great; the burden entailed in its management and distribution is quite out of proportion to any benefit it confers upon the Pawnees. When great wagonloads of guns and powder, calico and beads, flour and pork and coffee, were hauled out to the Indian country and handed over to the leaders for distribution to the people, the annuity payment bore some relation to the Pawnee social economy. Today a network of rolls and correspondence and vital records, receipts and authorizations and affidavits, must be handled that a certain sum of money may be placed in the hands of a descendant of the Pawnees of 1857.

Besides these annuity provisions, there are numerous authorizations of salaries for workers promised in old treaties. Blacksmiths for gun mending are among the more frequent demands of a century ago, but the fulfillment of such a demand in the Nineteen Forties smacks of anti-climax. A grist mill promised the Crows still brings them annual gifts of flour. The list might be extended. They illustrate all too plainly how little man can anticipate the future, and how futile is the effort to establish any procedure "annually forever." If one promises today annual sets of tires for Comanche or Yakima automobiles, the descendants of these tribes may in 2040 be

³⁶ 7 Stat., 234.

³⁷ 11 Stat., 729.

scoffing at such outmoded provisions and suggesting their preference for repairs to their gliders.

The provision for two hundred thousand dollars for Sioux benefits is not, strictly speaking, a treaty fulfillment, for it dates back only to an Act of March 2, 1889 in pursuance of the allotment agreement.³⁸ It is, however, an admirable illustration of the tendency so often observed to retain the form of a transaction when its utility and purpose have disappeared.

The provision was that a Sioux allottee on reaching the age of eighteen, should receive a pair of oxen, two cows, various items of equipment and implements for farm use, with fifty dollars in cash, the latter to be expended under Bureau direction in the erection of farm buildings. The obvious purpose was to start the young allottee out as a farmer with land and a first equipment. Only a few years later, however, the fallacy of the supposition that the young Sioux would become a farmer was sufficiently apparent. The act of June 10, 1896 directed the Secretary of the Interior to ascertain the number of tribesmen who "would not be benefited" by the ownership of plows and oxen, and to give the "benefits" to these in the form of cash.³⁹ Thereafter, application was made on or after the young allottees became eighteen years of age, and the commuted amount, approximately six hundred dollars, became a nice bit of spending money for boys and girls in their latter years in a government boarding school.

Inasmuch as allotment has now ceased, it would seem that the number of allottees applying for benefits would be lowered; and it is true that recent appropriation bills have been less than those of previous years. More than eleven and a half million dollars have been paid out under the title of Sioux benefits, but few Sioux have benefitted to the extent of becoming farmers.

Besides the treaty provisions discussed, the appropriation for general administration and support includes "pay of employes authorized by continuing or permanent treaty provisions." Thus the promises of generations past are being held valid now, however slight may be their application to modern conditions. In many if not all cases a funding or commutation would afford a fair and practicable solution to this problem of inflexible rules operating upon a shifting base.

³⁸ 25 *Stat.*, 895.

³⁹ 29 *Stat.*, 334.

APPENDIX

ELEMENTS OF STRIKING INTEREST IN TREATIES

EXHIBIT A

TRIBES INVOLVED MOST FREQUENTLY IN TREATIES

The tribes involved most frequently in treaty relations, and the number of treaties made with each, in their numerical order, are grouped as follows:

The Chippewas and Potawatomis (counting all bands) lead off with 42 to the credit of each, thus a tie count. One would expect the Sioux to stand at the head of the class, due to their traditionally war-like propensities. They do, however, hold second place with 32; the Delawares are next with 20. This tribe while considered one of the more advanced tribes, was not the first to terminate its tribal existence, since that distinction fell to the Wyandots. However, by the treaty of August 10, 1866, being the final removal (from Kansas) treaty, the Delawares accepted land in severalty. The Cherokees signed 22 treaties, and Creeks chalk up 19, as do the Ottawas. The Six Nations, including the Senecas of Ohio and the Oneidas of Wisconsin follow closely on the heels of the two Southeastern tribes just mentioned, with 18 treaties (not counting those entered into with the state of New York). The Sac and Fox (again, all bands) tie with Six Nations, also having 18 treaties. The latter tribe claims the distinction of incorporating in a formal treaty a declaration of citizenship and probably the first also to terminate its tribal existence by treaty, that of January 31, 1855. The Shawnees also negotiated 15 treaties with the government. The Choctaws are next with 14; then the Kickapoo with 13, the Miamis with 12, the Chickasaws with 11, the Osage with 10, the Menominees with 9, while the Seminole and Pawnees claim 8 each.

It is noteworthy that the so-called "Blanket Indians" as, for example, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, Crow, Ponca, etc., have occasioned fewer treaties than the "Civilized Tribes." Perhaps that is due to their more recent contact with the frontiersman. The Navaho of the southwest are mentioned in two treaties, September 9, 1849, and June 1, 1868, though to all intents and purposes, only one had any validity, being preclaimed toward the very close of the treaty-making period. The Blackfeet or Piegan, Arickara (also known as Rees), Minataree, Mandan, Klamath, Yakima, and Flathead are limited to the dull monotony of one each.

As already indicated, there are tribes whose names do not appear on any treaties made with the United States Government. The Penobscots, and Passamaquoddies of Maine came under state wardship at an early date, following an agreement with Massachusetts. Such tribes as the Wampanoags and Narragansetts of New England, and the Pamunkeys of the Powatan Confederacy in Virginia, evidently made agreements in councils rather than by treaties.

Mention has already been made of the California Indians whose treaties were never ratified by the U. S. Senate, as well as certain southwestern tribes such as the Pueblos, Pimas, Papagoes, and Mohave who came under the sovereignty of the United States either at the time of the Gadsen Purchase or following the Mexican War.

EXHIBIT B

TREATIES ESTABLISHING "PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP"

It should be borne in mind, of course, that in classifying treaties of "Peace and Friendship," often a treaty making these promises or estab-

lishing boundaries and acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States would usually include provisions for land cession. The first of this sort was a friendly alliance with the Delawares, entered into September 17, 1778, during the Revolutionary War.

Ninety-six of the total have to do with establishing "peace and friendship" or "reaffirming" same, recognizing allegiance to the United States, etc. Three of these not ratified by the Senate are: (1) September 8, 1853, with the Rogue River Indians of Oregon; (2) October 13, 1865, at Fort Smith, Arkansas, with each of the Five Civilized Tribes and other tribes of the Indian Territory, following the Civil War; and (3) July 27, 1866, with the Arickara, Gros Ventre, and Mandan tribes of North Dakota.

Historically, these "peace" treaties come by groupings, *e.g.*, during and immediately following the Revolution; during and immediately following the War of 1812; during and immediately following the Civil War.

EXHIBIT C

MOST PROLIFIC PERIOD OF TREATY MAKING

The most prolific period of treaty making was between 1815 and 1860 when no less than 258 of the 370 treaties were entered into with the various tribes and made a matter of record. Of these, 54 were made during the years 1815-1820, the period following the war of 1812 when westward expansion seemed to have received its first impetus. It is significant that 37 were entered into during the two years of 1854 and 1855, respectively, in the period preceding the Civil War. Also a period of heralded westward expansion. During the Civil War, and immediately following up to 1871, there were 60 treaties made, some for military purposes, others involving "peace and friendship" or reaffirming same after the war; some having to do with liberation of slaves; and of course some with the usual provisions with respect to land cessions.

EXHIBIT D

TREATIES PROVIDING FOR "PERPETUAL ANNUITIES"

There are fifteen treaties providing "perpetual annuities" noted in the period from 1794 to 1857. Apparently the first recorded was that with the Six Nations of November 11, 1794, which, incidentally, is still in the process of fulfillment. Another typical of that period is dated August 3, 1795, and was entered into with the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Miami, Eel River, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia, granting \$9,500 "in useful goods, forever." Treaties of this class still in effect are:

1. Seneca of New York, Act of February 19, 1831.
2. Six Nations, Treaty of November 11, 1794.
3. Choctaw, November 16, 1805; October 20, 1820; January 20, 1825. The Treaty of June 22, 1855 (Choctaw and Chickasaw jointly), provided the western part of the tribal lands under the Choctaw patent, be assigned as a "perpetual" lease to the United States, for the settlement of "other Indian tribes."
4. Pawnee, September 24, 1857, and agreement of November 23, 1892, \$30,000.

EXHIBIT E

TREATIES FOR THE PAYMENT OF DEBTS

Treaties in behalf of traders for the payment of debts number not less than nineteen. They are listed in their relative order as follows:

1. That of June 23, 1805, with the Chickasaw is typical.
2. The one with the Choctaw, November 16, 1809.
3. Treaty of October 28, 1832 with Potawatomi made allowance for "bad debts."
4. October 27, 1832, Potawatomi of Indiana and Michigan.
5. February 18, 1833, Ottawa.
6. May 18, 1833, Quapaw.
7. December 16, 1834, Band of Potawatomi.
8. February 15, 1837, Menominees—\$99,710.50 for debts.
9. February 18, 1837, Potawatomi.
10. September 28, 1836, Sac and Fox—\$48,000 for debts.
11. January 14, 1837, with Chippewa.
12. September 27, 1837, with M'dwakanton Band of Sioux.
13. November 6, 1838, Miami on Wabash River.
14. November 23, 1838, Creek, \$21,000 for debts.
15. October 4, 1842, Chippewa of Lake Superior, \$75,000.
16. October 1, 1842, Sac and Fox of Iowa, \$250,000.
17. June 5, 1846, Potawatomi, \$50,000.
18. February 22, 1855, Chippewa on Mississippi River and Pillager Band, \$50,000.
19. March 2, 1858, Ponca.

EXHIBIT F

TREATIES PROVIDING FOR REMOVAL AND SETTLEMENT WEST

First treaty on record, apparently, which suggested settlement west of Mississippi River is that with the Cherokee of July 8, 1817. Others followed, such as: October 2, 1818 with Delaware, granting the "perpetual annuity of \$4,000," which has all the earmarks of a real removal treaty. Then that of October 18, 1820, with the Choctaws, the first treaty embodying steps toward removal west and the actual assignment of lands in the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). In short, 76 treaties from 1790 to 1871 were designed to aid and abet western removal.

EXHIBIT G

TREATIES INVOLVING LAND CESSIONS, CLAIMS, EXCHANGE OF LAND, ESTABLISHING BOUNDARIES, AND SETTING ASIDE RESERVATIONS FROM 1790-1871

Two hundred and thirty of the treaties made between 1790 and 1871 have to do with land cessions, settlement of land claims, exchange of land, sale of land, setting aside reservations, etc. Consequently "land" looms large in the welter of treaties, at least of those entered into during that period of our national history.

Treaty of September 17, 1818, with the Wyandot, Seneca, Shawnee, Delaware, Potawatomi, and Chippewa appears to be the first establishing "reserved land" in the sense of trust land.

EXHIBIT H

TREATIES PROVIDING FOR ALLOTMENT OF LAND PARTIALLY OR AS A WHOLE: ALSO FOR PATENTS IN FEE

These include the following:

1. September 27, 1830, with Choctaw, provides for certain allotments and annuities to chiefs. Tract with boundaries defined, west of Mississippi River, to be conveyed to Choctaw Nation "in fee simple to them and their descendants."

2. October 20, 1834, and May 14, 1834, with Chickasaw, provides for certain allotments. The Treaty of 1834 uses the term "competent" for the first time.
3. August 6, 1846 with three groups of Cherokees *viz.*, Old Settlers, Treaty Party, and Government Party. Patent to be issued to Cherokee tribe as a whole.
4. October 6, 1818 with Miami. First mention of individual allotments for a number of these Indians; so also the one below.
5. October 29, 1832 with Seneca and Shawnee granted land in fee simple. Could not be sold without consent of United States.
6. March 23, 1833, Senecas of Ohio and Shawnee granted land in fee simple. Could not be sold without consent of United States.
7. June 18, 1833, Appalachicola band of Seminoles. Special allotment provided in connection with removal treaty.
8. March 15, 1854, Oto and Missouri. Provides for possible allotment.
9. June 5, 1854 with Miamis of Indiana "individual plots of land" allotted.
10. February 25, 1855, Tribes of middle Oregon, provides "for allotment if desired."
11. February 27, 1855, Winnebago, "provides for allotment if desired."
12. July 31, 1855 Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan. One of first real allotments in treaty-making; provides also for issuing patents in fee.
13. August 2, 1855, Chippewa of Saginaw, Michigan. Provides for allotment.
14. February 5, 1856, Stockbridge and Munsee. Allotment in Wisconsin.
15. July 16, 1859, Munsee, lands to be assigned in severalty.
16. October 1, 1859, Sac and Fox of Kansas, allotment.
17. October 5, 1859, Kansa or Kaw, allotment.
18. May 30, 1860, Delaware, allotment.
19. November 21, 1861, Potawatomi, to become citizens at the time of allotment of their lands.
20. June 24, 1862, Ottawas and Kansa, "Citizenship in five years."
21. June 28, 1862, Kickapoo, allotment.
22. October 4, 1864, Klamath, Modoc and Snake, possible allotment provided for.
23. October 18, 1864, Isabella Reservation.
24. March 6, 1865, Omaha, allotments.
25. October 14, 1855 (ratified February 2, 1867) with Cheyenne and Arapaho. Certain individuals granted allotments.
25. August 10, 1866, Delaware. Patent in fee provided for tribal lands.

EXHIBIT I

COMMUTATION OF TREATIES

Those which involved commutation of treaties, either wholly or in part are listed herewith:

1. December 29, 1835 with Cherokees involved commutation of permanent annuity of a previous treaty, namely the New Echota treaty.
2. September 3, 1836 with Menominees, released United States from certain provisions of treaty of 1831.
3. November 28, 1840. Last treaty with Miami. Ceded all remaining land in Indiana for \$550,000.
4. May 5, 1854, Delawares. Relinquished "permanent annuities" of previous treaties.
5. June 5, 1854, Miamis of Indiana abolished "permanent annuities" of Treaty of 1836.
6. January 31, 1855, Wyandot. Yielded "rights" in previous treaties.
7. July 31, 1855. Final treaty with Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan.

8. August 2, 1855. Discharged obligations of previous treaties with Chippewa of Saginaw, Michigan.
9. July 16, 1859, Munsee. Relinquished claims in previous treaties.

EXHIBIT J

TREATIES TERMINATING TRIBAL EXISTENCE AS ILLUSTRATED BY FOLLOWING

1. January 31, 1855, Wyandots. Relinquished rights in previous treaties. First declaration of citizenship. Provides for patents in fee.
2. August 2, 1855, Chippewas of Saginaw. Tribal organization dissolved.
3. July 1, 1866, Delawares. "To become citizens as immigrants." End of tribal existence.

EXHIBIT K

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS EMBODIED IN TREATIES

1. Treaties to Abolish Slavery:
 - a. March 21, 1866 with Seminole.
 - b. April 28, 1866 with Choctaw and Chickasaw.
 - c. June 14, 1866 with Creek.
 - d. July 19, 1866 with Cherokee.

Also treaty of December 26, 1854 with Puget Sound groups who agreed to free their Indian slaves in one of Steven's first treaties.
2. Appropriations for tribal members of one-half to one-quarter blood, by descent:
 - a. March 26, 1836, Ottawa and Chippewas, individual allotments to half-breeds.
 - b. October 4, 1842, Chippewas of Lake Superior, \$15,000 for half-bloods.
 - c. November 1, 1937, Winnebagoes, quarter-bloods to be paid off.
 - d. July 29, 1837, Chippewas of Minnesota, \$100,000 to half-bloods.
 - e. March 12, 1858, Ponca.
3. Treaties Granting "Right of Way" or establishing a Roadway:
 - a. October 2, 1798, with Cherokee (Kentucky Road).
 - b. October 24, 1801, with Chickasaw (Natchez Trace).
 - c. December 17, 1801, with Choctaw (Natchez Trace).
 - d. October 25, 1808 with Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots, and Shawnees.
 - e. October 4, 1861 with Delawares for new Railroad to pay for lands.
 - f. November 21, 1861, Pottawatomi, Railroad.
 - g. June 28, 1862, Kickapoo, Railroad.
4. Treaty granting sites for Military Posts:
 - a. September 23, 1805 (ratified April 16, 1808) a military measure not included in regular list.
5. Treaty Abrogating "Factory System":
 - a. August 31, 1822 with Osage.
 - b. September 5, 1822 with Sac and Fox.
6. Treaty of October 26, 1832 with Potawatomi and Kickapoo made possible land sale on which Chicago now stands.
7. "Perpetual Fishing Rights" mentioned in:
 - a. June 16, 1820 with Chippewa.
 - b. October 13, 1846, Hunting rights to Winnebago.
 - c. June 9, 1855 hunting and fishing rights to Wallawalla, Umatilla and Cayuse.
8. Treaties Promising Self-Government:
 - a. September 27, 1830 with Choctaw.
 - b. August 7, 1856 with Seminole in Indian Territory.
 - c. July 19, 1866 with Cherokee after Civil War.

9. Treaties providing for blacksmiths and grist mills:
 - a. February 4, 1833 with Western Cherokee.
 - b. May 15, 1846 with Comanches and small bands.
 - c. August 22, 1868 with Crows. Provides not only for a grist mill but a miller. Even to this day the Crows may get 1500 pounds of grain ground annually without cost to them.
10. Treaties granting Sites for Inns:
 - a. August 7, 1803 with Eel River Wyandot, Kickapoo, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia.
11. Treaty Providing for Annual Gift of Salt:
 - a. June 9, 1803 with above, also Delaware, Shawnee, Potawatomi, and Miami.
12. Treaty of January 7, 1806 with Cherokee ceded land on which Muscle Shoals is now located.
13. Treaty of February 7, 1839 with Chippewa provided land for a light house at \$8.00 an acre.
14. First use of word "competent" in Treaty of May 14, 1834 with the Chickasaw of Mississippi.
15. Treaty of March 8, 1865 with Winnebagoes provided for selling "rights" in Dakotas but *no* treaty extant giving Winnebagoes any land rights in Dakotas!
16. Payment to "Principal Chief" or "Head Chiefs":
 - a. September 27, 1830, with Choctaw, annual payment to "Principal Chief" for his services in superintending and governing his nation on "republican principles."
 - b. Treaty of June 9, 1855 with Yakima and other bands provides "salary for head chief."
 - c. June 11, 1855 with Nez Perces carries similar provision.
17. Treaty to Establish Peace Between "Warring Tribes":
 - a. August 5, 1826 with Chippewas and Sioux.
18. Typical treaty providing for "Subsistence" is that of August 22, 1868 with the Crows of which Article 9 and Article 12 read:

"ARTICLE 9: each Indian over age of four years who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation and complied with the stipulations of this treaty shall be entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years, after he shall have settled thereon upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date." (Also to each family "one good American cow, and one good, well-broken pair of American oxen, within 60 days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation".)

"ARTICLE 12: It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from the date when they commence to cultivate a farm, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe, where in the judgement of the agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the prospective year."

SECRET "INSTRUCTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS" TO THE CHEROKEE COMMISSION 1889-1890

*By Berlin B. Chapman**

The novice in historical research is sometimes astounded at the veil of secrecy that hangs over "restricted records" in depositories in the national capital. Later he learns that secrecy may be essential, but that it often fluctuates with the indolence and idiosyncrasies of a custodian, or his incompetence in locating the material desired. This situation does not minimize the fact that the Government Printing Office, the largest printing plant in the world, is a prime dispenser of information.

The Interior Department has been one of the most liberal departments in disclosing the nature of its business to people in the American democracy. Many of its papers stamped "Confidential" are left unguarded where searchers can read and learn how freely a rubber stamp can be used. There have been times, however, when the Interior Department kept papers in such secrecy that the Senate was obliged to mingle patience with its dignity.

Such was the case when the Cherokee Commission was sent to the Indian Territory in 1889 to negotiate with Indian tribes for the dissolution of their reservations, and the sale of the surplus lands to the government. In the federal management and disposition of the lands of Oklahoma Territory there was no commission more important than the Cherokee Commission.¹ It negotiated eleven agreements with Indian tribes for the dissolution of reservations embracing more than 15,000,000 acres. David Howell Jerome, Warren G. Sayre, and Alfred M. Wilson were the members of the commission when the agreements were made. The agreements were ratified by Congress. The commission was dissolved November 7, 1893.

On May 9, 1889, John H. Oberly, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior for the guidance of the commission a compilation made in the Indian Office concerning the legal status of the lands in Indian Territory, to which was

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—Ed.

¹ B. B. Chapman, "The Cherokee Commission, 1889-1893," *Indiana Magazine of History*, xlii (June 1946), pp. 177-190. "The Final Report of the Cherokee Commission," edited by B. B. Chapman in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (Dec. 1941), pp. 356-367.

appended certain "Instructions and Suggestions."² When the commission was organized on June 29, 1889, the members were General Lucius Fairchild, chairman, General John F. Hartranft, and Wilson. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, approved the document Oberly transmitted to him, and on July 6 sent printed copies direct to members of the commission.³ The document not only gives an excellent history of each tract of land (the Panhandle excepted) that comprised Oklahoma Territory, but shows by what title, right, or interest the various Indian reservations were held, in the estimation of the Interior Department.

In response to a Senate resolution, Noble said on December 21 that he deemed it incompatible with the public interest to make the document public.⁴ Pending negotiations of the commission, the Interior Department realized the importance of holding in secrecy the entire document, especially the "Instructions and Suggestions." The commission was instructed to offer the Cherokees \$1.25 an acre for their lands lying west of the Arkansas River, known as the Cherokee Outlet. If the Cherokees rejected the offer the commission was empowered to increase it. According to the "Instructions and Suggestions" if the first offer was rejected, the commission should negotiate "upon such terms as may be just and equitable."

During November and December 1889, the commission made an unsuccessful effort to purchase the lands from the Cherokees.⁵ If the government were to sell the surplus lands cheaply to white settlers, or give them away, it should pay as little as possible for the lands. The Cherokees were shrewd traders, and the lands were valuable. Rentals paid by the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association for the lands amounted to \$200,000 a year, and a cattle syndicate valued them at \$18,000,000 or \$3.00 an acre. The Cherokees were more interested in the "Instructions and Suggestions" than in the price of \$1.25 an acre. The commission would not increase the price or reveal their instructions. As weeks went by, Fairchild's patience wore thin and on one occasion he confessed that he was

² The document is in NA (National Archives), OIA (Office of Indian Affairs), *Land Letter Book*, vol. 184, pp. 165-258; and in the Library of the Indian Office, *Misc. Documents*, pp. 43496-43541.

³ NA, Int. Dept., *Record of Letters Sent*, No. 60, p. 348.

⁴ Noble to President of the Senate, Dec. 21, 1889, *H. Reports*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., vii(3048), no. 1661, p. 9. *Cong. Record*, Dec. 19, 1889, p. 304.

⁵ B. B. Chapman, "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet: Part Three—The Fairchild Failure," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 3 (Sept. 1937), pp. 291-321.

"as mad as a March hare for 24 hours."⁶ Yet the "d——d whelps, rascals and boodles" who controlled affairs in the Cherokee Nation exhibited no enthusiasm to sell the lands for \$1.25 an acre.

Fairchild resigned from the commission on January 1, 1890. On March 10, before any of the eleven agreements were concluded, the Senate adopted a resolution stating that "the Secretary of the Interior be directed" to send it the compilation prepared in the Indian Office under date of May 9, 1889.⁷ Two days later Noble transmitted the compilation, about five-sixths of the document, to the Senate and it was published in the *Senate Executive Documents*.⁸ If Congress ever secured the "Instructions and Suggestions," it apparently never published them. It is the purpose of this article to give them in full. A photostatic copy of the "Instructions and Suggestions" was recently secured at the National Archives and placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

After the commission made agreements with the Iowas, and with the Sacs and Foxes, Acting Commissioner Robert V. Belt supplemented the "Instructions and Suggestions" by a letter of June 20, 1890, approved by Noble.⁹ The letter appears never to have been printed. Perhaps the portion most vital to Oklahoma Territory is found in the closing paragraphs entitled, "Remarks":

I take this opportunity of suggesting that the Commission be advised not to insist, in future agreements, that an allottee shall take his allotment of land in a square form.

In all instructions to allotting agents under the Act of February 8, 1887, (24 Stats., 388) the following paragraph has been inserted:

"The tracts given to each allottee should be contiguous if possible, but an allottee may be allowed to select a detached tract, in order to give him a proper proportion of farming and timber land, or for the purpose of properly distributing lands fronting on streams and water courses."

The reservation being the property of the Indians, or reserved for their permanent use and occupation, it seems proper that they should have every advantage which such reservations afford. By requiring them to select land in a square form many may be unable to obtain a due proportion of wood or timber, and, where the improvements are near together, some may be unable to take their lands in this form without encroaching on the improvements of others or losing their own. I do not think they should be required to do this.

⁶ For the latter part of 1889 and the early part of 1890 the *Fairchild Papers*, in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, are a valuable source of information. From the field of operation Fairchild wrote a number of letters to his wife, Frances, whom the family called "Frank." The letters turn a flood of light on the human side of the negotiations for the sale of the lands of the Outlet, and on the development of the policy of depriving the Cherokees of the use of the lands. The letters in manuscript are filed in chronological order.

⁷ *S. Reports*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., iii (2913), no. 552, pp. 9-10; *Cong. Record*, March 10, 1890, p. 2069.

⁸ *S. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong. 1 sess., ix (2636), no. 78.

⁹ A photostatic copy of the letter of June 20, 1890, is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. See also, OIA, *Land Letter Book*, vol. 200, pp. 342-347.

The closing pages of the document of May 9, 1889, are as follows:

INSTRUCTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

It is believed that with the information given in the foregoing statement, which contains a history of each and every tract of land within the limits of the Indian Territory, except that portion thereof lying within the Quapaw Agency, the Commission will be enabled to intelligently enter upon the discharge of its responsible duties; but it is deemed advisable to go further and make certain suggestions in relation to the proposed negotiations.

THE INDIANS TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH.

Authority to negotiate with the following designated Indians is contained in the provisions of law referred to in the first part of this paper, namely:

The Cherokees. Under Article 16, treaty of 1866—14 Stat. 804, for their interest in the lands lying west of the Arkansas River—6,574,486.04 acres.

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes. For lands covered by the treaty of 1867—15 Stat. 593, containing 4,294,734 acres of Cherokee lands, and 730,162 acres of Creek lands.

The Osages and Kansas. For lands set apart by Act of 1872—17 Stat. 228, and conveyed by deed from Cherokees to the U.S. in trust, dated June 14, 1883—1,570,196 acres.

Pawnees. For lands set apart by Act of 1876—19 Stat. 29,¹⁰ and—(except as to that part thereof lying within the Creek cession)—conveyed by deed from Cherokees to U.S. in trust, dated June 14, 1883—283,020 acres.

Otoes and Missourias. For lands set apart under Act of March 3, 1881—21 Stat. 381—and conveyed by deed from Cherokees to U.S. in trust, dated June 14, 1883, 129,113 acres.

Poncas. For lands paid for out of appropriation made by Act of March 3, 1881—21 Stat. 422—and conveyed by deed from Cherokees to U.S. in trust, dated June 14, 1883—101,894 acres.¹¹

Tonkawas. For such interest as they may have in the lands set apart for the Nez Perce Indians under the Act of 1878—20 Stat. 74—and conveyed by deed from Cherokees to U.S. in trust for the Nez Percés, dated June 14, 1883, and re-conveyed by said Indians by deed dated May 22, 1885, to the

¹⁰ Under the provisions of this act, 52 certificates of allotment had been issued to Pawnees by June 20, 1890. Patents had not been issued for any of the allotments. The Cherokee Commission was instructed to respect the rights of these allottees in any agreement that might be made.

¹¹ On January 27, 1877, a council was held at the Ponca agency, Dakota, at which the Poncas gave their consent to the surrender and relinquishment of their lands in Dakota, and agreed to look for a new home in the Indian Territory. In the spring they were forcibly removed to the Indian Territory. They began to return to their old reservation in Dakota in 1878, and by 1889 the number on the old reservation was 224. Such was the information given the Cherokee Commission, June 20, 1890. Cf. Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 247-258. For further remarks on the Ponca Reservation see *Appendix* below.

U.S. in trust for the use and benefit of such Indians as the U.S. might see fit to locate thereon, 90,711 acres.¹²

Creeks. For that part of their domain lying east of the 96 degree, set apart under the several treaties hereinbefore referred to, estimated to contain 1,734,000 acres.

Seminoles. For the whole of their reservation. Treaty of 1866, 14 Stat. 755, Act August 5, 1882—22 Stat. 265. 375,000 acres.

Sacs and Foxes. For whole of their reservation. Treaty of February 18, 1867—15 Stat. 495—479,668 acres.

Citizen band of Pottawatomies & Absentee Shawnees. For such rights as they may have in the reservation occupied by them under Act of 1872—17 Stat. 159, and the General Allotment Act, 24 Stat. 388—575,877 acres.

Kickapoos. For whatever right they may have in the reservation occupied by them, under Executive Order of August 15, 1883, and the General Allotment Act 24 Stat. 388—206,466 acres.

Iowas. For whatever right they may have in the reservation occupied by them under Executive Order of August 15, 1883, and the General Allotment Act 24 Stat. 388—228,418 acres.

Cheyenne and Arapahoes. For such rights as they may have in the reservation now occupied by them under Executive Order of August 10, 1869, and under the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, 24 Stat. 389, taken in consideration with their reservation created by the treaty of 1867—4,297,804.58 acres, excluding that occupied by the Wichita and affiliated bands.

Wichitas, &c. For whatever rights they may have in the reservation occupied by them under the unratified agreement of 1872; the General Allotment Act—24 Stat. 388—743,610 acres, taking into consideration their claim to lands selected for them by Superintendent Rector in 1859.

Choctaws and Chickasaws. For that part of the Choctaw domain lying west of the 96th degree, estimated to contain 1,321,200 acres, and for the whole of the Chickasaw domain,—4,650,935 acres, set apart by the various treaties with those Indians hereinbefore referred to.

Kiowa, Comanche and Apaches. For their whole reservation, treaty of 1867—15 Stat. 581—2,968,893 acres.

THE CHEROKEES.

You will observe by reference to the 14th Section of the Act of March 2, 1889,

"That said Commission is further authorized to submit to the Cherokee Nation the proposition that the said Nation shall cede to the United States in the manner and with the effect aforesaid, all the rights of said Nation

¹² The Tonkawas were removed from Texas in October 1884 to the Iowa reservation, and from there to the Oakland, or Nez Percé reservation in June 1885. On June 20, 1890, the Cherokee Commission was informed that this removal was "by Executive direction, and not in pursuance of law. These Indians had no reservation in Texas, being there located on private lands. They, therefore, have no claim in the lands now occupied by them except such as arises out of the relinquishment of the Oakland reservation by the Nez Percés to the United States in trust for the use and benefit of such Indians as the United States might see fit to locate thereon, and such rights as were given them by the Severalty Act of 1887."

in said lands upon the same terms as to payment as is provided in the agreement made with the Creek Indians of date January nineteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine, and ratified by the present Congress."

It will be observed from the said agreement, which is embodied in the Act of March 1, 1889, ratifying it, Public 82, a copy of which is enclosed, that in consideration of the sum of \$2,280,857.10, the Muskogee (or Creek) Nation of Indians, ceded to the United States, absolutely and without reservation or condition, full and complete title to the entire western half of the domain of said Nation, lying west of the dividing line established under the Creek treaty of 1866.

The Amount of the consideration named (\$2,280,857.10) was arrived at, as will be seen by reference to the President's letter of February 5, 1889, transmitting said agreement to the Congress, which may be found printed in Senate Executive Document, Number 98, 50th Congress, 2nd Session, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, by allowing the Creeks one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre for the lands embraced in the western half of their domain, outside of that disposed of by treaty to the Seminoles, 200,000 acres, to the Sacs and Foxes, 479,668 acres, and to the Pawnees 53,005 acres, being the lands finally disposed of to other Indians, deducting therefrom thirty cents per acre, the amount already paid under the treaty, and making a further deduction of twenty cents per acre, to cover cost of surveys and adjustments, on other lands assigned, and in which the Indians may have only an individual right to allotments in severalty, viz: The Citizen band of Pottawatomies and the Absentee Shawnees, 227,736 acres; the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, 619,450 acres, the Iowas, 228,416 acres; and the Kickapoos, 206,466 acres. In other words, the Creeks were allowed on all unassigned lands the sum of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, less the amount already paid therefor, thirty cents per acre; and a like amount—one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre—on all lands temporarily assigned, less the thirty cents per acre (originally paid) and twenty cents per acre (cost of surveys etc.)

As before seen, the Cherokees have been paid for the lands occupied by the Osage and Kansas Indians, and a deed therefor, has been executed to the United States in trust for the last-named Indians, and therefore these lands, so far as the Cherokees are concerned, are not subject to negotiation.

It has also been seen that the Cherokees executed deeds in trust to the United States for the lands occupied severally, by the Pawnees, the Otoes and Missourias, the Poncas and the Nez Percés.

The consideration named in the Act of Congress requiring the execution of these deeds, as well as the \$300,000 appropriated by the Act of June 16, 1880, (21 Stat. 248) was to be paid out of funds due the Cherokee Nation for lands lying west of the Arkansas River and not due for the particular tracts occupied by the said several bands of Indians—therefore no specific price was fixed on said lands, and the price determined by the appraisement heretofore referred to was insisted upon by the Government. To this price the Cherokees objected, claiming it to be inadequate. In view of this statement, I hold that the fact that the Cherokees have conveyed the title to these lands, should not operate to prevent them from receiving a just and fair consideration therefor, and I am therefore of the opinion that these lands should be included in the proposition that will be submitted for the consideration of these Indians.

You will therefore present to the Cherokee Nation a proposition to pay that Nation the sum of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre for all lands covered by the 16th article of the Cherokee treaty of 1866, lying west of the Arkansas River, deducting the sum of \$728,389.46, chargeable against

said lands as hereinbefore set forth; and you will give due weight to the fact that as these several reservations were set aside, or subsequently confirmed by Act of Congress, the Indians residing thereon have greater rights therein than those conferred by individual allotments in severalty, and that the lands embraced therein are therefore not subject to the reduction of twenty cents per acre, as in the case of the Creek lands.

As it is important that negotiations should first be had with the Cherokee Nation for its interests in the lands lying west of the Arkansas River, and then with such other Indians as own or claim an interest in the lands lying west of the 96th degree, you will proceed first to Tahlequah, Indian Territory, and submit the proposition, as above set forth, to the proper authorities of the Cherokee Nation. Should that proposition be accepted, and the legislature of that Nation is then in session, you will request the Principal Chief to submit the same for the action of that body; and should the legislature not be in session, you will urge upon the Principal Chief the importance of convening the same in extra session, if the same can be done under the laws of that Nation, for the purpose of acting upon said proposition; and should said proposition be accepted and ratified by the said legislature, a duly certified copy of the proceedings had in reference thereto, should be obtained and submitted with your report of your action in the matter to this Department.

Should said proposition be rejected by the Cherokee authorities you will then proceed to negotiate for the extinguishment of the claim of the Cherokee Nation to all lands lying west of the Arkansas River, upon such terms as may be just and equitable, taking into consideration the appraisement heretofore made of said lands; the fact that a large proportion thereof was ceded by the United States to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes by the treaty of 1867; the several dispositions made of portions thereof, as hereinbefore set forth, to the Pawnees, the Otoes and Missourias, the Poncas, the Nez Percés, the conveyance by the latter Indians to the United States of the tract set apart for them and the subsequent settlement thereon of the Tonkawas; the several deeds executed to the United States in trust by the Cherokees, as hereinbefore recited, whereby the Cherokees divested themselves of the title to the tracts of land in question; the lands set apart for the Chillico Industrial School and the several amounts chargeable against said lands; the purpose for which the said lands were given to the Cherokees; the question as to whether that purpose has not been fulfilled; and as to what extent, if any, it was extinguished and surrendered by them, by virtue of the provisions of the 16th article of the treaty of 1866, and the rights vested in the United States thereunder, and under which article the Attorney General held that these lands "were absolutely reserved to the United States, upon the conditions therein named (article 16 treaty of 1866) for the settlement thereon of tribes of friendly Indians" (16 Opinions Atty. Genl. 471).

When you shall have finished all negotiations with the Cherokees, you will make a full and detailed report thereof and submit all the papers to this Department.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES.

After making report of your negotiations with the Cherokees, you will then visit the other civilized nations and Indian tribes of the Territory in the order that you may deem most advisable.

Cheyennes and Arapahoes.—With these Indians you will negotiate for the extinguishment of whatever title they may have in the lands ceded to them by the treaty of 1867, including the portion thereof that is within

the Creek cessions of 1866—1889, and which is covered by the President's Proclamation of March 23, 1889, hereinbefore referred to.

In negotiating with these Indians it may be necessary to remind them that while the tracts of land in question were set apart for their use and benefit, they have never occupied or made use of them, but that for nearly twenty years they have been occupying and using other lands, to which they have no title; that the Cherokee Nation is entitled to a money consideration therefor, and that all the appropriations, amounting to about \$38,000 per annum, have been annually made since that time as required by that treaty. In this connection it may be wise to call your attention to article 12 of the treaty of 1867. [Here follows a quotation from 15 Stats. 593.]

2. The Act of Congress providing for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians, &c., approved February 8, 1887, (24 Stat. 388) and which it will be necessary for you to consider in all negotiations had with Indians occupying reservations created by Executive Orders, contains the following in its first section. [Here is quoted from 24 Stats. 388 the provision for size of allotments.]

It has been held that under the provisions of this Act, Indians occupying reservations created by Executive Order are legally entitled to allotments of land in severalty. However the intention of Congress can hardly be so construed as to give allotments in severalty to Indians on two reservations. This question should also be considered in your negotiations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

The Wichitas and Affiliated Bands. —While at the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, negotiations should also be had with the Wichitas and affiliated bands for any right or claim they may have to the lands now occupied by them in the southeast corner of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Executive Order Reservation, by virtue of the unratified agreement of 1872, or otherwise.

The Osage and Kansas, Pawnee, Otoe and Missouriia, Ponca and Tonkawa. —You will also negotiate severally and in such order as may be found most convenient, with the Osage and Kansas Indians, the Pawnee Indians, the Otoe and Missouriia Indians, the Ponca Indians and the Tonkawa Indians, for the cession of the lands owned or occupied by them, taking into consideration the necessity of providing new reservations for the several bands or the allotment of lands in severalty to them. And in the case of the Tonkawa Indians you should further consider the rights of those Indians in the lands now occupied by them in view of their settlement there, after the execution by the Nez Perce Indians of a deed conveying the lands to the United States in trust for such Indians as might be settled thereon, and also such rights as they may have under the provisions of the Act providing for allotments of land in severalty to Indians.

Creeks, Seminoles, and Sacs and Foxes. —You will negotiate with the Creeks for the cession of all that part of their domain that is west of the 96th degree, with the Seminoles, and Sacs and Foxes respectively, you will negotiate for the cession of their entire domain.

Iowas, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies and Absentee Shawnees. —With these Indians you will negotiate respectively, for the cession of whatever rights they may have in the reservations respectively occupied by them.

In the case of the Iowas and Kickapoos, whose respective reservations were created by Executive Order, you should take into consideration such rights as these Indians may have therein under the General Allotment Act

of February 8, 1887, and in case of the Citizen band of Pottawatomies and Absentee Shawnees, such rights as they may have in the reservation now occupied by them under the said Act and the Act of 1872, considering the several tracts paid for by individuals. Consideration should also be given the question of creating new reservations for these several bands of Indians or by giving their members allotments in severalty.

Choctaws and Chickasaws. —With these Indians you will negotiate for the cession of that part of the Choctaw district lying east of the 96th degree, and for the whole of the Chickasaw district and in case of the cession of the district occupied by the Chickasaw Indians, arrangements should be made for the settlement of said Indians within the Choctaw District.

The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians. —You will negotiate with these Indians for the cession of their entire reservation, taking into consideration, in case of cession by said Indians, the question of creating a new reservation for, or the allotment of lands in severalty to them, as indicated in the case of other bands of Indians hereinbefore referred to.

GENERAL REMARKS.

It is proper here to state that while the Act authorizing negotiations provides for the extinguishment of the Indian title to all lands lying west of the 96th degree, no provision is made for the location and settlement elsewhere of the Indians occupying said lands. It will therefore be necessary in the event of successful negotiations with such Indians as occupy lands lying west of that degree, for the cession thereof, to provide new reservations suitable to the requirements of each band within the reservation now occupied by such band, or to provide for allotments in severalty within the reservation now so occupied or to provide new reservations, or for the allotment of lands in severalty in some other portion of the country lying west of that degree, or to provide for the removal of the Indians to lands east of said degree, and in the latter case negotiations for that purpose would be necessary with the Indians owning the lands lying east of that degree.

It may also be said here that if the Commissioners shall find it impossible to secure a cession of all the lands lying west of the 96th degree, owned or claimed by any of the several nations or tribes, they may then negotiate for such modifications of existing reservations and claims as the said nations or tribes may severally agree to. Such negotiations, however, should not be had with the Cherokees in respect of their claims to lands lying west of the 96th degree.

You will observe that the 14th Section of the Act of March 2, 1889, requires that "any and all agreements resulting from such negotiations shall be reported to the President and by him to Congress at its next session, and to the council or councils of the nation or nations, tribe or tribes, agreeing to the same for ratification."

Therefore, you will upon entering into agreement with any nation or tribe of Indians, submit the same to the council of such nation or tribe for its ratification.

Full and complete minutes should be kept of all proceedings and transactions had with each separate tribe or nation, which with all papers, documents, &c., including any agreements negotiated after action by the proper council, should be forwarded to this Department for transmission to the President. Separate reports in triplicate should be made of the proceedings had with each nation or tribe.

Should any question arise during the progress of your negotiations not fully covered by these instructions, or upon which you have any doubt, the facts in relation thereto should be submitted to this Department with request for instructions.

Authority is granted you to visit such other places not named herein, as may be necessary in the performance of duties.

Very respectfully,
Jno. H. Oberly
Commissioner.

(Maxwell)

APPENDIX

On June 20, 1890, Belt with Noble's approval said of the Ponca reservation in the Indian Territory:

"As the reservation was conveyed to the United States for the use and benefit of the Ponca tribe, I am of the opinion that every member, whether enrolled at the Agency in the Indian Territory, or at that in Dakota, is entitled to his share of the lands and of the money that may be derived from their sale, except as hereinafter stated.

"By Act of March 2, 1889 (25 Stats., 888) each member of the Ponca tribe occupying a part of the old Ponca reservation, within the Great Sioux Reservation is entitled to allotments there, and to all the benefits conferred by that act. I do not think that those members of the tribe who elect to take the benefits of the Sioux Act, should be permitted to share in the Indian Territory reservation or in the proceeds of its sale, as they became entitled to such benefits by abandoning the said reservation. The benefits of that act are much greater than can be obtained from the reservation in the Indian Territory. I am strongly of the opinion that all who can do so should remain in Dakota and believe that nearly all will do so. I also believe that those who are now located at the Agency in the Indian Territory are competent to make a valid contract for the sale of the reservation, and that those in Dakota need not be consulted in this respect.

"Still I think provision should be made in any agreement that may be concluded whereby those who do not avail themselves of the benefits of the Sioux Act (which they must do, if at all, on or before the 10th of August next) shall be entitled to a full share of the lands and funds of the tribe in the Territory provided they apply for enrollment and allotments before the completion of the latter."

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES AND MISSION CHURCHES AMONG THE CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW INDIANS, 1832-1865

By William L. Hiemstra*

Introduction

Presbyterian missionary activity among the Choctaw Indians was begun in 1818 under the sponsorship of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Cyrus Kingsbury and Cyrus Byington were pioneer Presbyterian missionaries among the Choctaws in Mississippi. Both of these men, born and reared in New England, served the Choctaw Indians first in Mississippi and later in the Indian Territory.

The missionaries established several schools among the Choctaws. The churches erected among the Choctaws did not thrive as well as the schools. A distinct improvement was evident in the year 1828.¹ In 1830 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions reported nine stations with over three hundred Indian church members. There were also seven schools with a total of approximately two hundred fifty students.²

A permanent work among the Chickasaw Indians was begun by the Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1820. The Chickasaw mission was transferred on December 17, 1827, to the supervision of the American Board, under whose administration the Presbyterians continued to serve the Chickasaws.

Missionary activity among the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Mississippi was terminated because the Indians were moved to lands west of the Mississippi river. By 1834 the majority of the Choctaws had left for the West; the Chickasaws came west and settled in the Choctaw country in the fall and winter of 1837-38. The stations among the people of the two tribes in Mississippi were abandoned in 1834.

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¹ Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1934), p. 145.

² William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier 1783-1850*, Volume II, *The Congregationalists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 54.

MISSION STATIONS

The first churches among the Choctaws in the Indian Territory were organized in 1832.³ Schools were established and operated in conjunction with some of the mission stations.⁴

Members of the missionary families formed the nucleus of most new congregations. The congregational records listed negroes or "colored members" separately, whereas the Indian membership was included with that of the white. Of the 1578 members reported by the Reverend John Edwards to Dr. J. Leighton Wilson of the Presbyterian Board on March 21, 1860, there were 111 colored members. The Pine Ridge church, served by Dr. Cyrus Kingsbury, listed fifty members and twenty-eight colored members.⁵

The churches were scattered over a wide area of territory. Many of the churches consisted of as many as eight preaching places.⁶ Dr. Alexander Reid of Spencer Academy wrote:⁷

The members are scattered over a circuit of more than twenty miles. The nearest members live two miles from us and from that distance they are scattered to fifteen or twenty miles. The nearest preaching places are three and a half miles and the most distant where we try to keep up meetings at all are six miles.

The scattered churches meant long trips on horseback for the missionaries. Charles J. Hotchkin, son of the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin, said, "I heard my mother say she would cook corn bread on Monday morning for my father and he would leave with others on ministerial tours and live on that bread for two weeks at a time."⁸

The missionaries profited from the services of native helpers. Douglas H. Cooper, agent for the Choctaws, reported that "ruling elders conduct meetings on the Sabbath, and at funerals in different neighborhoods."⁹ Native leaders in the mission churches were required to give evidence of sufficient knowledge and proper piety before they were permitted to function as native helpers. Ministerial students were regularly taken under the care of presbytery and aided in their studies. After careful preparation, aspiring native preachers

³ Presbyterian Indian Mission Correspondence and Reports, Box 12, Volume I, p. 248. The Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, Pa., possesses an extensive file of unpublished manuscript reports from Presbyterian missionaries serving various Indian tribes. The file contains reports from 1835-1890. The writer used files dealing with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. For the sake of convenience this source will be cited: Mission Reports, Box number, volume, and page.

⁴ The various missionaries who supervised schools reported to the Indian agent concerning their work. This information was transmitted by the Indian agent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner's annual reports provide valuable data on mission activity. This source will be cited: *Indian Affairs*, year, and page.

⁵ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 90.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁸ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁹ *Indian Affairs*, 1855, p. 152.

were licensed to preach.¹⁰ Some attended college and seminary outside the Indian Territory.¹¹ This practice led to certain complications. One of the older missionaries referred to the Reverend Allen Wright, a native minister educated in New York, as a Choctaw young man who had become accustomed to a style of living in New York which could not be maintained in the Indian Territory.¹²

The native evangelists and helpers shared the extremely weighty responsibility of the missionary who supervised the activities of as many as nine preaching places. For this reason, the missionary at Wheelock could write that “. . . in the absence of the pastor, the religious exercises are conducted by the licentiates and elders of the church.”¹³

Services of worship were conducted at most of the churches regularly every Sunday. The Reverend John Edwards, pastor of the Wheelock congregation, reported in 1846 that “at five of these [nine preaching] places public worship is kept up statedly on the Sabbath, and occasionally at the others.”¹⁴

Most of the missionaries were able to preach in the Choctaw and Chickasaw languages. This was particularly true of the pioneers Byington and Kingsbury. Those missionaries who could not speak the native language used interpreters until they acquired some proficiency in the use of Choctaw and Chickasaw.

Attendance at the church services was good. The Reverend O. P. Stark, pastor of the Good Land Church with a communicant church membership of 240, reported that “. . . on ordinary Sabbaths our congregation numbers from 100 to 150 and 200. On communion Sabbaths our house is always crowded and in the summer time we meet outdoors, for want of room.”¹⁵

Although the Presbyterian missionaries were not negligent in their efforts to indoctrinate the church membership, their reports reveal a distinct bias toward an evangelistic emphasis. Additions to the church membership afforded them the greatest joy. Special services, called protracted meetings, were held annually in an effort to gain converts.¹⁶ The Reverend S. L. Hobbs gives a typical report on the results of the protracted meeting. He reports that there was “. . . ample proof of warm hearts and streaming eyes. Eight were received to the communicant membership of our church, six by pro-

¹⁰ *Indian Affairs*, 1846, p. 348.

¹¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹² Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 124. (For further references see, John Bartlett Meserve, “Chief Allen Wright,” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (December, 1941), pp. 314-21.—Ed.)

¹³ *Indian Affairs*, 1846, p. 348.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

fession and two by letter. Thirteen manifested their wish and determination to be the Lord's. Six of these thirteen and five of the eight received were heads of families."¹⁷

Thursday evening "lectures" were held whenever possible, and not infrequently other week-night meetings were crowded into a busy week. Prayer services were also an integral part of ecclesiastical life.¹⁸

Funerals constantly presented the missionaries with preaching opportunities. If it were possible, the funeral service would be held on a Friday, a temperance meeting on Saturday, and regular preaching services on Sunday. Funeral services would attract large crowds who would constitute an appreciative audience for three successive days and for many hours of those days. These series of services, occasioned by the funeral, were called the "big meeting."¹⁹

Offerings were received at stated times, not only to defray local expenses, but also for benevolent purposes. Gifts were not large at any time, and after the drought years of 1854 and 1855,²⁰ each gift represented considerable sacrifice. The Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin was pleased to report that from the small church of 82 communicants at Living Land seventy dollars had been contributed to the cause of Foreign Missions. He estimated that the clothing worn by those present at the service could not be valued at more than three hundred seventy-five dollars. He adds, "one woman put in a dollar who had neither stockings nor shoes."²¹

Negroes also contributed to the work of the church. Mr. Kingsbury wrote, "I have paid Mr. Reid thirteen dollars from the colored people of Pine Ridge Church, Indian Presbytery, towards the salary of Uncle Simon."²²

TEMPERANCE

The missionary reports are striking in that they reveal much of the "temperance crusader" in each mission worker. Everyone at the mission stations seemed to be self-conscious about the use, possession, or acquisition of alcohol in any form. I. W. Sterling, who served the Mission for a brief time as physician, wrote the Reverend Walter Lowrie of New York a labored explanation of his request for five gallons of alcohol. He reasoned:²³

I am opposed to the use of all alcoholic tinctures, yet they may be administered in very minute doses without creating a morbid appetite for

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹⁸ *Idem.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁰ *Indian Affairs*, 1855, p. 151.

²¹ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 111.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²³ Mission Reports, Box 9, II, p. 696.

ardent spirits. And inasmuch as Alcohol will be required in case of injuries and in the preparation of Liniments, I have directed a larger quantity than it might be deemed prudent to send out.

The government agents shared the loathsome feeling toward intoxicating beverages held by the missionaries because of the baneful effects upon the Indians. Murders were frequent, and were chiefly attributable to drunken brawls. In a small locality ten of thirty-seven deaths which occurred in one year were of a violent nature.²⁴

In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Indian Agent A. M. Upshaw said, "... it is with great pleasure and gratification that I can say to you, that I have not seen a single Chickasaw drunk this year; but regret that I cannot say the same for some of the white men in their nation."²⁵ Agent Upshaw made the above statement in order to impress the Commissioner with the great value of the missionaries.

In addition to the example of white traders in the Nation, white men in Texas and Arkansas operated "grog shops" for the convenience of the Indians who were subject to a rigid prohibition law within the Choctaw Nation. Cyrus Byington says, "On the Arkansas line there are many whiskey shops; wounds, poverty, and death are among the evils they generate."²⁶ Those who opposed drunkenness were always quick to realize that there was at least one compensating factor concomitant with a disastrous seasonal drought. The Indian Agent wrote in 1855: "The border grog shops, in consequence of low water, have not had their customary supply of whiskey. Drunkenness and murder have, therefore, been less frequent along the 'line.'"²⁷

Whiskey shops could not operate in the Indian Territory because of governmental and local regulation. The Choctaw Prohibition Act of the Choctaw Nation West was passed in October, 1834.²⁸ The pioneer Cyrus Byington spoke words of highest commendation for the Choctaw Council when he wrote: "The Choctaw people deserve credit for what they have been doing during a whole generation in the cause of temperance. Their laws on this subject date long before those of the State of Maine."²⁹

The missionaries fought a constant battle against drunkenness by encouraging total abstinence. The "temperance meeting" was the missionaries' chief weapon in the fight. The temperance forums were usually conducted after a funeral service, or on Friday or Saturday.³⁰ The threat of excommunication was a deterrent for the potentially

²⁴ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 248.

²⁵ *The Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (Pub. 1852), p. 18.

²⁶ *Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 560.

²⁷ *Indian Affairs*, 1855, p. 151.

²⁸ *Indian Affairs*, 1847, p. 764.

²⁹ *Indian Affairs*, 1855, p. 156.

³⁰ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 96.

intemperate wayward. In cases of persistent drunkenness, coupled with an unrepentant spirit, excision from the church was the last resort in the effort to curb the erring. Nevertheless, no cases were regarded as hopeless. In some cases, the excommunicated were again received into the church membership. The individual was required to show genuine repentance by circumspect living for a stated time prior to readmission into the fellowship of the church. The Reverend S. L. Hobbs was encouraged because he could report: "Last week a young man who was excommunicated three years ago told me he had been praying some time past and should be glad to be received back to the church again; for more than a year he has been constantly at our weekly prayer meeting when the weather was not stormy, although he lives eight miles off."³¹

TRANSLATIONS

Several missionaries of unusual talent were active in the work of translation. Dr. Cyrus Byington was a remarkable scholar and recognized philologist. He was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1819. During 1820 he became a missionary to the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Dr. Byington's Choctaw grammar and Choctaw dictionary were works of permanent value. His Choctaw dictionary is *Bulletin 46* of the Bureau of American Ethnology. His Choctaw grammar is given in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.³² Byington also published a Choctaw Definer and Gallaudet's Sacred Biography Abridged, as far as through the life of Moses. He also wrote "questions on the Gospels of Mark and Luke with brief explanations of difficult passages."³³

The Second Book of Kings was translated into the Choctaw language and published by the American Bible Society in 1855. On May 24, 1861 the Reverend John Edwards reported, "I am hard at work on the Psalms with Mr. Dukes."³⁴ During 1846 the "four Gospels in Choctaw were prepared for the press by the Reverend Alfred Wright."³⁵ In 1848 the entire New Testament was printed in Choctaw. In the same year a "Choctaw Spelling Book and a Choctaw Hymn Book were published in Boston."³⁶

The translators spent much time and labor in performing this difficult though important work. The missionaries believed that if a strong native church were ever to be acquired, the Bible had to be made available to the Indians in their own language.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

³² Walter Hough, "Cyrus Byington," *Dictionary of American Biography*, III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), pp. 380, 381. The grammar is given in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. XII (1871), pp. 317-67.

³³ *Indian Affairs*, 1852, p. 414.

³⁴ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 280.

³⁵ *Indian Affairs*, 1846, p. 356.

³⁶ *Indian Affairs*, 1849, p. 1115.

DIFFICULTIES

The hardships which the missionaries encountered were numerous. Their continued isolation did not mitigate periodic spells of loneliness. The missionary stationed at Lenox wrote on May 18, 1860, concerning his wife's loneliness, "There is no white lady within thirty miles, consequently she does not see a white woman very often. The last time was September last."³⁷

Because the Indian missions were at such a great distance from cities and towns the missionaries ordered most of their supplies through the New York City office of the Presbyterian Board. Orders were placed for such varied commodities as sewing needles, sheet music for the "melodean", and umbrellas.³⁸ This mail-order service was not always satisfactory. George Ainslie, who had placed an order for an umbrella, received one of the most expensive and elaborate. He reminded the Board Secretary that "... an umbrella of the most common description is all I can afford to use here in the woods, where it is in danger of being 'snagged' every half-mile."³⁹

Also because of the great distance separating the missionaries from the home office there were occasional misunderstandings. The men on the field found it difficult to understand what they regarded as laxity on the part of the New York office in not reenforcing the missionary personnel. Dr. Alexander Reid of Spencer Academy did not bother with diplomacy when he said, "At two of our old stations no meetings are held. The state of the church will be no better until you send a man to take care of it and restore the waste places."⁴⁰ About two months later the irascible Scot again reprimanded his superiors for their apparent failure to act upon his advice. Dr. Reid wrote to New York:⁴¹

The ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper have not been administered among our people for eight or nine months and will not be by me for nine months to come. I shall make a statement of the condition of the Church to the Presbytery and leave it in their hands as you direct, and the Presbytery and the Committee conjointly can, as they say in Scotland, make a kirk or a mill of it as may seem to them best. I shall not lift a finger or stir a foot in the matter. Outside of Spencer yard I have no call to work. My mind was made up four years ago not to remain in charge of Spencer unless a pastor was provided for the church and I see no reason to change.

Internal rifts among the personnel occasionally disturbed the mission stations and somewhat affected the progress of the missionary endeavor. Dr. Reid objected to the presence of the Reverend H. A.

³⁷ Mission Reports, Box 12, I, p. 106.

³⁸ *Idem*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Wentz who was subsequently discovered to be a Northern abolitionist with a trunk of revolvers cached in his room.⁴²

The missionary reports are replete with references to sickness. Most of the members of the mission families were frequently afflicted with "chills and fevers".⁴³ The Indian country never escaped the dreaded typhoid fever. Neither whites nor Indians were immune to measles. A typical condition of sickness is narrated by Cyrus Kingsbury on October 23, 1860: "Mr. Copeland's family are visited with distressing sickness. His wife is very ill, one of the children has been very low, and the teacher he had engaged for his school had been near to death, and was not out of danger, when last heard from."⁴⁴

The missionaries were obliged to perform many unusual duties. During years of famine they assumed the role of food administrators.⁴⁵ Starving Indians came to the mission stations begging for bread.⁴⁶ With or without the aid of a medical handbook they served as physicians.⁴⁷ Alexander Reid was obviously proud to report that "... On March 28th Mrs. Lee presented her husband with a fine boy. It was my privilege to officiate on this interesting occasion in the double character of Doctor-nurse."⁴⁸

In order that a missionary might serve acceptably it was desirable that he be an agricultural-mechanical economist as well as an ordained minister of the Gospel. Cloth to be used in the manufacture of clothing had to be purchased in quantity at bargain prices. Grain had to be purchased at a favorable market price.⁴⁹

The missionaries were not excused from performing secular labor. During the days preceding the Civil War this condition was accentuated. Even a callous reader would be moved to sincere sympathy for the aged scholar Cyrus Byington who wrote in April, 1861, "I need not go into all the details of my secular labours and the cares that come upon me. It must be that you have heard such things long enough."⁵⁰

The work that was begun in the West in 1832 made steady progress. By 1860 the entire program of missionary activity had

⁴² *Ibid.*, 264.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

achieved its greatest success.⁵¹ War and its consequences destroyed much of that which had been acquired through persistent missionary effort during three decades. Only a seriously weakened mission survived in 1865.

⁵¹ The discontinuance of mission work in the Indian Territory in 1860, including that in the Choctaw Nation, by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Presbyterian-Congregational) was the first blow suffered in this field, followed by the outbreak of the War between the States a year later. For reference to the post-war period see Natalie Morrison Denison, "Missions and Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., Among the Choctaws—1866-1907," *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1946-1947), pp. 426-48.—Ed.

SOME LETTERS FROM THE REVEREND SAMUEL A. WORCESTER AT PARK HILL

By George H. Shirk

Four recently acquired original longhand letters bring to mind that when Chief Justice Marshall handed down his celebrated decision¹ that elicited President Jackson's "Let him enforce it" comment, he epitomized in that judicial opinion more precepts than he perhaps realized. Of course his decision mirrored the desire of the citizens of Georgia to be rid of their Cherokee neighbors, and the prevalent "nullification" doctrine was deeply involved, but mightiest of all there were reflected the towering perseverance and the personal philosophy and convictions of the principal in the case, Samuel Austin Worcester.

But for the abiding belief in the correctness of his conduct demonstrated by this young New Englander, who refused a pardon² from Georgia's Governor Gilmer rather than desert his spiritual wards, there would have been no convict in Milledgeville penitentiary and likewise no cause for Marshall's opinion.

Samuel Austin Worcester was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, on January 19, 1798.³ He was graduated from the University of Vermont, and in 1823 from the Andover Theological Seminary. On July 19, 1825 he married Ann Orr⁴ and a month later was ordained at the Park Street Church in Boston. His father, Reverend Leonard Worcester, traveled from his home in Peacham, Vermont, so as to preach the sermon at his son's ordination service.

Within the week Austin — as he was known to his parents — struck out overland with his bride, destined for Brainerd, Tennessee, the mission station where he had been assigned for service in his chosen field. They traveled by wagon and arrived at their new home on October 21, 1825.⁵ Brainerd had a special significance to Austin, as his uncle, Dr. Samuel W. Worcester, had been stationed there earlier and at his death was buried in the mission graveyard.

¹ *Worcester v. State of Georgia*, 6 Peters 515, 8 L. Ed. 483.

² Nine of the eleven defendants convicted for a violation of the Georgia statute requiring them to swear allegiance to the State constitution had accepted pardons conditioned upon their leaving the area of the state populated by the Cherokees.

³ Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, (Chicago, 1916), Vol. I, p. 149.

⁴ Carolyn T. Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948), p. 7.

⁵ An interesting account of the journey is contained in Rev. Worcester's report to The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, quoted in full in Althea Bass, *The Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936), p. 22.

The first task to which the Worcesters set about was that of earning the Cherokee language. Sequoyah had been working on the idea of an alphabet for the Cherokees and the attention of everyone at Brainerd was focused on the possibility of casting the new and still strange alphabet in type suitable for use in printing. This immediately attracted Austin's interest, and he, along with his new Cherokee friend, Elias Boudinot, was at once engrossed in its possibilities.

Family responsibilities soon increased, for on November 7, 1826 there was born to Ann and Austin Worcester their first child — a "meal sifter" as said the attentive Cherokees when they heard that the new arrival was a girl.⁶ Named Ann Eliza, she was destined to devote her life to following the path set by her father in bringing enlightenment to the Cherokees.

In the meantime the idea of a newspaper printed in the newly devised Cherokee alphabet had attracted the attention of tribal leaders, and a printing plant was established at New Echota, Georgia. Naturally Austin Worcester was the man for the job, and on November 29, 1827 the Worcesters arrived in New Echota. From then on Austin was required to divide the time of his busy life between the publishing work and his missionary responsibilities. The press and type arrived in late January, 1828, and the energy and ability of the little group at New Echota are well shown by the fact that the first issue of the new newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, was published on February 21st. It was in that same year that the Worcesters' second child, Sarah, was born.

The efforts of the little band of workers at New Echota were soon to be disrupted, for there were forces and influences at work that even Worcester and his Board were powerless to avert. Gold has been discovered in Georgia, and the increased white population made it inevitable that the Cherokees must give up their lands and seek homes elsewhere. The election in 1828 of Andrew Jackson as President was the final blow; and an Act was soon passed annexing all of the Cherokees tribal lands to the State of Georgia. The State followed suit by the adoption of a series of vexatious statutes designed to confine and restrict the Cherokees and to pave the way for the acquisition of their lands by the ever increasing white settlers. In the midst of this conflict Austin Worcester, together with his friend, Doctor Elizur Butler, stood as the only imperturbable pillar of strength.

In May 1831 Governor George Gilmer of Georgia wrote to Worcester requesting him to "remove from the territory of Georgia occupied by the Cherokees."⁷ To make sure that the Governor's letter

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

could not be misconstrued by its recipient, it was delivered in person by the Commander of the "Georgia Guard." The illness of Ann Worcester incident to the birth of their third child, Jerusha, made it impossible for Austin to accede to the Governor's "request." The matter came to a head on July 7, 1831, with the arrest of Worcester. Released from confinement on a writ of Habeas Corpus, Austin could not return in time to be with his family at the death of the new baby.

The offense for which Worcester was arrested was technically that of refusing to take an oath that he would support the constitution of the State of Georgia. His trial was held on the 16th of September; and he, along with Doctor Butler, was sentenced to four years at hard labor. Upon their confinement in the penitentiary at Mill-edgeville there began the series of celebrated legal manœuvres that culminated in the brilliant opinion by Chief Justice Marshall of the United State Supreme Court, holding the Georgia statute unconstitutional. The local Georgia court ignored the mandate of the Supreme Court, but the impasse was eventually resolved by Worcester accepting a full pardon from the new state governor.

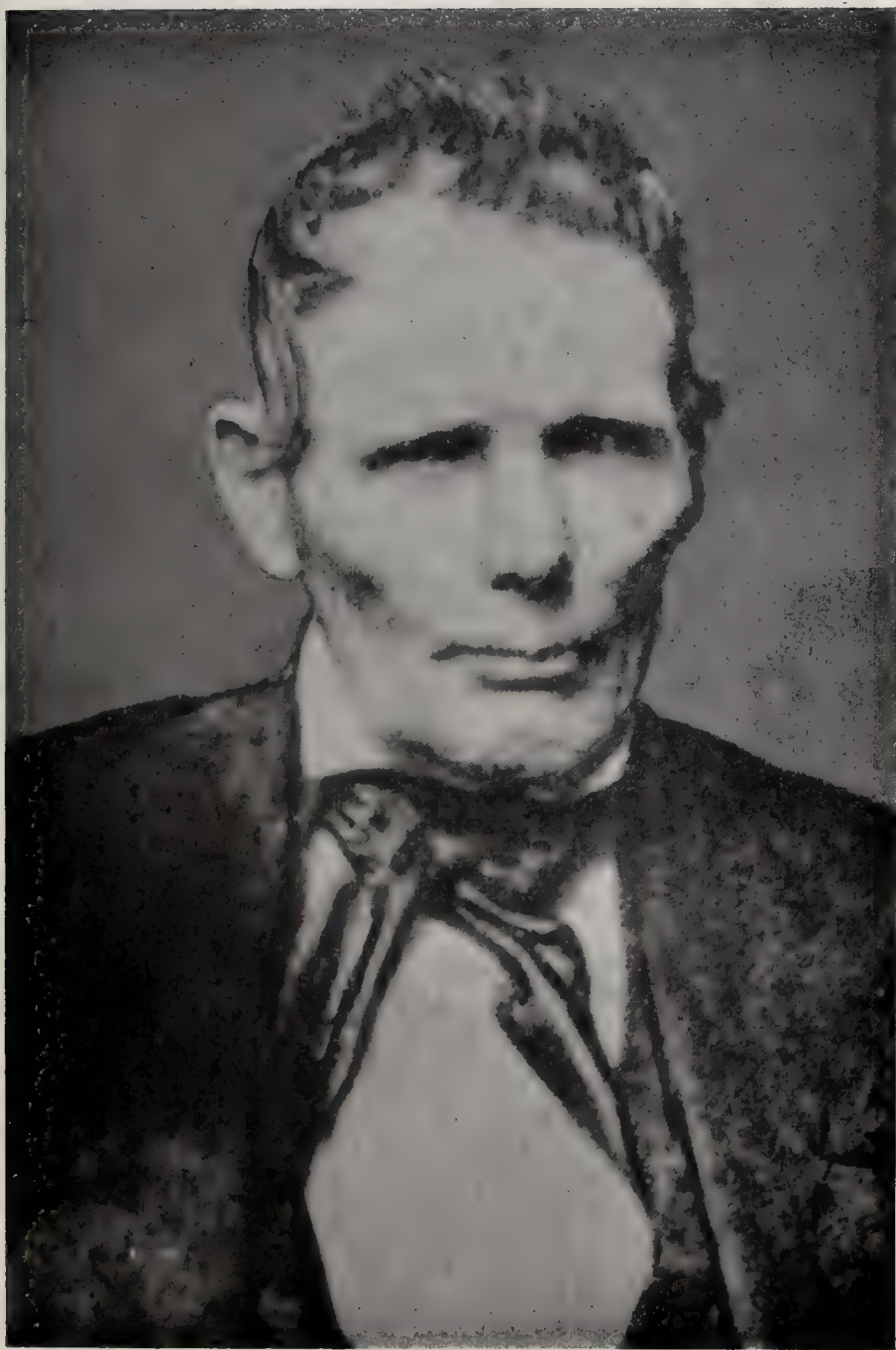
To stay on in Georgia was impossible; and in April the Worcesters again took up a long trip overland and moved with the migrating Cherokees to their new home in the West. Their destination proved to be Dwight Mission, in the Cherokee county west of Arkansas. From there he wrote to his brother-in-law, Samuel Chandler, of Bedford, New Hampshire:

Dwight, Western Cherokee Nation
July 7, 1835.

Dear Brother,

We had the happiness at Brainerd, on the 25th of March, to receive your kind & interesting letter dated Feb. 26th, for which you have our hearty thanks. It should have been answered sooner, but for our subsequent journey to this place, and the necessary duties preceding and following that removal. We left Brainerd on the 8th of April, and arrived here on the 29th of May, after a protracted journey. The state of the roads forbade our taking a direct course, and required a very circuitous route through Kentucky, Illinois & Missouri. One week we were detained by sickness on the part of Mrs. W. She had a slight bilious fever, occasioned, we suppose, by a chronic affection of the liver. This was in Kentucky. Afterwards she gained strength on the way, and has been as well, or even better, since our arrival, than before we left B. We were also detained some by high water and other causes. We are now in a country generally said, by its inhabitants, to be less healthy than our former residence; but we think we have followed the manifest leadings of Providence, and trust Him to appoint our lot, whether sickness or health, life or death.

At this station we are but sojourners, expecting in a few weeks to remove to Union, formerly an Osage station, but now within the Cherokee country; and not even there to be permanently located, but merely to occupy buildings which are now vacant, and commence operations in publishing books, to be continued there until we can erect buildings at a new and more eligible station. The press is already at Union, and the printer is making preparations for printing, and will be printing, as we expect, before many days.



THE REVEREND SAMUEL AUSTIN WORCESTER



We thank you for the kind & sympathetic manner in which you refer to the trials which we were called to experience in consequence of the injustice of the state of Georgia. Our personal trials, however, in that affair, we regard as but a small thing; and would gladly endure them again, and far more than them, if by that means the honor and character of our country could be retrieved, and the people for whose good we have labored restored to their former prospects. But in this respect, as well as in every other, it becomes us quietly to submit to His appointments, who orders all events, by whatever inferior agents they may be brought about, and orders them all in infinite wisdom and goodness.

Respecting that portion of our father's estate which falls to us, and which we have not yet received, we have not been anxious, though we were glad to receive the account you were so kind as to give us. We have concluded to request you to pay over to Mr. Hill, the Treasurer of the Board of Missions, all that is now in your hands as soon as convenient, and the remainder as fast as it can conveniently be collected. An order to that effect we shall append to this letter. Our object is to have Mr. Hill invest the amount as so to have it draw interest, and to pay the whole or a part of that interest to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, adding the remainder—if we direct only a part to be paid to the Board—to the principal from time to time, until we otherwise direct. We shall of course write to him, authorizing & requesting him to receive it, and invest it according to our wish, which we have no doubt he will be willing to do. We do not understand—as I am not a business man—whether the security which we are required by the decree to give for the refunding of our portion of any claim which should afterwards be made good against the estate is anything more than our own obligation or not, nor do we know in what form it should be given. We add our obligation to the order. If it is deficient either in substance or in form, so that it will not warrant you in paying over the money, we will be much obliged to you to give us particular information what we ought to do in regard to that, as well as in every other point where you perceive or suppose we need information.

You inquired respecting things as we should leave them where we then were, and as we should find them in Arkansas, & the country & climate here. Upon all these topics I do not know where to begin. We left the missions in "the old nation" in rather a state of perplexity, on account of the uncertainty of the prospects of the nation, and the difficulties occasioned by the encroachments of the whites. The surrounding states extending their laws, & carrying them into effect more & more among the Cherokees, and the Cherokees distressed and in confusion, pressed on every side to leave their country, and still clinging to it, some indeed hesitating, and many waiting to see what the others would do, while many seemed determined at all events to die on the soil. Intemperance increasing, especially in the Georgia part of the nation, and threatening to overwhelm a large part of the population. Religion in all the churches connected with our Board, except one, rather declining, in that one perhaps gaining ground. Still, much good had been done, and some good was evidently doing. *There* is probably at least three or four times as great a population as *here*. The best remaining hope for them seemed to us to be in a general removal to this country, but there was little prospect in their consenting to remove. You have heard of a treaty being negotiated by a delegation from a small minority of the people, at Washington. They hoped the majority would ratify it, but that appears to be highly improbable. We hope the best for that people, but we have many fears of their destruction. If I compare the people here with those in the old nation—perhaps in point of civilization there is not, in the aggregate, a wide difference. There are more here, in proportion to the whole number, of mixed bloods, than in the old nation, and a much larger part talk English. Yet in the old nation there are

men of greater intelligence than here, and a much greater amount of intelligence, taking the body of intelligent men here & the body of such there collectively. In political institutions they are here far behind what they were there, before the States interfered with their government. Religion has less footing here than there. There is more open opposition here to missionary efforts. Here, among those who do not speak English, not so large a portion can read their own language with profit as there, and there is less interest in learning the art. On the whole the prospect would be brighter there than here, were it not for the dark cloud which has arisen in consequence of the injustice & cruelty of our own country. Still I believe the progress here is onward, and that we have ground to hope for success; especially if the body of the people there should before long be induced to come hither. As to soil, if we take only the eastern part of the land allotted to the Cherokees here, I apprehend it is not inferior, on the whole, to the old nation. The more western part consists in great part of extensive prairies, where the want of timber renders the country worthless, at least for a long time, to the Cherokees; & still farther West it is uninhabitable altogether. Yet I suppose there is room enough for all the Cherokees within the limits of pretty good soil. Mill-seats are scarce. Of the health I have already spoken—at present intermittent and bilious fevers prevail here, more than there.

We were much gratified to receive the account you gave us of the different members of your family. We sympathize with you in your affliction respecting Samuel's health, and should be glad to hear how it is with him now. We hope he may recover & live for much usefulness; but if it should be otherwise, we pray that God will sanctify the dispensation of your spiritual goods. What are all things earthly, if heaven be our portion?

I have already spoken of Ann's health. The rest of us are very well. Ann writes with me in much love to yourself and sister Chandler & all yours.

Assure all our relations at Bedford of our affectionate remembrance.

Yours affectionately,
S. A. Worcester.

P. S. I had forgotten to speak of our cousin, Jas. Orr, who is superintendent of secular concerns at this station, and is a valuable missionary. Ann says he has a good deal of the Orr about him—which, indeed, is plain enough—and that, as far as she can recollect, he considerably resembles his father. He and his wife send their love. He says he remembers Mrs. Chandler, but thinks she will not remember him, as he was but a boy when he saw her. They have but one son living, about 10 or 11 years old. They have buried three, all sons. His mother, as well as his father, is dead; of his brothers Phineas only survives; and Mrs. Aiken also is dead. Three sisters are living, as far as he knows. Mrs. Orr, you perhaps know, was Minerva Washburn, a cousin of the Rev. Mrs. Washburn of this station, who came out with him. She is a valuable woman.

By the fall of 1835 the Worcesters, as planned, moved to Union, and the press was soon in operation. The next spring there was born to the Worcesters their fifth child, but first son, Leonard.⁸

In the summer of 1836 Austin decided on the permanent site for his press and mission station. Named Park Hill, the site soon became the cultural and political center of the Cherokee Nation. The Worcesters moved⁹ to their new home at Park Hill on December 2, 1836;

⁸ Foreman, *Park Hill*, op. cit., p. 59.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

and it was there that Austin was destined to serve out the rest of his full and useful life. It was from Park Hill that the other three letters were written.

They are here quoted in full and each is an excellent insight into the character and personality of this great citizen of Oklahoma.

Park Hill, Aug. 1, 1844

My Dear Father,

The next day after my last letter to Ann Eliza¹⁰ was mailed, I attended a church meeting—riding in a wagon and sitting with my foot laid up—and during the meeting I noticed a stinging sensation on a particular spot on my leg. Returning home, I discovered a small spot of canker. That, in spite of what remedies I know how to use, become a small eating ulcer. After a few days, however, its progress was arrested, and on the morning of the Sabbath before last—or Monday I believe it was—I found it healed over. Last week I was about to write that I was recovering from my lameness, but beginning to doubt it concluded to wait one week before I reported progress; and now that the week is gone, I do not perceive that I have much if any progress to report. Yet I am not very lame, nor do I suffer much pain, nor is there very much swelling. Yet the swelling, what there is, does not seem to abate, except as it diminishes every night, and increases every day. I walk about considerably, but have not perhaps walked more than half a mile at a time; though I could do it without much present inconvenience. Walking seems to affect it much less than standing, or even sitting with my foot down upon the floor. So the greatest inconvenience I suffer is being compelled to sit with my foot elevated, and being *comparatively* though by no means closely confined. What pain I feel at present is more a sensation of *burning* than anything else, and that I feel often when the skin is quite cool to the touch. I have had also for three weeks perhaps a lameness in my right arm, not very considerable, nor increasing at all. It had been lame at intervals before—now constantly.

I think I wrote to Ann Eliza that my disease was scrofula. So I supposed—but Dr. Butler¹¹ thinks it is not so, but a disease not extremely uncommon here, arising from the miasma of the climate. The ulcer he thought was of the class called *fever sores*. Certainly it did not answer the description of a scrofulous ulcer. And so perhaps my lameness might be called “fever in the leg”. Whatever it be such remedies as I have been able to apply seem only an

¹⁰ Early in 1843 Ann Eliza left Park Hill for St. Johnsbury, Vermont, where she lived at the home of her Uncle, John Worcester, while attending school. Because of the failing health of Miss Avery, the Board appointed Ann Eliza as teacher at the Park Hill Mission, and she returned to her post February 7, 1847, and at once took up her new duties. A remarkable student and scholar, she was one of the first women in the United States to receive the degree of Ph. D. On April 15, 1850, she married the Rev. William Schenk Robertson. The couple continued their missionary work at Tullahassee Mission in the Creek Nation. They were the parents of the Hon. Alice Robertson. Ann Eliza Robertson died in 1905. (See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, ‘Report of the Reverend R. M. Loughridge, Creek Mission,’ and Virginia E. Lauderdale, ‘Tullahassee Mission,’ in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, [Autumn, 1948].—Ed.)

¹¹ Rev. Dr. Elizur Butler was a life long friend and associate of Rev. Worcester. He was imprisoned with him at Milledgeville, and was the other principal in the celebrated legal battle between the United States Supreme Court and the State of Georgia. He was born in Connecticut on June 11, 1794. He died in 1857.—Thoburn, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

palliate not to cure. Dr. Butler relies almost wholly on internal remedies, and they do not seem to be of much effect.

Twice since I wrote to Ann Eliza I have preached, but sitting in a chair with my foot elevated. I also attended the temperance meeting on the 11th July, going and returning—five miles—in a carriage¹² One or two other Sab-baths I would have preached, sitting, but Mr. Foreman preached for me.¹³

Now I have let you know my state as well as I can. I rather think it is not scrofula that affects me, and therefore have more hope of recovering. Perhaps the disease will gradually wear away, even though *medicine* should prove vain. If it is not scrofula I think I shall see over before very long, perhaps at the approach of cold weather, if not before. In the meantime I have great reason to be thankful, and hope I am so in some measure, that I am able to write and study not much less than if I were in perfect health.

Mrs. Worcester's health is not very good, but not much more unwell than she is much of her time, so that we may say nearly as well as common. Our teacher, Miss Avery,¹⁴ too is rather feeble. Our little Mary has had considerable fever this forenoon, but is running about this afternoon, though rather feeble.¹⁵ Hope she will be well again in a day or two. It is a striking difference between the fevers of this climate, and those of your part of Vermont, at least as I recollect them, that here a man may have as much fever as would *there* have seemed to ensure his confinement for at least a week or two, and even to put his life in much danger, and the very next day or at most the next but one, may be about his ordinary business, apparently free from disease, and but moderately reduced in strength. This, however, is not often effected without a free use of quinine or some kindred remedy.

It seems almost too late to allude to the intelligence in your letter, which was dated Jan. 2. I hope brother Isaac's trials will be sanctified to him in his partner, and blessed to you also, who I suppose, feel the loss of your grand-children almost as of your own. It sometimes seems as if you were likely to survive almost all your posterity. To me, however, God has been very kind in regard to the lives of my children, having yet called me to mourn the loss of little Jerusha¹⁶ alone. I still desire your earnest prayers for us, that we may soon be permitted to see them all numbered with the flock of Christ.

¹² Rev. Worcester had a life long interest in the temperance movement. Soon after his arrival at Park Hill he formed a temperance society, and remained throughout his life one of its staunchest supporters. Rev. Foreman served as secretary of the Cherokee Temperance Society, and the two were tireless workers in its behalf.

¹³ Rev. Stephen Foreman settled at Park Hill in 1839 and soon became one of Rev. Worcester's most intimate associates in the mission and printing work. Together they translated a great portion of the Bible into Cherokee. Foreman was born in Georgia October 22, 1807, and except for an interlude in Texas during the Civil War, he devoted his entire life at Park Hill to serving the Cherokees. He died Dec. 8, 1881, and is buried at Park Hill.—Foreman, *Park Hill*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Miss Mary Avery was a teacher and assistant at the Park Hill mission. She was born in Massachusetts December 13, 1819, and was a graduate of Mount Holyoke. She arrived at Park Hill Jan. 7, 1840. She taught at Park Hill until failing health forced her to relinquish her post to Ann Eliza Worcester. Miss Avery married Rev. Mr. Loughridge in 1846, and died at Tullahassee Mission Jan. 26, 1850.—Foreman, *Park Hill*, *op. cit.*, p. 61, and references in fn. 10, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Mary Eleanor Worcester was Rev. Worcester's seventh and last child. She was born at Park Hill July 23, 1840. Her mother, Ann Orr Worcester, died in childbirth.

¹⁶ Rev. Worcester's third child, a daughter, Jerusha, was born at New Echota Feb. 27, 1831. The child died August 14 of the same year.—Bass, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Most of the old men you mention as having died in Peacham I well remember. Mr. Benjm Bailey I hardly think I *do* remember. Yet I remember a man who it seems to me was a brother to Capt. L. Bailey, who lived in or near Grotan, and who, I think, when I was rather small, was married to a woman, whose former husband was not certainly known to be dead, but had not been heard of for some years. Was he the man? I should have thought him rather younger than you. Old Mr. Northrop I knew of, and it seems as if I had barely seen him. I knew a young man, the inventor of a cheese-press. Was not he a son of old Mr. Northrop? and his name Benjamin? And was it not he who built a small neat house in "The Hollow," and lived there? Did he marry a step-daughter of Capt. Ashbel Martin or whom did she marry? I once took tea in the house of the man I mean. Augusta Martin—whom did she marry? Olive Martin—was it she that Hazen Merrill married? I think you will wonder—and so do I—at the confused recollection which I retain of the friends of my childhood—that is those who were less intimate. But I like sometimes to have my memory refreshed. The rest of the old people whose death you mention I remember very well.

Ermina¹⁷ unites with me in filial love to you and mother, and so do your grandchildren whom you have never seen.

Your affectionate son,
Austin.

Friday morning. I am more encouraged about my lameness. A dose of calomel seems to have had more effect upon it than usual.

One of the most tireless of the workers at the Park Hill Mission was Miss Nancy Thompson. She was born in Virginia¹⁸ in 1792, and first went to work among the Cherokees in 1826. She journeyed West with them in 1839, and spent her life in their service.¹⁹

She was visiting in Georgia when Rev. Worcester wrote her this letter:

Park Hill, May 5, 1847

Dear Miss Thompson,

Mrs. Ore is very anxious respecting her son, John Brown, who was to go east with Mr. Hitchcock. She thinks he was going to Tennessee with Garner; and that Garner, together with Mrs. Morgan, had laid a plan to get him into mischief and get hold of his money. She wished you to write to me, and tell all you know about him. Did he go with you? How did he behave? Tell these and other things, such as you know an anxious mother would wish to hear.

We are all well. A few met at Tahlequah today, and appointed a Committee to collect money for Scotland. Took up a subscription on the spot, of one hundred and seventy two dollars, most of which was paid on the spot. Mr. Ross gave one hundred dollars. I have got 5 dollars and a half more since I came home.

¹⁷Ermina Nash, Austin's second wife, was born in Massachusetts October 12, 1801. She married Worcester at the age of 39, and devoted her life to the work of her husband. Other than her foster family, she had no children. She died May 5, 1872, and is buried at Park Hill. Foreman, *Park Hill*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁸Foreman, *Park Hill*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁹See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Augusta Robertson Moore, A Sketch of Her Life and Times," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935), p. 399, for a photograph in later life of Rev. and Mrs. Robertson and Miss Thompson.

I have written just at Mrs. Ore's request. In answering please tell us about your journey, and how you are, and how you found all your friends. Also whether you called on Mr. Blunt, or not, and about his family and Martha's. I forgot to speak again about your calling on Mr. Blunt, and to send them my love.

All send love to you.

Yours affectionately,
S. A. Worcester.

Ann and Austin Worcester's second son was John Orr Worcester. Born in March, 1838, just two years before the death of his mother, he was reared by his step-mother. Like his brother and sisters before him, when his turn came, he went East for his education, joining his brother Leonard at St. Johnsbury, Vermont.

John Orr was a sensitive lad, interested in music, and delicate in health.²⁰ He had apparently written his father demurring to the paternal wish that he follow in the ministry. His father's reply is as classic as Polonius' sage advice to his son Laertes, and is indeed a great human document, cogent and convincing to anyone who may be mentally debating a call to the service of God:

Park Hill, Jan. 5, 1858

Yes, it is 1858, and I have had occasion already to write the date quite a number of times since the year commenced, and perhaps every time have been at the point of making a 7, but I believe I have not done it more than once. But the years fly fast. Let us *use* them as they go.

I received your letter informing me that your cousin Jane Chapin was somewhere in Vermont, and wrote a letter and sent it to her brother William; and the very next mail brought me one from her, dated at Waterbury. She had at length received my two. She does not yet give me a decisive answer.

Last night I received yours of Nov. 29.

What constitutes a *call* to the Gospel ministry?

Suppose an army of 5000 men, and the commander in chief has given orders that 500 go on a certain expedition, but without specifying individuals. Now 300 have stepped forward, and offered to go. There the enlistment has stopped. The commander of the expedition stands waiting for 200 more. Now on which of the 4700 does the obligation lie to be the 301st? On no one? or on each? On each, certainly, unless he can render a reason peculiar to himself—not common to all. If all are on equal footing, then the 300 are obeying, and each of the 4700 is *disobeying*, although only 200 are required, to complete the number. Until it is completed, everyone who holds back, *disobeys* orders. Each has a *call*, and each *disobeys* the call.

Analogous to this is a call to the ministry. Jesus has proclaimed his gospel, commanding everyone who hears it to *receive* it, and to *spread* it. Everyone who hears. There is no exception. There are various modes of spreading it; but the most prominent is that of preaching. In drawing the comparison with the 5000 and the 500, let us leave out of the account all those who are already settled in life. Some of them have, and some have not received a call, and disobeyed it; but our concern is not with them. Our business now is with

²⁰ Bass, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

the young. And of them, too, we will exclude all who have not the power to choose their course of life; and make our army or 5000, of those young men, who have the power, so far as appears, to choose their future employment. To that Army you belong. Now, then, you have to look about you, and see whether the number of such young men, who devote themselves to the ministry, is as great, as the cause of Christ demands, or whether the gospel would prevail more, and more souls be saved, if a greater proportion of the young would devote themselves to that work. The latter is manifestly the truth. The harvest is great, and the laborers are few. You are one of the 5000; the expedition for which 500 are demanded is the preaching of the Gospel; 500 are demanded and the number is not made up. If you are on equal footing with the rest, then if you see that the requisite number is not made up, and you do not enlist, you disobey the Commander in Chief—the Saviour, who bought you with his blood.

“But I am not on equal footing with the rest; for seriously I do not think I could deliver a public speech of any sort.” John, that is a mere chimera—a phantom of your own imagination. You *can* deliver a public speech. If you require a collegiate education, and cultivate your powers as that will give you opportunity to do, and then study theology diligently for even a little while, you will be able, with the love of the Redeemer and the love of souls in your heart to write a good sermon, and to deliver it well. And not only so, but, if you *cultivate* the power of speaking extemporaneously, you will be able to preach a good sermon *without* writing—*studied* but *unwritten*. It will cost you more effort than it would some others, but it can be done. You have the power. If God gives you health and strength, you have only to *try*, and you *can do it*. You can. You can.

If all who are better fitted by nature than you suppose yourself to be for such a work, would consecrate themselves to God, and to the ministry, then you might even be excused—not from consecrating yourself to God—but from that portion of his work. But they will not. The laborers will be few; and in tens of thousands of places where the native is to be, not whether to have such a minister as you can be, but one not better than you can be, or none at all. To have one such as you can be is unspeakably better than none at all.

But suppose your excuse is valid, and preaching is *not* the most useful calling that *you in particular* can follow. What then? What *is* the most useful?

You say you can get a living some other way. So I suppose you can — much easier than by preaching. If the proper business of life is simply to live, then by all²¹ means give up the thought of preaching, and turn to some more lucrative pursuit.

But you add that, in some other way, you *could* do good, if you were disposed. Doubtless you could. But what *is* doing good? Or *what is usefulness?* Doing good, my son, is saving immortal souls. Usefulness is promoting the salvation of immortal souls. Other things are in some sense good, and useful; but all usefulness which falls short, in its results, of salvation to immortal souls if it is *something*, is yet as *nothing*. The salvation of but one, single soul, infinitely outweighs any amount whatever, of anything else whatever that may bear the name of usefulness.

When you talk of doing good, then, let your meaning be, promoting the salvation of immortal souls.

²¹ The second sheet of this letter, from this point forward, is in the Alice Robertson collection at the University of Tulsa.

When I conversed with you before you left home, and when I did so at Peacham, you told me, in substance, that your greatest desire for yourself on earth was to do good. This is my desire for you. I wish you to attain the greatest amount of usefulness within your reach.

If you desire to do good, can you probably do most good with, or without, a liberal education? I think, with. Other things being equal, he whose mind is best cultivated has the fairest prospect of usefulness. For this reason I had rather you would go through college, whether you are to be a minister or not.

In some way or other—in the ministry, unless it is clear that in some other sphere you can do more good—and your mere dream that you cannot speak in public does not make it clear—but in some way or other I want to have you engaged in seeking the salvation of souls. If among the benighted nations, all the better for that. But whether near your native home, or whether in some distant land, whether in the pulpit or out of it, I wish to have you—to see you, if I live long enough for that—at work for God and Christ and your fellow-men, with a mind as well fitted as may be, by cultivation, to exert an influence over your fellow-men.

Write, as soon as you can, what you have to say in reply to this, and I will write again. But in the meantime go forward. And as for your mother and me, we will incessantly pray that you may be happy and useful on earth, and happy in heaven at last,—that you may attain “the chief end of man”—“to glorify God, and enjoy him forever.”

Ann Eliza was so sick recently with quinsy as to swallow nothing but a very little liquid for near a week. Has in a good measure recovered. Hannah was there—arrived a little before the sore broke. Isaac Hitchcock²² was there this week—left yesterday. It is now Jan. 7th. In 12 days I shall be sixty years old. Hannah is pretty well for her, and your mother tolerably so for her. I am pretty well.

Do tell us all you hear from Leonard. It seems long since we heard from him at all.

Your very affectionate
Father.

His father's persuasive arguments, however, were in vain. John Orr stayed on in St. Johnsbury, clerking in a store, and married a local girl, Julia Snow. He died June 15, 1861.

Meanwhile, Park Hill had lost its most faithful servant and respected citizen. While cleaning a well, Rev. Worcester was injured when a ladder collapsed. He was an invalid thereafter. His daughter, Hannah, with her family, moved into his house to help with his care. He continued to decline, and was eventually confined full time to his bed. He died April 20, 1859, and is buried at Park Hill.²³

²² Isaac Brown Hitchcock, an uncle of Worcester's son-in-law, D. D. Hitchcock, was born in February, 1825. Except for the period of the Civil War, Hitchcock devoted his entire life to teaching in Cherokee National public schools and at the Cherokee Male Seminary.—*Indian Pioneer History* (Grant Foreman Collection, WPA Project S-149), Vol. 98, p. 306.

²³ Foreman, *Park Hill*, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM EXPOSITION AND CONGRESS

By Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A. S.C.

The sponsors and supporters of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress sought and secured a useful, self-supporting commercial commodity—petroleum,—older than civilization and wide as the world, as the object of civic consideration. Petroleum, or earth oil, the magic fluid known from time immemorial, has been transformed into myriad uses by the ingenuity of modern man. Practically every human activity of today is dependent upon earth oil.¹

The famous Drake well in Pennsylvania drilled to a depth of sixty-nine feet struck oil in 1859 which marked the beginning of the great petroleum industry of today. The oil seeps and springs in the Indian Territory, discovered by the Indians in very early days, were first reported in the published records in the 1840's. Lewis Ross, a brother of Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation, found oil in drilling a well for salt, near Salina, Oklahoma, before the War between the States. It was said that this well flowed ten barrels a day for about a year. The first oil well in Oklahoma was drilled in 1888, about twelve miles west of Atoka near Clear Boggy, under the auspices of the Choctaw Oil and Refining Company which had been organized by a group of Choctaws under a law of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation in 1884.²

J. C. W. Bland, M.D., and Fred S. Clinton, M.D., drilled the first oil and gas well on the Sue A. Bland homestead (NW SE Sec. 22, T. 19 N., R. 12 E.) adjoining Red Fork, Indian Territory, on June 25, 1901, and it is still producing.³ Our decision to drill here was based upon our faith in the development of resources of the Indian Territory, the industrial activity and oil interests in Kansas and Texas, the allotment of Indian lands, and the establishing of the legal right of ownership of property which presented a golden opportunity for immediate progress if we could strike oil and secure national publicity without delay. We had no lease or leases when we decided to make a try by leaps and bounds for instant national publicity. *This was the first oil and gas discovery well in the Indian Territory,*

¹ References used in the compilation of this article include: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 175th Anniversary Printing (1943), Vol. 22, pp. 540-41; *Oklahoma and Mid-Continent Oil Field*, James O. Jones Co. (1930), pp. 7, 9, 220; Gustav Egloff, *Earth Oil* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1933), pp. 16, 23, 25.

² Muriel H. Wright, "First Oil Produced in Oklahoma, 1859," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (December, 1926).

³ *Oklahoma and Mid-Continent Oil Field*, loc. cit.

now Oklahoma, which was nationally publicized, resulting in the rapid industrial development of Tulsa and Oklahoma, and finally to establishing Tulsa as the Oil Capital of the World with the great International Petroleum Exposition and Congress in this City.

God supplies resources. Man develops them. Men build cities. The population of Tulsa in 1900 was 1390, and in 1948 the city had grown to 193,284.

The Editorial in the issue of the *American Saturday Night*, Tulsa, March 3, 1923, says, "Earl Sneed, local attorney, is of the opinion that Tulsa ought to have an International Petroleum Congress here each year, and why not?"

Earl Sneed, who was the first of record to suggest and outline at some length a comprehensive and workable program⁴ for the organization of a great International Petroleum Exposition and Tulsa, said that, "An International Petroleum Exposition and Congress with all its side show features would give thrills to the young people, knowledge to the oil fraternity, opportunity to make world-wide acquaintance, renew friendships, and firmly establish Tulsa for all time to come as the oil center of the entire world." He further insisted that all manufacturers of oil field equipment and refinery supplies, and all those interested in production and distribution form such an organization.

WHO'S WHO IN THE INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM EXPOSITION FOR 1923

Work on Tulsa's first annual International Petroleum Exposition started with an enthusiasm which was bound to sweep the project on to brilliant success. Headquarters were established at 212 So. Boston, in charge of Edward F. McIntyre, who was engaged by the Executive Committee as General Manager.

A general committee of over seventy-five Tulsans was sub-divided into 12 working committees in charge of the following departments: Finance, Attractions, Exposition, Convention, Parades and Pageants, Transportation, Scientific and Technical Exhibits, Public Safety, Auditing, Entertainment, Decorations, and Buildings and Grounds. These departments were under the general supervision of the Executive Committee and the General Manager. L. B. Jackson was selected

⁴ *American Saturday Night, Tulsa*, Vol. V, No. 9 (March 3, 1923), p. 2.

as President, and J. J. McGraw as Treasurer of the organization.⁵

Incorporation of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress followed a favorable report of the conventions committee of the Chamber of Commerce. Earl Sneed had advocated the Oil Exposition, and President H. O. McClure, and General Secretary, Wm. Holden started the preliminary organization which developed the General Committee of about 90 representing all organizations *connected with oil industry, local business and civic associations. The organization was incorporated and elected the following officers: L. B. Jackson, President; J. M. Hayner, Vice President; W. A. Vanderver, Vice President; J. J. McGraw, Treasurer; and Wm. Holden, Secretary. These officers and the following: H. O. McClure, A. V. Bourque, Alf. G. Haggem, W. A. Melton, J. H. Gardner, and T. J. Hartman made up the Board of Directors.*

The Board promptly engaged E. F. McIntyre as General Manager, who with a competent staff and constant assistance of the Officers, Board and Committees, cooperating resulted in success.⁶ The minutes or official records of the I.P.E.C. are reported missing or lost. However, since some of us believe in proper publicity, there is enough recorded of what we did to make history.

Alva J. Niles, J. E. Crawford and I. E. Cornelius, were designated by President Jackson as a Committee to draft plans for a permanent organization of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress, and after a short deliberation they reported, designating E. R. Perry, Vice President of Cosden & Company, as Chairman for Tuesday, and W. H. Gray, President of the National Association of Independent Oil Producers, as Chairman for Wednesday. A. V. Bourque, Secretary of the Association of Natural Gasoline Manufacturers, was made permanent Secretary. This appointment aroused general good feeling among the oil men, because Bourque had worked

⁵ The following list shows the personnel of the committees: L. D. Armstrong, A. L. Beekly, Carl Blackman, A. V. Bourque, O. V. Borden, A. F. Bourne, F. W. Bryant, D. E. Buchanan, John Campion, Fred S. Clinton, M. D., O. L. Cordell, E. H. Cornelius, A. B. C. Dague, W. E. Espy, C. T. Everett, Charles F. Farren, E. R. Filley, T. M. Pariss, N. R. Graham, R. D. Gwynne, J. Burr Gibbons, Frank Glasscock, E. Bee Guthrie, R. L. Ginter, H. H. Goddard, J. H. Gardner, J. M. Hayner, William Holden, Alf G. Heggem, T. J. Hartman, A. W. Hurley, Frank Hinderliter, Summers Hardy, Richard Hughes, A. C. Holmes, W. R. Hamilton, R. P. Humes, L. B. Jackson, Cornelius Kroll, L. E. Kennedy, I. G. Long, W. L. Lewis, C. M. Lemason, J. J. McGraw, H. O. McClure, W. A. Melton, P. M. Miskel, Chas. Meyers, Everett Manning, J. H. McBirney, D. W. Moffitt, G. L. Matson, R. L. McFarland, T. F. Mayer, C. M. Murray, H. E. McElroy, J. S. McKelvey, Hollis P. Porter, Asa E. Ramsey, I. G. Rosser, E. A. Richards, Ralph C. Riley, Harold E. Roe, W. R. Ritchie, Harry Smith, J. A. Sartori, E. T. Tucker, J. A. Udden, W. A. Vanderver, M. M. Valerius, E. H. Wiet, Allan Whiteside, J. S. Warren, W. M. Welch, J. E. Minger, John Zink.

See necrology by Robert L. Williams, "Lewis Beal Jackson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), p. 240.

⁶ *The Tulsa Spirit*, Chamber of Commerce, Vol. IX, No. 12 (October, 1923), pp. 1-4, 8, 10-12, 15.

tirelessly in perfecting the Knights of the Derrick, an organization that strives to provide a home for the superannuated.

About October 1, 1923, President L. B. Jackson appointed a committee to investigate rain insurance, with full authority to decide and act. The Committee, Dr. Fred S. Clinton, Chairman, R. F. MacArthur and E. B. Lawson, decided on insurance.⁷ On the last day for placing the insurance the Chairman was unable to locate the other members of the Committee, so visited Edward F. McIntyre, General Manager of the Exposition and found an extra amount of \$1800 in the Treasury. He gave a schedule of the dates and hours and ordered the rain insurance. The General Manager demanded, and the Chairman gave, a written order. "Why?" he asked. The General Manager answered, "If it is a success, I take the credit, if it is a failure, you take the blame, and catch 'Hullabaloo!'"

The rains came in torrents. More than \$10,000 dollars insurance was collected. All bills were paid, which saved the Exposition and established the courage, confidence, and conviction that with cooperation and work, succeeding self-supporting I.P.E.'s were assured in Tulsa.

KING PETROLEUM OPENS OIL SHOW

"In actual life every great enterprise begins with and takes its first forward step in faith."—Schlegel.

Tulsa, long heralded as the Oil Capital of the World, on Monday, October 8th, 1923, took positive ways of proving to the oil men of this country and visiting oil men from other lands that her claim was justified.

The International Petroleum Exposition and Congress, the dream of a Tulsan, organized and constructed by Tulsa citizens, and supported by oil men from all over the country, was formally opened under the most auspicious circumstances surrounding any previous convention ever staged in Tulsa. It was held in Convention Hall with the adjacent streets used for the exhibits.

The friendly and cooperative attitude of the officials, and employees of Frisco Lines made the entire journey of the King and his attendants from the west to the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress safe and comfortable, arriving at Tulsa on time. King Petroleum and his retinue had received much advance information about the wonderful work in finishing the Exposition in six months.⁸ Colorful, gracious, dignified and distinguished, the king was an inspiration to all and a great thrill to the vast welcoming and expectant throng meeting the Royal Train.

⁷ *National Petroleum News*, Cleveland, Ohio, Vol. XV, No. 42 (October 17, 1923), pp. 22-32.

⁸ *Tulsa Daily World*, Vol. XVIII, October 9, 1923, p. 1.

As Mayor Herman F. Newblock stepped upon the private car of King Petroleum, Dr. Fred S. Clinton introduced the visiting monarch as follows:

I would that I could speak with brevity as becomes such an occasion as this of the Kingdom of Tulsa, my native home. This magic and matchless city has accepted the challenge of destiny and decided to build the most magnificent metropolis of the oil world. It is now my honor and pleasure to present to his Royal Majesty, King Petroleum, Mr. L. B. Jackson, President of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress.

Mr. Jackson introduced the Mayor to the King and then the monarch was escorted to his Royal Float and driven to the Exposition grounds with the Exposition band playing, "Yes we have no bananas."

President Jackson's talk was brief, following the impressive prayer by Rev. C. W. Kerr, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who has seen Tulsa grow from a little village to a thriving metropolis during his twenty-one years residence here. Upon the special train and at Convention Hall, King Petroleum was attended by two handsome pages, Roger, son of H. W. Randolph, of 218 East Twenty-fourth Street, and Richard, son of C. W. Simmons, of 1537 South Owasso Avenue.

VISITORS PRAISE SHOW

Thousands of oil men were in Tulsa, enjoying the Exposition, and thousands were expected on the succeeding days, of what oil men present unreservedly declared the most magnificent oil exposition ever attempted.⁹

King Petroleum in the person of Judge S. H. King of Tulsa, who made a distinguished looking monarch, formally opened the Exposition shortly before eleven o'clock Monday morning, was royally greeted by Tulsans and visitors when he arrived by special train at nine-forty-five a.m., and was given an ovation befitting a King, at the conclusion of his short, but appropriate talk at Convention Hall. King Petroleum said in part:

I have long known that Tulsa was the Oil Capital but as my royal train approached your city I was amazed and pleased to note the great progress that has been made in recent years. The towering office buildings, housing Tulsa's leading oil concerns, and wide and well kept streets and thoroughfares, and the air of hospitality so openly displayed upon every face, made me feel happy that I was permitted to pay the Capital a visit.

I want to thank the officers of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress for this beautiful scepter, assuring me that my reign over Tulsa will be a happy and pleasant one. I want to commend the officers of the Exposition for the wonderful exhibition of the art and science of oil drilling to be seen at this Exposition.

⁹ *Oil and Gas Journal*, Vol. XXII, No. 20 (Tulsa, October 11, 1923), pp. 24, 25, 28, 29.

After the conclusion of the formal program and King Petroleum had closed his reception, he left and soon afterward appeared on the grounds as a spectator.

The Tulsa Tribune, 92 pages in 7 sections, October 7, 1923, carries a streamer on top of its front page, "Come to the International Petroleum Exposition in Tulsa, October 8-14." It also presents an excellent picture of King Petroleum, and the program for Sunday, the 7th, and Monday, the 8th. Over a third of the front page is devoted to the Exposition and page 15B is given over to the I.P.E. programs and excellent pictures of each of the 9 floats used in the oil parade. Each float typifies some part of the world history of oil since it was discovered by the Hindu fire worshipers and was designed by Herbert Barnard, Director of the pageant, and constructed under his supervision. The finest horses were secured by Ed Chastain for motive power. Four black horses for the King's float, drivers and footmen all wore uniforms, white hats and badges.

Four white horses drew the Queen's float and four gray horses were used for the float of the Duchesses. The floats in the Wednesday parade were manned by high school students under the direction of Miss Isabel Ronan, Tulsa High School Director of Dramatics. They portrayed the parts of slaves and other characters in the Burmese floats, and the transportation and early drilling floats.

RECEPTION

Embarking on world-wide mission by inviting distinguished persons from many civilized countries, the need for diplomacy was felt, and the woman power was called.¹⁰ The women have more natural tact, skill or shrewdness in conducting any affair, especially where social amenity and creature comfort might enter the problem.

SOME SOCIAL EXPOSITION EVENTS

Mrs. Fred S. Clinton was named Chairman of the committee on arrangements, the formal reception to be held at the Country Club from 9 to 11 p.m., Tuesday, October 9, 1923. Final plans were made at the home of Mrs. Fred S. Clinton, October 2.¹¹ The following heads of sub-committees were formed: Music, Mrs. F. B. Dillard, Mrs. H. C. Ashby; Refreshments, Mrs. Dan J. Davidson, Mrs. R. P. Brewer, Mrs. Grant Case Stebbins; Decorations, Mrs. J. M. Gillette, Mrs. H. C. Ashby, Mrs. Clinton Moore.

The Queen's Ball was held at the Country Club, Saturday, October 13, 1923. The guests were greeted in the front drawing-room by Mrs. J. R. Cole, J. M. Gillette, A. T. Allison and Miss Sara

¹⁰ *Tulsa Daily World*, Vol. XVIII, October 14, 1923.

¹¹ Mrs. Fred M. (Jane Heard) Clinton held the honor and responsibility of Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, International Petroleum Exposition and Congress, for the years 1923, 1924, 1925.



MRS. FRED S. CLINTON (Jane Heard)

Davidson who presented them to the receiving line just inside the south drawing-room where Mrs. Fred S. Clinton, Chairman of the Reception Committee, stood at the head of the line. Those in the line were Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Hayner, Dr. Fred Severs Clinton, King Petroleum (in real life Judge S. H. King) Miss McDonald, Jennie Yerger King. Distinguished visitors in the line were Senor Don Francisco Sanchez Latour, Minister from Guatemala; Dr. Samiago F. Bedoya, Secretary of the Peruvian Embassy at Washington, D. C., Dr. Anagastasia, representing Rumania; Rear Admiral J. K. Robison, of United States Navy; Doctor and Mrs. Lasso from the Mexican Government; T. C. Chu, of the National Geological Survey of China; Lucio Baldo, representing Venezuela; C. E. Steel, President of National Gas and Petroleum Association of Canada; and H. Hollesen of New York City, representing Hugo Stinnes of the German Government.

When the guests had passed the receiving line they were further welcomed and entertained by Mesdames George Williamson, Dan Davisson, Harry C. Ashby, F. B. Dillard, R. P. Brewer, H. N. Cole, Grant Case Stebbins, Clinton Moore, Charles E. Bush and Frank H. Greer. In the ballroom they were received by Mesdames W. N. Sill, A. V. Bourque, E. P. Harwell, H. L. Farris, Pat Malloy, Frank Breene, Thomas Chestnut, C. B. Gump, W. L. Kistler, Waite Phillips, Lee Clinton, L. E. Cahill, L. P. Wallis, Leal F. Duncan and Miss Leola Kiser, who led the way to the derricks and tanks, from which flowed punch, presided over by Misses Naomi Brown, Irene Buell, Ann Kennedy, Jane Robinson, Dorothy Vensel, Alice Strouvelle, Nell Cook, Mary Sill Cartwright, Margaret Kerr, and Margaret Lamb.

The dining room was supervised by young society matrons, including Mesdames R. Otis McClintock, Valjean W. Biddison, John L. Shakely, S. C. Canary, and Lester Gillespie, who were assisted by Mesdames Charles I. Hannis, Mary Sill Pierce, John Rogers and Ralph Berry, and Mrs. Margaret Hagler, Leona Galbreath, Margaret Moran, Betty Brewer, Clephane Wertzberger, Fanny Land, Dorcas McConnell, Louise Stebbins, Marian McClintock, Dorothy McBirney, Thelma Kennedy, Tooka Campbell, Mary Clay Williams and Norma Campbell.

Queen Petrolia set up her reign early in the week of the Congress. The six Duchesses chosen for the Queen were Misses May Reisling, Rosalind Hollow, Katherine Gavin, Lillian Randall, Cordelia Ann Kennedy, Nellie Cook. Two little pages were selected: Misses Helen Louise Avery and Arline Wyatt. Miss Dorothy Vensel, daughter of Verne Vensel, a Tulsa oil operator, was Queen of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress, October, 1923.

Editor James McIntyre, still living in Tulsa, wrote in *The Oil and Gas Journal*, describing the 1923 International Petroleum Exposition and Congress as "Greatest of its kind":

At this writing, Wednesday, the exposition is on its third day. Over two hundred exhibitors are showing the most complete line of oil country goods ever assembled. The show is a success. There are men in Tulsa from every oil field in the United States and many others interested in the refining and marketing of oil from non-producing states. The opening day's crowd numbered over 5000. Tuesday's attendance greatly exceeded this and it is expected the daily attendance will steadily grow. Oil companies having their headquarters in Tulsa, when the magnitude of the show and the educational benefits to be derived from it were brought home to their officials, immediately made arrangements to have their superintendents and field operatives of lesser authority devote a part of the week in a study of the multitudinous things on exhibition as well as the scientific discoveries of the United States Bureau of Mines, The Geological Survey and Technical societies.

On the opening day the interest was so great it was nearly midnight before the last visitor left the grounds, and the same interest was shown by the larger crowd on Tuesday night.

The most surprised and enthusiastic of all were the exhibitors themselves. Many of these have said that this was the greatest exposition the oil and gas industry had ever known.

The Publicity Department of the International Petroleum Exposition in 1940, congratulating Earl Sneed on fortunate and valuable pioneer planning recommendation, said, "What Sneed's eyes saw were a few pieces of oil industry equipment, of which the manufacturers were most proud. What his imagination visioned can be seen today in the \$750,000.00 plant of the I.P.E., covering 25 acres southeast of the city."¹² Total value, 1948, three million dollars.

THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY

Advance publicity described the plans for the great Silver Anniversary celebration of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress in 1948:

The International Petroleum Exposition and Congress will celebrate its Silver Anniversary in the recently enlarged 15-acre plant where almost 2000 exhibitors will display equipment costing more than one hundred million dollars. An anticipated attendance of over 225,000 visitors and delegates from thirty-three countries and the United States will see demonstrations of wartime and post-war progress in petroleum machinery methods, processes and equipment for exploration, drilling, production, transportation, refining and marketing divisions of the oil industry. The enlarged Hall of Science, with the world's most complete collection of technical and scientific exhibits, will tell the complete story of petroleum. Established in 1923, the I.P.E. will commemorate its 25th year of service to more than 34,000 individual concerns of all sizes, and to 1,250,000 people who make their living in the progressive petroleum industry.

The exposition occupies two blocks on Boulder avenue, and three blocks on Brady avenue and in addition large vacant lots were utilized for the display of very heavy machinery and for the derricks where drilling operations were under way. All the buildings are of steel construction. A separate structure of large dimensions houses the scientific, technical and historical displays. Convention Hall, with a seating capacity of 3000 people,

¹² I.P.E. Silver Anniversary, Personal Letter, February 12, 1923.



WILLIAM GROVE SKELLY

is used for meetings of the congress and other events, and for the hippodrome performances.

Enthusiasm and the best of feeling marks the exposition. It has been the meeting place of many old friends whose business or occupation ordinarily has kept them wide apart, and the renewal of old friendships has been one of the fine things in connection with the big show. It has brought manufacturer and purchaser together intimately and created personal friendships which heretofore had only been extended to the goods the one made and the other bought.

THE NEXT OIL EXPOSITION¹³

Plans already are being made for a greater and probably longer International Petroleum Exposition and Congress, W. G. Skelly, IPE president, announced Saturday.

The record-breaking silver anniversary IPE [1948] which played host to more than 300,000 visitors was reviewed at a special executive committee meeting.

The keynote of our meeting was one of perfecting plans to render still greater service to almost 35,000 concerns of all sizes and the 1,500,000 or more people who make their living in the petroleum industry," said Skelly.

The IPE chief said exact dates of the next exposition will be announced soon.

SOME FAVOR 1950 SHOW

Skelly said hundreds of exhibitors who helped make the 1948 exposition a success are eager for another oil show in 1950. But, he explained, "the oil company personnel who attended the exposition are the ones who make the show a profitable investment for exhibitors."

"We've just commemorated 25 years of useful and profitable service to the industry. The next exposition must be of greater service than any other that has gone before."

The Tulsa oil man and civic leader pointed out that newspaper editors and trade journal publishers have said the 1948 oil show was without question the world's finest and most complete exposition of equipment and services used in the industry.

Turning to the advisability of extending the next exposition beyond the eight days of the 1948 show, Skelly said: "The logic of affording oil companies additional days for staggering the attendance of executives and employes who must keep the wheels of industry turning while the show goes on was clear to many of our 1948 exhibitors."

In a recent mail survey of 1948 exposition exhibitors' sentiment on future expositions of 10, 12, and 15 days has indicated more than half of the firms exhibiting this year favored a longer show for future years. Out of 400 firms queried by mail, 268 replied with votes for a longer show.

One has a sense of deep regret to have to ration the history of so important an event as the beginning of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress, the early records of which are reported

¹³ *Tulsa Daily World*, Vol. XLIII, June 6, 1948, p. 1.

lost.¹⁴ Yet for those who had a part in the beginning of this great organization, I want to express pride in that we had faith in our objective, confidence in ourselves, and the courage to do and dare in the first development of oil in Tulsa County.

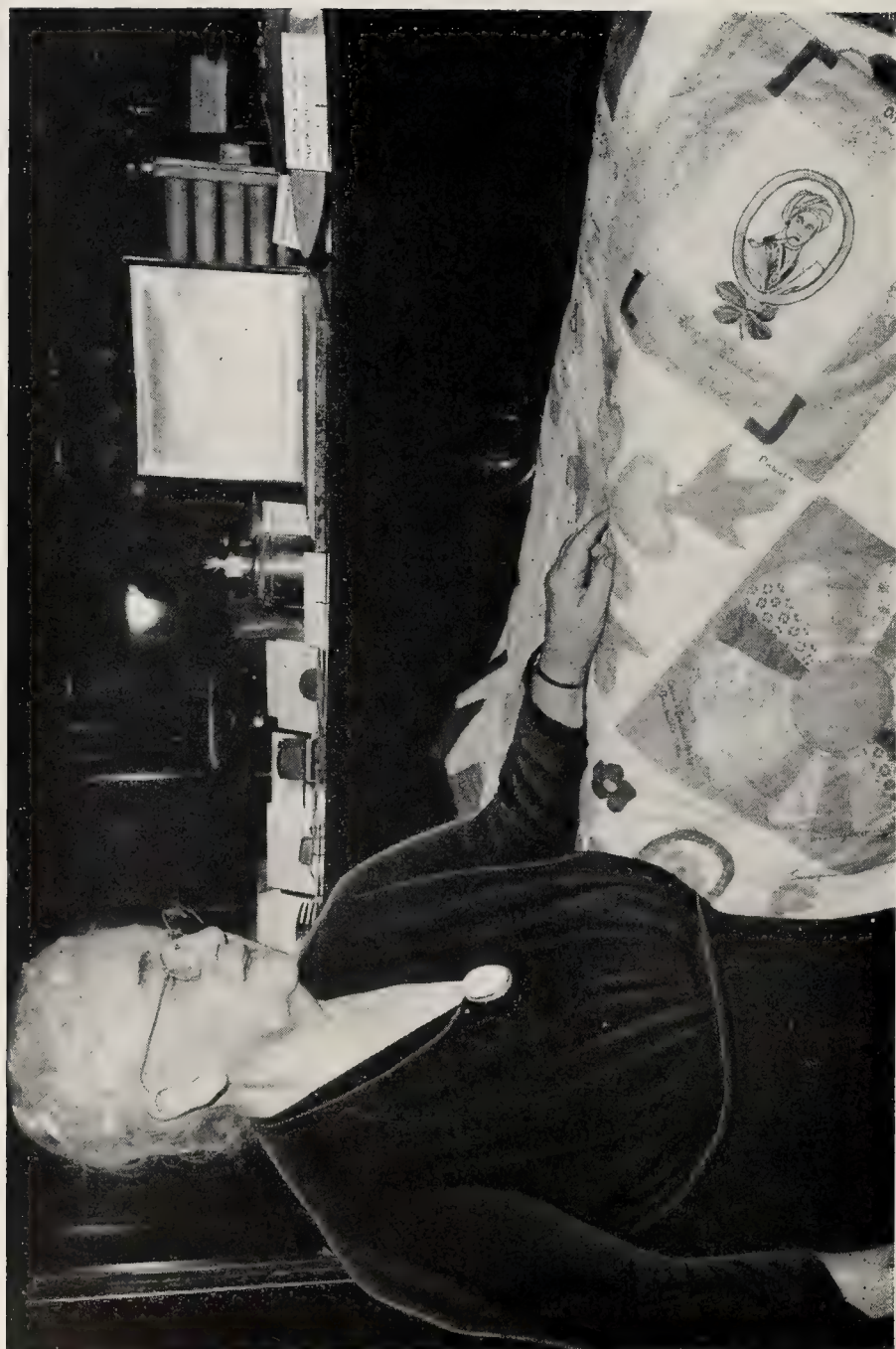
¹⁴ Hon. William Grove Skelly was elected President of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress in 1924, and succeeding years to the present (1949). He has been a marvellous manager and president in the development of this greatest exposition in the progress of petroleum industry in the world.

The following Tulsa newspapers and periodicals published much valuable information about the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress in 1923:

The Tulsa Daily World and *Tulsa Daily Tribune*, May to January, 1923.

The Tulsa Spirit, Vol. IX, January to August, 1923.

The American Saturday Night, Tulsa, Vol. V, June to September, 1923.



MRS. ANNIE M. CANTON

NECROLOGY
ANNA MAY WILKERSON CANTON
1867—1948

Annie May Wilkerson Canton, the daughter of William H. and Julia A. Wilkerson, was born May 1, 1867, in Metamora, Woodford County, Illinois. She passed away on September 3, 1948, at Guthrie, Oklahoma, and interment was by the side of her husband and her daughter, Ruby, in Fairlawn Cemetery Oklahoma City. Mrs. Canton is survived by a sister, Nancy W. Stevens (Mrs. A. W.), of Buffalo, Wyoming.¹

Annie May Wilkerson was married to Frank M. Canton on January 21, 1885, at Big Horn, Johnson County, Wyoming. Soon afterward the young couple established their first home at Buffalo in the same county. They moved to Nebraska City, Nebraska, in 1892, two years later to Pawnee, and subsequently lived at different times in Perry, Guthrie, and Edmond, Oklahoma. They were the parents of two daughters: Ruby and Helen who died at the age of three years.

As wife and homemaker in Wyoming and Oklahoma, Mrs. Canton knew firsthand many exciting incidents in territorial history, and experienced many tense moments in her husband's wide and varied career. This tribute to her memory would be incomplete without brief mention of that picturesque pioneer, Frank M. Canton, and of their daughter, Ruby, who served twenty years on the faculty of Central State College at Edmond.

Frank M. Canton was well known as the Adjutant General of the National Guard of Oklahoma, appointed to this position directly after Statehood in 1907, by Charles N. Haskell, the first Governor of Oklahoma. A native of Virginia, he had gone as a child with his parents to Texas, and later worked as a cowboy on one of the first cattle drives north up the Chisholm Trail through the Indian Territory to Abilene, Kansas, in 1869. His work in charge of cattle drives later took him farther west, and his career as a peace officer began with his appointment as deputy sheriff in Custer County, Montana, while employed as field inspector for the Wyoming Stock Raisers' Association with headquarters at Miles City, Montana, during a "cattle rustlers' war" in that region. He settled at Buffalo in 1880, was elected sheriff of Johnson County in 1882, and was re-elected in 1884. Shortly after the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, he came to Pawnee where he was commissioned deputy sheriff by Frank Lake, first elected sheriff of Pawnee County, Oklahoma Territory, who had formerly served as a deputy under Sheriff Canton in Wyoming. During the gold rush to the Klondike in 1897, Canton went to Alaska in the employ of the North American Trading and Transportation Company with headquarters at Circle City where he was appointed Deputy United States Marshal. On his return to the States two years later, he accompanied a Government relief train to China with supplies for the Americans during the Boxer uprising. Back again to Oklahoma in 1900, he again served as deputy in hunting down criminals and outlaw gangs, in which work he was associated with many well known peace officers, including Charles F. Colcord, Chris Madsen, Pat Nagle, Bill Tilghman, E. D. Nix, and Bill Fossett. General Canton served with

¹ Acknowledgments are due Mrs. John R. Williams, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Mrs. Rose Chism, Bookkeeper in the Office of the State Treasurer, personal friends of Mrs. Annie M. Canton, in securing her family data for the compilation of this necrology.

honor in his position at the head of the National Guard of Oklahoma in the three succeeding administrations of Governors Charles N. Haskell, Lee Cruce, and Robert L. Williams, until failing health caused his retirement.²

Ruby Canton, a beautiful and talented young woman who had specialized in music under the instruction of Rudolph Ganz in Chicago, continued her college courses, and was appointed Librarian at Central State Normal School at Edmond, by Governor Haskell in 1908. Subsequently she studied in the Library School of the University of Chicago, and upon her return to her post at Edmond, was the first to teach library science in Oklahoma. She studied further during summer vacation at different times in Columbia University, Pittsburgh University, and Carnegie Tech at Pittsburgh, and traveled aboard in 1926. She was an active member of the American Library Association in the state, and served as President of the Librarian's department in the Oklahoma Educational Association before her death in 1928. A special collection of books in Evans Hall at Central State College is known as the Ruby Canton Library, and a beautiful stained glass window has been dedicated to her memory in Central's proposed "Y" Chapel of Song at Edmond.

After the loss of Ruby, Mrs. Canton began her own work in the public service of the State. She was a devoted member of the Christian Science Church and of the Eastern Star. She was appointed by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society on November 15, 1930, as guide in the splendid new Historical Building, a position that she held continuously for over fifteen years until failing health caused her retirement. Her commanding presence and her never failing interest, enthusiasm, and knowledge of the Museum exhibits on Oklahoma history made her especially fitted for her work in the Historical Society. Hundreds of thousands of visitors from over the state, the nation, and foreign countries to the halls of the Historical Building during her long service will always remember Annie M. Canton's striking personality and the fine welcome she extended in the work that she loved, to the honor of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

—By Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

² The autobiography of Frank M. Canton was published posthumously as *Frontier Trails*, edited by Edward Everett Dale, of the Department of History, the University of Oklahoma (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930). A memorial tribute to General Frank M. Canton, by Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett, appeared in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 4 (December, 1927), p. 422.

FIRST POSTOFFICES IN OKLAHOMA—ERRATA

The following should be entered as corrections in "First Post-offices In Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948):

<i>Page</i>	<i>Postoffice</i>	<i>L</i>
190	Braidwood	
	Substitute Pocahontas for Pocohontas in the text.	
192	Campbell	
	Name changed to Gore 22 October 1909.	
193	Caston	
	Substitute Pocahontas for Pocohontas in the text.	
205	Gore	
	Name changed to Gore 22 October 1909.	
225	Sageeyah	
	Correct spelling is Sageeyah.	
243	Reno City	
	Discontinued effective 13 April 1899.	

—George H. Shirk.

Oklahoma City

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD
OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OCTOBER 28, 1948

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 28, 1948, with Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Hon. George L. Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge R. A. Hefner, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, Hon. J. B. Milam, Hon. R. M. Mountcastle, Hon. H. L. Muldrow, Hon. Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

Mr. Zack Miller, Jr. was introduced. He requested that a pair of steer horns which had been loaned to the Historical Society several years ago be returned to him. Hon. R. M. Mountcastle made the motion that the horns be delivered to the proper person upon presentation of credentials. Hon. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary presented to the Society a portrait of Mr. Jens Holmboe of Oklahoma City, the gift of the Holmboe family who were introduced to the Board. Dr. Evans pointed out in his remarks that Mr. Holmboe in former years had been given by the Board of Directors the task of building the State Historical Building.

The President reported on the action of the Executive Committee in July 1948 relative to the budget for the Historical Society for the next biennium. A motion was made by Hon. George L. Bowman that the budget report be accepted. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the need of a flag pole for the historical building. The President appointed Judge Robert A. Hefner and the Secretary as a committee to investigate the matter of securing a flag pole for the historical building.

The Secretary reported that the Society is in need of a new mimeograph machine. Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that an electrical machine be purchased for the sum of \$500.00. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary introduced Mrs. John Shartel of Oklahoma City who presented to the Society a portrait of her husband, John Shartel. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the portrait of the late John Shartel be accepted with thanks. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. E. E. Dale presented to the Society the following books written by him: "The Food of the Frontier", "Medical Practices on the Frontier," "Speech of the Pioneers", "Wood and Water: Twin Problems of the Prairie Plains", and "History of Oklahoma".

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore made the motion that the books presented by Dr. E. E. Dale be accepted with thanks. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

In making the motion Mrs. Moore paid tribute to the long service and high standing of Dr. Dale among the authors and writers of the State. She expressed an earnest hope that his life be placed where he would offer to the State and Nation more of the history of Oklahoma. In this sentiment all of the Board concurred.

The President reported relative to the Robert M. Jones farm owned by the Society which is now rented by Mr. E. Nash of Hugo for the sum of \$100 per year. Hon. R. M. Mountcastle made the motion that the Secretary be authorized to contact some responsible person in Durant to make an investigation relative to this matter and suggest the proper procedure to be taken by the Society in the renting of this farm. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Carl Sweezy was introduced by Dr. Evans who pointed out the historical significance and worth of his work. Dr. Evans asked the Board to pass upon a special picture by Mr. Sweezy. A committee composed of Dr. E. E. Dale, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, and Dr. I. N. McCash was appointed to pass upon the picture. The committee met and the purchase was made.

Judge Baxter Taylor made his report as a member of the Art Committee. It was as follows: "As Chairman of the Art Committee and hanging pictures, the placing of the pictures and portraits in this building has presented a serious question as to the presentation by outside individuals, and the acceptance of portraits by the Committee and the Board of Directors, and for the purpose of clarifying the matter, I present to the Board of Directors the following rules and regulations to be adopted by the Board and to be the basis upon which to rest future actions of the Art Committee and the hanging of pictures:

- (1) No picture or portrait will be accepted and placed upon the walls of this Institution until accepted by the majority of said committee meeting together for such action.
- (2) The presentation of portraits to be placed in the galleries must be made upon the understanding that the portraits or pictures will not be accepted until the whole committee, or the majority, has met and passed upon it. and it will be subject to the future actions of the Board of Directors. This statement will be issued in writing to those who have presented pictures or portraits.
- (3) The hanging of portraits will be subject to the decision of the Curator of the Museum, Chairman of the Art Committee, and the Secretary.

Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that Article 1 of said rules and regulations offered be amended to read:

The committee shall present to the Board their recommendations on all pictures or objects to be presented whether approved or disapproved, and the Board of Directors shall have final decision.

Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President appointed Hon. George L. Bowman to serve as a member of the Art Committee.

Judge Redmond S. Cole of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was introduced to the Board. He stated that one of his activities was that of collecting stamps; that he will soon present to the Historical Society a sheet and samples of the first stamp ever issued from Oklahoma, a 14 cent Indian head stamp issued at Muskogee

in 1922, a sheet and samples of the Indian Centennial stamp issued at Muskogee on October 15, 1948, and a sheet and samples of the Will Rogers stamp to be issued at Claremore on November 4, 1948. Hon George L. Bowman made the motion that the gift of stamps from Judge Cole be accepted with thanks. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported on the great need of the Historical Society for a piano for the auditorium and read a letter from the Jenkins Music Company, Oklahoma City, relative to a used Everett Grand Piano, and said purchase be made out of the private funds. The President earnestly urged the purchase of a first class piano. Hon. George L. Bowman made the motion that the President, Secretary, and an outstanding musician examine the Everett piano mentioned, and if found to be in good condition as stated by the Jenkins Music Company, that said piano be purchased for the lowest sum possible. Hon. H. L. Muldrow seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. John R. Williams presented to the Society for Mr. William A. Maurer, a Kiowa Pictograph painted by an Indian and once the property of Mr. Neal Evans, Post Sutler at Fort Reno, on the condition that it will be framed and exhibited. Mrs. Williams made a motion that the pictograph be framed and exhibited. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that Mr. C. Fritz Hoelzer of New York, an art critic and restorer of portraits, had examined the portraits in the Museum and had reported that the Miller picture and a few others should be cleaned as they are molding; some of them under the frames. He stated that the Indian picture by Miller had increased in value and that now it was worth some \$80,000 to \$100,000. He further stated that the portraits of John Ross and his wife were rated at some \$10,000. The Secretary asked the Board for the privilege of having these portraits cleaned and that Mr. Hoelzer be given the work at \$1.00 per square foot to be paid out of the private funds. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that this be done. It was seconded by Mrs. Anna B. Korn and passed unanimously.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Dr. H. T. Ballentine, Muskogee; Thomas E. Berry, Stillwater; Tams Bixby, Jr., Muskogee; Charles W. Grimes, Tulsa; N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa; Wash E. Hudson, Tulsa; E. Fred Johnson, Tulsa; Donald S. Kennedy, Oklahoma City; W. L. Kistler, Jr., Tulsa; Edward C. Lawson, Tulsa; A. W. Lefebvre, Muskogee; R. Otis McClintock, Tulsa; Charles W. Mandler, Muskogee; Villard Martin, Tulsa; Benjamin Mossman, Tulsa; H. H. Ogden, Muskogee; Mrs. L. F. Rooney, Muskogee; A. C. Trumbo, Muskogee; John V. Tully, Oklahoma City; Howard J. Whitehill, Tulsa.

ANNUAL: Michael Lee Arnold, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. Bessie Evans Atherton, Red Rock; Floyd W. Ball, Webbers Falls; Maury G. Banks, Muskogee; Oris L. Barney, Anadarko; Merrill S. Bernard, Tulsa; Mrs. R. E. Berry, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Edward O. Blake, Riverton, Kansas; John E. Boardman, Oklahoma City; John L. Boland, Caddo; Loren Boles, Broken Arrow; Mrs. Corra B. Bollinger, Tyrone; C. C. Boren, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Fair B. Boyett, Oklahoma City; Ralph B. Brainard, Claremore; Mrs. Earl A. Brown, Jr., Houston, Texas; Floyd R. Bull, Oklahoma City; Charles Colcord Callahan, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Herbert D. Canfield, Oklahoma City; John B. Cheadle, Norman; Mrs. Dianna Childers, Phoenix, Ariz.; Elmer G. Dahlgren, Oklahoma City; Gilbert W. Daney, Atoka; E. L. Dawson, Wirt; Olivia De Havilland, Beverly Hills, Calif.; D. J. Donahoe, Jr., Ponca City; Euen D. Ellis, Erick; Paul N. Frame, Ardmore; Mrs. Blanche E. Freeman, Grove; Tom Galvin, Pawhuska; Wallace W. Gates, Durant; John A. Goodall, Stilwell; Nell

Jane Guthrie, Norman; Mrs. Stella Halit, Washington, D. C.; Ellis T. Hammett, Lindsay; John P. Hammett, Bartlesville; Carl F. Hansen, Hugo; Verne E. Harris, Elk City; Dr. G. E. Hartshorne, Tulsa; Mrs. J. H. Henderson, Corpus Christi, Texas; Mrs. Roger M. Hewitt, Austin, Texas; Dr. J. R. Hinshaw, Norman; Dr. J. Raymond Hinshaw, Oxford, England; Garland A. Hill, Shawnee; J. Wilford Hill, Cherokee; Mrs. J. M. Hobgood, Farmville, N. C.; Dr. J. Andrew Holly, Stillwater; Thomas P. Holt, Ada; P. W. Holtzendorff, Claremore; Frank Wilton Jones, Oklahoma City; M. M. Karn, Shattuck; Joseph J. Keenan, Oklahoma City; Mrs. C. L. Kezer, Stillwater; W. C. King, Norman; T. C. Knoop, Canton; Mrs. J. Randolph Krepps, Shawnee; B. A. Larson, Oklahoma City; Don. R. Libertore, Oklahoma City; D. B. Loucks, Newkirk; Tom D. McKeown, Ada; Mrs. L. J. Martin, Cushing; Clyde Matthews, El Reno; Robert W. Maupin, Oklahoma City; L. D. Melton, Oklahoma City; Grover C. Mitchell, Lubbock, Texas; Mrs. J. C. Molder, Sulphur; Edward H. Moler, Oklahoma City; O. M. Martin, Dallas, Texas; Mrs. C. W. Morrison, Bartlesville; Johnston Murray, Okla. City; Boss Ira Neff Hardesty; Rev. William Neff, Tulsa; Charles R. Nesbitt, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Grider Penick, Oklahoma City; Mrs. M. F. Pierce, Gotebo; Randall Pitman, Shawnee; Mrs. Paul Powell, Ponca City; Otis H. Presson, Seminole; Dr. W. E. Price, Jr., Oklahoma City; Theodore Pruitt, Anadarko; Dr. Paul T. Powell, Ponca City; Clyde V. Reasor, Bartlesville; Mrs. Lella Reed, Oklahoma City; James E. Reinhardt, Tulsa; Jim A. Rinehart, El Reno; Donald W. Robe, Corpus Christi, Texas; Mrs. Opal F. Robertson, Pemberton, N. J.; Paul E. Rowsey, Muskogee; George W. Selinger, Tulsa; John S. Severson, Tulsa; Mrs. M. C. Shank, Glenview, Ill.; Charles Skalnik, Tulsa; Carter Smith, Tulsa; Oscar Smith, Henryetta; Mace Spangler, Oklahoma City; R. K. Stearman, Mora, Mo.; Mike Steinel, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Marshall Steves, San Antonio, Texas; Floyd Suagee, Oklahoma City; R. B. Thomas, Muskogee; Claude V. Thompson, Ada; Harold P. Thompson, Bartlesville; Dr. Milton K. Thompson, Muskogee; Charles C. Tilghman, Oklahoma City; Priscilla Utterback, Durant; W. E. Utterback, Durant; Lydia Vacin, Washington D. C.; Mrs. A. R. Wallace, Ada; N. J. Washington, Sand Springs; Mrs.; R. J. Wheeler, Wynnewood; William P. Wilkerson, Los Angeles, Calif.; George T. Wilkinson, Hitchcock; C. B. Williams, Choctaw; Tom Z. Wright Woodward, and George E. Young, El Reno.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that each be elected and received as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Evans reported that Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Director, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, had send in something like \$500.00 worth of Life memberships. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that Mrs. Buell be thanked for securing these Life memberships. Hon. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following gifts had been received:

Accordion presented by Mrs. A. W. Boyd; hand painted smoking set and shaving mug, presented by Mrs. Anna B. Korn; document memorializing Milton W. Reynolds, presented by Miss Susan Reynolds; pen used by Theodore Roosevelt when he signed the bill that admitted Oklahoma as a State, presented by Mrs. E. B. Huston; Japanese invasion money, presented by M. Sgt. James A. Novey, U. S. Army; five very old Masonic Jewels brought from England presented by Charles H. Bunting; campaign button with Judge Williams picture, used when he was running for Governor, presented by George L. Bowman; booklet; Masonic memorial to Will Rogers, containing a picture of the Scottish Rite Class of which he was a member, presented by H. L. Muldrow; Document, a letter written by P. H. Sheridan, presented by Claude

E. Hensley; Japanese walking cane, presented by E. J. McClendon; documents, letters, newspaper clippings, ledger page, presented by Mrs. James Brazell; shoe worn by work oxen, presented by Mrs. James Brazell; vest part of a uniform worn by the Indian police, presented by Peter Maytubby, Jr., eleven Chinese vases presented to the D. A. R. room by Mrs. Festus Carruthers; one assault gas mask, five flame-throwers, sixteen decontaminating apparatus, sixteen chemical cylinders, sixteen gas masks, three practise mortar shells presented by the Department of the Army; four Cherokee Hymn books, printed in Cherokee by the Dwight Mission Press, type used by the press presented by the Dwight Mission; Korean Woman's costume, presented by Mrs. Opal F. Robertson.

The following pictures have been received:

A miniature of Mrs. Leon C. Phillips, presented by Mrs. Phillips; The Birth of Our Country, presented by Judge R. L. Williams; Coal Mine in The Indian Territory, presented by Mrs. O. W. Largent; four pictures of the Tulsa Hospital, presented by Dr. Fred S. Clinton; group picture including Pat Hurley and Dr. Clinton, presented by Dr. Clinton; photograph of Milton W. Reynolds, an 89er presented by Miss Susan Reynolds; oil portrait of Mrs. Mary Ella McAtee, presented by L. T. McAtee; oil portrait of Frank Buttram, presented by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce; oil portrait of Lester B. Gum, presented by Mrs. Gum; photograph of N. A. Gibson, presented by Mrs. Gibson; four pictures of the interior of the Historical Building, photograph of Judge Williams on his 70th birthday; photograph of Abraham Lincoln and his son Tad, presented by Claude E. Hensley; photograph of E. W. Marland, presented by John H. Cleary; two photographs of Chickasaw Council, photograph of Confederate Veterans reunion, presented by Mrs. H. N. Davis; photographs, twelve scenes of early day Oklahoma, presented by G. E. Fuller; "Germany signs unconditional surrender", presented by George Sherwood; eight photographs of Indian Territory scenes, presented by Mrs. James Brazell; photograph of Mrs. Anna M. Canton; early photograph showing Mr. McKinley, first President of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Mr. Campbell; oil portrait of John W. Shartel, presented by Mrs. John W. Shartel; Rough Rider uniform coat worn by Bud Maytubby, presented by Bud Maytubby; oil portrait of James R. Holmboe, presented by James Holmboe; large framed photograph of Dr. Everett W. Lane; old fashioned saddle bags containing medicine, used by Dr. Everett Lane, presented by Dr. Lane.

Hon. George L. Bowman moved that the gifts be accepted and that a vote of thanks be sent to the donors. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Williams, and carried.

The Secretary stated that in conferring with the President earlier in the week, she asked that proper tribute of flowers be presented to Judge Thomas H. Doyle, President Emeritus, at his home on the day of the meeting of the Board. She further suggested that the Secretary write a letter for the Board and members of the staff, setting forth their profound appreciation of the long service of Judge Doyle in behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The letter was written and with flowers was placed at his bedside on the morning of October 28th. The following is a copy of the letter:

"Our good friend and fellow member on the Board of Directors:

"We are placing near you today, a small token of our profound appreciation, of our respect and high esteem. We want you to know that we miss you very much from our meetings, and express our earnest hope that you may recover your health in season, and be permitted to join us in future gatherings of this Board.

"You have been one of the founders and pioneers of this Institution. Your advice at critical times has always been indispensable. You have always spoken out, and with admirable zeal have guarded all the interests of this Society. The high service that you have rendered the State has made your name as President and Director of this association, a stamp of lofty approval among all the people.

"We, the Board of Directors, the Secretary, and also the Staff Members, hope that you will find in this token we offer you here, a warm expression of our affection for you and our very best wishes.

"Signed: Board of Directors

"By: Charles Evans, Secretary"

The President stated that she believed it would be a good gesture of earnest appreciation toward all the staff members if at Christmas time a gift of \$5.00 be given to each member of the staff in the name of the Board of Directors. Mrs. Anna B. Korn made the motion that this Christmas gift to the staff members be made out of the private funds of the Society. Mrs. Jessie R. Moore seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously.

The President asked that an election be held to elect a successor to Judge Robert L. Williams. The Board entered into the election under the rules and regulations of the Society. After secret balloting, Judge Robert A. Hefner and Dr. E. E. Dale were appointed tellers. In due season they reported to the Board that Judge Redmond S. Cole of Tulsa had received the largest number of votes offered.

The election of Judge Cole was recorded and upon motion by Judge Baxter Taylor and Hon. H. L. Muldrow, several members of the Board were appointed to present Judge Cole to the Board and receive due tribute on his election. This was done and he made a very splendid declaration of his devotion to the Society and his profound interest in the history of Oklahoma.

It was stated by the Secretary that Judge Thomas A. Edwards of Cordell and Hon. Harry Campbell of Tulsa had sent in their regrets that they could not be present because of illness. On the motion of Mrs. Anna B. Korn and seconded by Judge Robert A. Hefner, the Board sent to each of these distinguished members their deep regret of their absence and expressed an earnest desire that their health might improve soon.

The President called to the attention of the Board the fact that the halls of this beautiful building needed some touch of color and she believed that two fine palms should be placed at the proper point on the marble stairway on the second flight of stairs.

Hon. George L. Bowman made a motion that the President and the Secretary be authorized to buy these palms. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Evans pointed out that some gifts of books and badges had been given to the Society by Colonel Horace Speed, Jr. of Washington D. C., an early pioneer of Oklahoma and an eminent citizen. A special vote of thanks was extended to Colonel Speed for these gifts and the Secretary was notified to extend to Colonel Speed the special tribute of the Board.

Before adjournment President Harbour said she wished to thank each member of the Board for the splendid support given her since taking the presidency. She asked for continuance and said she believed that with the earnest work of all members, the Society could be placed on the highest plane of service to the whole State and the equal of any in the Nation.

Dr. E. E. Dale made the motion that the Board adjourn subject to the call of the President. Mrs. John R. Williams seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Charles Evans, Secretary

Emma Estill-Harbour
President

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are \$1.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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